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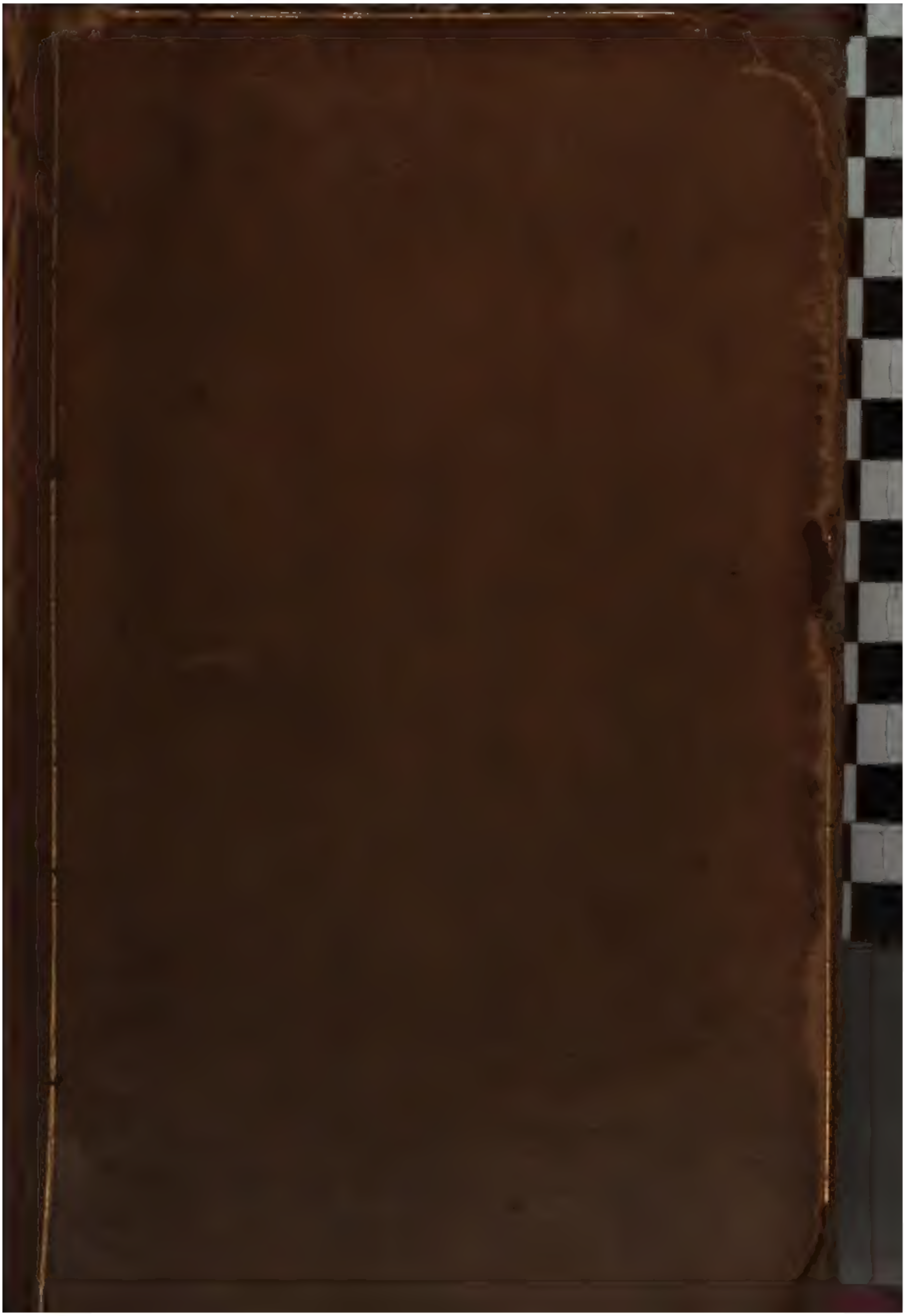

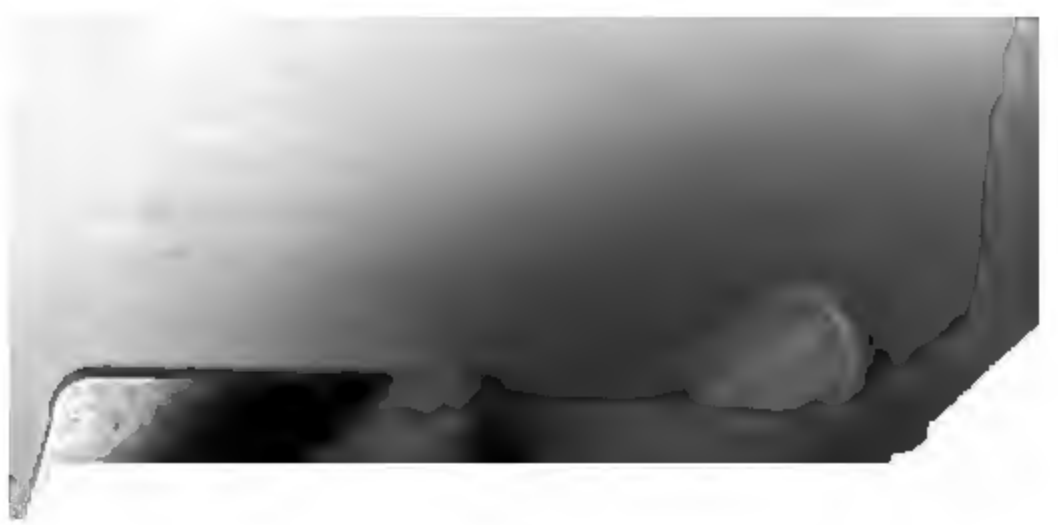

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

45. 1200.

A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

SANSCRIT, ZEND,

GREEK, LATIN, LITHUANIAN, GOTHIC, GERMAN,

AND SCLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

BY

PROFESSOR F. BOPP.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

PRINCIPALLY BY

LIEUTENANT EASTWICK, M.R.A.S.

CONDUCTED THROUGH THE PRESS

BY H. H. WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

PART II.

LONDON:

MADDEN AND MALCOLM,

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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

PART II.

PRONOUNS.

FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS.

326. In these pronouns the genders are not distinguished in any of the Indo-European languages; and all the sister dialects agree with one another surprisingly in this point, that the nominative singular first person is from a different base from that from which the oblique cases come. It is, Sanscrit अहम् *aham*, Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬌 *azĕm*, Greek ἐγώ, Latin *ego*, Gothic *ik*, Lithuanian *asz*, Old Sclavonic *az*. The *am* of अहम् *aham* is a termination like that in *tvam*, "thou," *ayam*, "this," and *svayam*, "self;" and in the plural, *vayam*, "we," *yûyam*, "ye." The Æolic ἐγών answers better than ἐγώ to *aham*; but I would prefer ἐγόν, in order to explain the lengthening of the vowel in ἐγώ as a compensation for the loss of the nasal. The abbreviated ἐγώ may, however, have reacted on the more complete ἐγών, and may have imparted to it the length of its vowel. In the other European languages, except the Latin, the entire termination has disappeared, as is also the case in Greek and Latin in σύ, τύ, *tu*, answering to the Sanscrit-Zend *tvam* (from *tu-am*), 𐬵𐬌𐬨 *tûm* (§. 42.). To the latter, however, answers the Bœot. τούν, and the η of the Doric and Lacon. τύνη, τουνή is, perhaps, an unorganic addition, as, in Gothic, the *a* in pronominal accusatives (*tha-na* for *than*, from

tham, (§. 149.): if not, *νη* must be regarded as an annexed particle. The oblique cases, in Sanscrit, have in the first person *ma*, and in the second *tva*, as theme, which is lengthened, however, in some cases, by the admixture of an *i* (compare §. 158.); hence *mé*, *tvé*. On the other hand, *tva*, in the dative, abbreviates itself to *tu* (*tu-bhyam*), from which, also, the nominative *tv-am*: in the genitive *tav-a* the *u* of *tu* receives the Guna, or the *a* of *tva* is transposed. To the base *ma* answers the Greek MO, which forms the base of the genitive *μοῦ*, and dative *μοι*. The *ε* of 'EMO rests on the prevailing disposition of the Greek to prefix a vowel to forms beginning with a consonant, as *ὄνομα*, *ὀδούς*, *ὀφρύς*, *ἐλαχύς*, answering to *nâma*, *danta-s*, *bhrû-s*, *laghu-s*, "light." The *o* of MO, 'EMO is interchanged with *ε* (see §. 3.): hence *ἐμεῖο*, *ἐμέθεν* for *ἐμοῖο*, *ἐμό-θεν* (compare *πόθεν*, *ἄλλο-θεν*, and others); *ἐμέο* for *ἐμόο*;* *ἐμεῦ*, *μεῦ* for *ἐμοῦ*, *μοῦ*. In the Æolic-Doric forms *ἐμεῦς*, *ἐμοῦς*, as in *τεῦς*, *τεοῦς*, the Σ is a later addition, introduced by the necessity for a Σ as a genitive character, after the old genitive Σ—which, according to §. 189., in the *o* declension did not stand at the end but in the middle—had been long lost. Compare, in this respect, the regained genitive sibilants in New German forms like *Herzens* (p. 167.). In the uninflected accusative *μέ*, *ἐμέ*, the case parallel with that of a final *ε* for *o*, which latter might have been expected, as in §. 204., with the *ε* of the vocative *λύκε*. As to the dispensing with the accusative nasal, however, it is important to remark, that, in Sanscrit, for *mâm*, "me," and *tvâm*, "thee," are also used *mâ*, *tvâ*, without the sign of the case; and the rejection of the *m* has, perhaps, next given occasion to the lengthening of the *a*; so that here that would hold good with regard to *mâm* and *tvâm* that was

* The form *λυκοῖο* would have, according to the usual rules of contraction, to be compared with *λύκου*, after loss of the *ι* through an intervening *λυκεϝ*.

conjectured above of ἐγών for ἐγόν.* The Latin supports in like manner, by its accusatives *mē* and *tē*, the ancient loss of the inflexion.

327. The theme of the second person *tva* divides itself in Greek, after the vowel or semi-vowel has been lost, into the forms ΣΥ and ΣΟ, for ΣϜΟ, and the *o* is exchanged with ε, as in the first person, σεῖο, σέθεν, &c. Il. VIII. 37. the ε of τεοῖο—τεο-(σ)ιο—stands, as it appears, as a melting of the Ϝ, or thinning of the υ (as πήχε-ως for πήχυ-ος); and a pre-supposed τϜοσιο or τυοσιο would correspond excellently to the Zend *thwa-hyâ*, to which a Sanscrit *tva-sya* would answer, in case *thwahyâ*, which formerly appeared to me to be an instrumental, is really a genitive, as, according to p. 280, Rem. 3., can scarcely be doubted. The Gothic has weakened the *a* of the base *ma* to *i*, and contracted the termination *va* of the 2d person to *u*; hence *MI*, *THU*, dative *mi-s*, *thu-s*, accusative *mi-k*, *thu-k*. The genitive is, in Sanscrit, in departure from all other genitives, *mama*, *tava*. The former appears to have arisen by reduplication; the Zend, however, substitutes for it *mana*; and, in the Gothic, *na* has assumed so much the character of an inflexion, that it has made its way also into the 2d person and the 3d person, which is void of gender; *mei-na*, *thei-na*, *sei-na*. *Theina* I regard as an abbreviation of *thvei-na*, as *sei-na* from *svei-na*, for *thuna* must have sprung from *THU*. As, however, म *ma* has, in Gothic, become *MI*, and from this has been formed, by lengthening it, *MEI*; so might also त्व *tva* become *THVI* and *THVEI*. According to this, the genitive *theina*—as the abbreviation of *thveina*—in respect to its base, has the same relation to *thu*, that, in Greek, σοῦ (from σϜοῦ) has to σύ, or that τεύ (from τϜεύ) has to τύ.

* The reason of the lengthening might be looked for, also, in the words being monosyllabic; which, however, takes place also in the ablative *mât*, *tvât*.

328. In Latin, as in Gothic, the *a* of the Indian *ma* has been weakened to *i*, and this, in a measure, has changed the declension of the pronoun from the second, which, according to §. 116., was to have been expected, into the third: dative *mi-hi* for मह्यम् *ma-hyam* (§. 215.); accusative *me* for *mem* (as *hoste-m* from *HOSTI*), not *mu* for *mum;* ablative *me* from *med*, not *mo* from *mod* = Sanscrit मत् *mat*. The genitive *mei* rests, according to §. 200., on the locative मयि *may-i* (euphonic for *mêi*), and belongs, therefore, to the lengthened theme मे *mê*. In the second person, according to the analogy of *mei*, the form *tvei* might have been expected from त्वयि *tvay-i*, which may originally have existed, but in the actual condition of the language is impossible, for *v* cannot consist with a preceding consonant, but in this position is either resolved into *u*, and at times, indeed, with the sacrifice of the vowel following, as in *sud-o*, answering to स्विद् *svid*, "to sweat"; or has itself disappeared, as in *canis*, answering to *śvan*, "a dog," *sonus* for *svonus*, answering to *svana-s*, "a tone";* or has dislodged the preceding consonant, as above (p. 424), in *bis*, as a hardening of *vis*, from *dvis*. We should hence have to expect for *tui*, together with some other forms, also *tei* (for *tvei*), as also *ti-bi* may be taken as an abbreviation of *tvi-bi:* for although the dative in Sanscrit is *tu-bhyam*, and the transition from *u* to *i* in Latin is not unusual (fourth declension *i-bus* for *u-bus*), still the Sanscrit contraction of *tva-bhyam* to *tu-bhyam* is scarccly of so old a date as to serve for a point of departure for the Latin *ti-bi;* and I therefore prefer considering *tibi*, *sibi*, as abbreviations of *tvi-bi*, *svi-bi*, than as corruptions of *tu-bi*; *su-bi*.

329. In Sanscrit, *mé*, *té*, exist as co-forms for the genitive and dative (*mama*, *tava*, *mahyam*, *tubhyam*): *té*, how-

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* The Greek φωνή is, probably, an analogous word, and would, accordingly, stand for σφωνή.

ever, is clearly an abbreviation of *tvé*, and I have found this opinion, which I have expressed before, supported by Rosen's Vêda-specimen (p. 26), and by the Zend. The latter gives 𐬚𐬀𐬬𐬌 *thwôi* for the Vêda *tvé;* but at the same time, also, the abbreviated forms 𐬙𐬌 *tôi* and 𐬙𐬉 *té;* by which, as it were, the way of corruption is pointed out to the Latin *ti-bi* and Gothic *thei-na.* Although, according to §. 326., मे *mé* and त्वे *tvé* lie at the bottom of several cases as the theme, still, perhaps, these forms, together with the abbreviated *té*, where they appear as genitives or datives, are not to be regarded as naked bases, as it is contrary to the genius of the language to introduce such a theme as the one spoken of;* but they may be explained as locatives, according to the principle of the common *a* bases (§. 196.), as, in Sanscrit, the locative very frequently supplies the place of the dative, and the dative relation is expressed by the genitive even more commonly than by the dative. But if मे *mé* and ते *té*, त्वे *tvé*, and the corresponding Zend forms, are really locatives, they are then, according to §. 196., identical with the Greek datives *μοί*, *σοί*, or *τοί*, which, however, must be compared with the actual locatives मयि *mayi*, त्वयि *tvayi*, by casting out the semi-vowel, if मे *mé* and ते *té* should pass as uninflected themes, extended only mechanically.

330. The genitives मम *mama*, 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬀 *mana*, and *tava*, serve the Lithuanian, and, with the exception of the ablative and genitive, also the Old Sclavonic, as the groundwork of the oblique singular cases. They are recognised with a weakening of the final *a* to *i* most distinctly in the Lithuanian instrumental and locative *manimi*, *maniye*, *tawimi*, *tawiye*. The genitive, dative, and accusative are anoma-

* The case is different when a word, by rubbing off the termination, sinks back again into the condition of a theme; besides, only neuters exhibit the pure theme in the nominative, ablative and vocative singular.

lous—*maneṅs, taveṅs, man, tav, maneṅ, taveṅ,*—but have, in like manner, proceeded from the old genitive. In Old Sclavonic, the accusative *mya, tya,* still remains upon the old footing, and answers to मा *mâ,* "me," त्वा *tvâ,* "thee," according to §. 255. *n.*, with loss of the *v* in the second person. The genitive *mene,* "of me," answers exactly to the Zend *mana* (see §. 255. *a.*) and *tebe,* "of thee," to the Indo-Zend *tava.* Considered from a Sclavonic point of view, however, *MEN, TEB* must be regarded as themes, and *e* for *es* as the common genitive termination (§. 269.). *MNO, TEBO,* and *TOBO,* clearly lie as themes at the bottom of the dative-locative *muye, tebye.*

331. The plural in the pronoun first person is, in most of the Indo-European languages, distinct in base from the singular. I have already elsewhere endeavoured to explain this* on the ground that "I" is properly incapable of a plural, for there is but one "I"; and the notion "we" comprehends "me" and an indefinite number of other individuals, each of which may even belong to a different species; while by *leones* a plurality of individuals is represented, of which each is a lion. And the case is similar with the plurals of all other substantives, adjectives, and pronouns; for "they" is a multiplying of "he," and "ye" may be rather regarded as the plural of "thou," than "we" as the plural of "I." Where, however, the idea "we" is expressed by the plural of "I," it there happens on account of the preponderating feeling of our own personality, in which the "not I" is drowned, and is left unnoticed, or is supplied by the custom of the language. Hence one might seek to adjust the Sanscrit nominative वयम् *vayam* (from *vé* + *am*) by the frequent interchange of *m* and *v* (§. 63.) with the lengthened singular base मे *mê*

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* Hist. Phil. Trans. of the Ac. of Litt. for the year 1824. p. 134.

(p. 458), an interchange which must, however, be very old, since the German, scarcely by accident, partakes in it, and which may be favoured by the circumstance that there exists actually an internal motive for a difference in the base syllable.

332. In the Vêdas occurs also *a-smé* for *vayam*; and this *asmé* is, according to §. 228., formed from the theme *asma*, from which also, in the common Sanscrit, all the oblique cases proceed, and to which the Greek attaches itself in the nominative; for the most genuine Æolic form ἄμμες stands, by assimilation, for ἄσμες (see §. 170.), as ἐμμί from ἐσμί, Sanscrit *asmi*, "I am." For ἄμμες, however, ἄμμοι ought to be the corresponding word to the Vêda *asmê*; as the theme *asma*, according to §. 116., would, in the Greek, sound ΑΣΜΟ: however, by dropping the final vowel, the Greek form has wandered into the department of another declension. The same is the case with ὔμμες, answering to the Vêda *yushmé* (euphonic for *yusmé*). On the other hand, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, presuppose a theme ΗΜΙ, ΥΜΙ, the ι of which is to be taken as a weakening of the Indian *a* of *asma*, *yushma*; as, in Gothic, *UNSI*, *IZVI* (§. 167.) with *UNSA*, *IZVA*. The genitives ἀμμέ-ων, ὑμμέ-ων, also—for ἀμμί-ων, ὑμμί-ων, and in the common language ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν—shew that they are deduced from bases in ι: just so the datives ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν, for ἡμι-ιν, ὑμι-ιν, with ιν for the Indian termination *bhyam* in *asmabhyam*, *yushmabhyam* (§. 222). The accusatives ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς are contractions of an unusual kind from ἡμι-ᾰς, ὑμι-ᾰς, for which might be expected ἡμῑς, ὑμῑς, or ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς. The Æolic forms ἄμμε, ὔμμε are uninflected, as in the singular μέ, σέ; and in case they are, in respect to their termination, older than ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς, they admit of derivation as direct from the Sanscrit *asmân*, *yushmân* (for *asma-ns*, *yushmâ-ns*, §. 236.), by abrasion of the case suffix, without intervention of a theme ΑΜΜΙ, ΥΜΜΙ.

333. In *asmé*, ἄμμες, the simple vowel *a* is the character-

istic element of the first person, for the rest occurs also in the second person—युष्मे *yushmê*, ὔμμες. If, then, this *a* is also connected with the singular base *ma*, it would be requisite to assume an aphæresis of the *m*, which, however, would appear to be very old, from the coincidence of the Sanscrit, Zend, &c. with the Greek and German; for the Gothic base *UNSA* or *UNSI* has been regarded by us, in §. 166., as a transposition of *asma*—Pali and Prakrit *amha*; the *u* for *a* is to be explained by the influence of the transposed nasal (§. 66.). But if the *a* of अस्म *asma* is an abbreviation of *ma*, in the opposite case it would be identical with the demonstrative base *a*; and if, therefore, in this plural base, the "I" is actually formally expressed, I would then place great stress on the fact, that, in Sanscrit and Greek, the appended pronoun *sma*, or that which it has become in Greek, in the pronouns of the 1st and 2d person only occurs in the plural. For as *sma*, which also occurs isolated,* can be nothing else than a pronoun of the third person,† so would *a-smê*, as a copulative compound (Gramm. Crit. §. 658.), signify "I" and "they"; but *yushmê*, "thou" and "they"; so that the singular "I" and "thou" would be expressed by *a* and *yu*; the plural "they," by *smê*; and this would be the most natural as well as the clearest and most perfect designation of the compound ideas "we" and "ye." The ingress of the appended pronoun into the singular of the first and second persons, in Zend,

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* Either with imperceptible meaning, or referring the action of the present to the further side of the past.

† Pott may be right in explaining (Berl. Ann. 1833. Vol. I. p. 324) *sma* from *sama*. I should, however, then hold "the same" to be the ancient meaning of *sama*, and the idea of similarity as a derived one; and also no longer explain *sama*, as in my Glossary, from *mâ*, "to mow," but regard it as the combination of the pronominal bases *sa* and *ma* (compare *ima*, "this," from *i* + *ma*).

Pali, Prakrit, and German (§. 174.), must then be ascribed to an abuse of later introduction. In the pronouns of the third person, however, the analogy of which may have had an effect on the abuse cited in the declension of the two first persons, the union of two, nay, even of three pronouns of the same person into one whole is extraordinarily frequent, and originally, it seems, betokened only increase of emphasis.

334. The syllable युष् *yu* of युष्मे *yushmê*, "ye," is probably a softening of *tu*, which extends itself also to the dual, to which *yuva* serves as the theme.* The Greek σφώ (σφῶϊ), however, is more complete, and represents the Sanscrit singular base *tva*, with σ for *t*, and φ for *v*. In the latter respect, compare also σφεῖς and σφός with the Sanscrit *sva-yam*, "self," and *sva-s*, *suus*, regarding which hereafter.† The Prakrit and Pali, and several other Indian dialects, have retained the *t* in the plural unaltered, or restored; hence, Pali-Prakrit तुम्हे *tumhê* for *tusmê*. In Gothic, however, by rejecting the *u*, and exchanging the *m* for *v*, *yu-sma* has become *I-ZVA*, and by weakening the *a* to *i*, *I-ZVI* (§. 167.). The Lithuanian gives *YU* as the theme of the majority of cases in the dual and plural, and in the first person *MU*, to which, however, the nominative *més* does not correspond. The appended pronoun स्म *sma* has been distinctly retained only in the genitive dual and locative plural—although it

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* From *yu* + *a*, with change of the *u* into *uv*, according to a universal euphonic law (Gramm. Crit. §. 51.).

† As I formerly took the σ, in forms like ὄχεσφι (see §. 218.), for a euphonic addition, I thought also (Hist. Phil. Trans. of the Ac. of Litt. for the year 1825. p. 196) that I might explain σφώ, answering to the Latin *vos* and Sanscrit *vâm*, *vas*, as corrupted by prefixing a σ allied to the φ. This opinion, however, stands in no further need of support, from the information which I have since then gained regarding the σ of forms in σ-φι; and I accede so much the more willingly to the abovementioned opinion, which was first expressed by Max. Schmidt (De Pron. Greek et Latin, p. 8).

is originally foreign to the dual,—but, in the former case, to which the numeral is annexed, the *s*, and in the latter case the *m*, has fallen out; hence *mu-mû dwieyû*, "of us two"; *yu-mû dwieyû*, "of you two"*; *mu-sůse*, "in us"; *yusůse*, "in you."

335. It is, however, also very probable that the *s* in the Lithuanian nominative *més*, "we," *yûs*, "ye," as well as the *s* of the Gothic *veis*, *yus*, is not the sign of the nominative, as it appears to be in the actual condition of the language, but the abbreviation of the syllable *sma*. This conjecture is raised almost to certainty by the Zend, in which, together with the 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬰𐬆𐬨 *yûshĕm* (see §. 59.), which rests on the Sanscrit यूयम् *yûyam* (from *yû* + *am*, with euphonic *y*, §. 43.), occurs also 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬰 *yûs*; the *s* of which is represented by Burnouf (Yasna, Notes, p. 121), in which he is clearly right, as identical with the Sanscrit ष् *sh* of युष्मत् *yushmat* (ablative, and, in the beginning of compounds, representing the theme, see p. 112.). 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬰 *yûs*, therefore, is an abbreviation of the Vêda युष्मे *yushmé*; and the *s* can in nowise pass for the sign of the nominative; as from a theme *yu*, according to the usual declension in the nominative vocative plural, must come either *yavô* or *yvô*. According to the pronominal declension, however, we have already seen 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬰𐬆𐬨 *yûshĕm* developed from the Sanscrit यूयम् *yûyam*. In Lithuanian, *més*, if *s* were the sign of case, would stand completely isolated as the masculine plural nominative†; and as to the German, that language has, from the earliest period, lost the sign of the case in the nominative plural;

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* According to Mielcke, also *mama dwieyû* and *yumma dwieyû*, the latter with doubled *m*; the first of which is to be explained by assimilation of the *s*, as in the Æolic, ὔμμες.

† Although in this pronoun there is no obvious distinction of gender, still the Sanscrit declension forms, viz. *asmé*, *asmân*, are masculine.

while the *r* of *weir*, *ihr*, which corresponds to the Gothic *s* of *weis*, *yus*, has remained to this day, which, with other weighty reasons, awards to this *r* likewise a destination other than that of denoting the relation of case.

336. According to the principle of the Zend-Lithuanian-Gothic *yûs*, *yus*, I explain also the Sanscrit नस् *nas*, वस् *vas*, which are used as co-forms in the accusative, dative, and genitive of the two first persons; the *s* of which, however, could not find any legitimate place in such different cases, if, by its origin, it was destined to denote a case connection. In the same way, however, that the Zend *yûs* is the abbreviation of *yûsmé*, so may नस् *nas* and वस् *vas* be deduced the accusative, from *nasmân*, *vasmân*, in the dative and genitive, from *nasmabhyam*, *nasmâkam*, *vasmabhyam*, *vasmâkam*; and the *s* therefore suits all the three cases, exactly because it expresses none of them. There remains, after the dissolution of the rest of the appended pronoun, *na* and *va*, as the chief elements of personal definition, from which have proceeded the dual secondary forms *nâu* and *vâm* (for *vâu*). The *n* of *na*, however, is a weakening of the *m*, the high antiquity of which may be traced from the coincidence of the Greek, Latin, and Sclavonic: *va*, however, is an abbreviation of *tva*, as, *viṁśati*, "twenty," from *dviṁśati*.

337. The bases न *na*, व *va* would lead us to expect in Latin *NU*, *VU* (*nŭ*, *vŏ*, §. 116.), as themes; *ni*, *vi*, as plural nominatives; and *nos*, *vos*, as accusatives. The circumstance, however, that *nos*, *vos*, stand in the nominative, and that the final *s* is retained also in the possessives *nos-ter*, *ves-ter* (for *vos-ter*), must cause the *os* of *nos*, *vos*, in the accusative, to appear to us in an entirely different light from that of *lupos*; and the explanation which we have given of the *s* of the indisputably kindred Sanscrit forms नस् *nas*, वस् *vas*, must therefore extend also to that of *no-s*, *vo-s*, objectionable as it may appear from the point of view

of the self-restricted Latin Grammar, when we seek in *nos* and *vos* a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*, treated of in §. 166. &c., which we also recognise robbed of its *s* * in the appended syllable *met* (*egomet*, *memet*, *tumet*, *nosmet*, and others), which refers itself most closely to the Sanscrit plural ablative *a-smat*, *yu-śmat*, which is also employed by the language instead of the theme for all cases and numbers (§. 112.), on which account the like free use of the Latin *met* cannot appear surprising. Moreover, I have elsewhere endeavoured to explain the Latin *immo* by assimilation from *i-smo*, and so to apportion the first part to the demonstrative base *i*, and the last to our *sma*.

338. We now turn to the Old Sclavonic, where *nas* and *vas* as genitive and locative, are completely identical with the नस् and वस् *vas* of Sanscrit, which in that language are, indeed, excluded from the locative, but still hold the place of genitives. The monosyllabic nature of these forms has, in Sclavonic, protected the old *a* as well as the final *s* (§. 255. *a. l.*); but here, also, this *s* cannot be looked upon as a case character, as, without exception, the terminations साम् *sâm* and सु *su* have, in Old Sclavonic, become *kh* (p. 355, 6.). The concurrent disinclination of so many languages to consider the *s*, in the common forms under discussion, as a sign of case, strengthens the evidence for each single individual language. As to the Sanscrit, however, applying in the dual the forms *nâu*, *vâm* (for *vâu*, p. 472, Rem. 1.), in cases to which *âu* does not belong as the inflexion, in this point it is not supported by any of the European sister languages: we might still, however, admit the conjecture, that here, also, the *âu* is not a case-termination, but is derived from a different origin, and, in fact, to be so regarded, as that *nâu*, *vâu* (corrupted to *vâm*) are exten-

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* Comp. *memor* for *mesmor* with Sanscrit *smar*; so, too, Pott (l. c.) explains the Latin *met*.

sions of the plural *nas*, *vas*, by lengthening the *a*, and by resolving the *s* to *u*, according to the analogy of §. 206. For if a case termination *âs* has become औ *âu*—and in Zend every final *âs*, without distinction, has become *ao*—it cannot be surprising that *nâs*, also, has become *nâu;* and then in *nâu* a dual case termination is just as little contained as in *nas* a plural. The dual, however, loves broader forms than the plural (compare §. 206.); and to this inclination may the lengthening of the *a* of *nas*, *vas*, be ascribed. But *nâu* may, however—and this I much prefer—be regarded as a copulative compound from *na-s;* so that it would stand in the accusative for *nâ-smâu*, in the genitive for *nâ-smayôs*, according to the principle of the Vêda *pitarâ-mâtarâu*,* "father and mother," *verbatim* "two fathers, two mothers." According to this, *nâu* would properly mean, as accusative, "me and him," as above (§. 333.) *asmê*, for *masmê*, "I and they"; and *vâm*, for *vâu*—Zend باسع *vâo*—would denote, as accusative, "thee and him." According to this principle of copulative composition is probably, also, *â-vâm* (for *â-vâu*), "we two," to be regarded; so that, with a more retiring designation of the third person, it would literally mean "he and I"; for *a* is a demonstrative base, which is here lengthened to the dual form *â* (§. 208.), and *vâm* (genitive and locative *vayôs*) answers, in respect to its base, to *vayam*, "we" p. 462).†

339. At the base of the two first persons of the Greek dual lie ΝΩ, ΣΦΩ, as themes, which support the opinion, that in नौ *nâu*, वाम् *vâm* (for *vâu*), to which they bear the same relation that ὄκτω does to *ashṭâu*, the *âu* is not a case termi-

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* See pp. 228, 229, and shorter Sanscrit Grammar §. 589. Rem.

† I formerly thought (l. c. §. 274) the *â* of *âvâm* might be regarded as a strengthening prefix, as in the middle of the 2d and 3d dual person. But the above view answers better to the analysis which was given, §. 333, of the plural.

nation. For if ΝΩ, ΣΦΩ were the themes in Greek, the genitive and dative would necessarily be *νοιν*, *σφοιν*, as it would be unnatural that the long vowel, which, in the nominative and accusative, would be explicable according to the analogy of *λύκω*, from ΛΥΚΟ, should be retained before the termination *ιν*. It would, it seems, be rightly assumed, that in the nominative and accusative, *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*, are the original forms, and *νώ*, *σφώ* (for *νῳ*, *σφῳ*), abbreviations of them. From *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ* spring, also, the possessives *νωΐτερος*, *σφωΐτερος*. But how stands it with the very isolated Greek dual form *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*? Max. Schmidt (l. c. p. 94) supposes therein a remnant of the Sanscrit neuter dual termination *î* (§. 212.). It would not be necessary, if this be so, to assume that in *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*, a masculine and neuter dual termination are united, as ΝΩ and ΣΦΩ have already been made to pass as themes, from which *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*, would be very satisfactorily explained by the addition of a single termination. Observe, however, that the pronouns of the first and second persons do not originally distinguish any genders, and occur in Sanscrit only with masculine terminations; that therefore a remnant of the lost neuter termination is less to be expected in these very pronouns in Greek than in any other word whatever. Hence I prefer recognising in the *ι* of *νῶϊ*, *σφῶϊ*, a weakening of the dual-ending *a*, which originally pertained to the masculine and feminine, and which, in the common declension, has become *ε* (§. 209.). According to this, the *ι* has the same relation to this *ε* and the Zend *a* that the Æolic *πίσυρες* has to *τέσσαρες* and [illegible] *chathwârô*. This opinion finds particular support from the fact that *νῶε* actually occurs for *νῶϊ*, as in the third person *σφωέ*, not *σφῶΐ*; and in the second person, also, the Grammarians assume *σφῶε* together with *σφῶϊ* (Buttmann Lex. I. 52).

340. We give here a connected general view of the declension of the pronouns of the two first persons, with the remark that the compared languages do not everywhere

agree with one another in regard of inflexion. We select from the Greek, where it is desirable for the sake of comparison, the dialect forms which come nearest to the Sanscrit or the Zend.

SINGULAR.

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Nom.	*aham,*	*azém,*	*ἐγών,*	*ego,*	*ik,*	*asz,*	*az.*
	tvam,	*tûm,*	*τού̂ν,*	*tu,*	*thu,*	*tù,*	*ty.*
Acc.	*mâm, mâ,*	*manm, mâ,*	*μέ,*	*mē,*	*mik,*[1]	*manęn,*	*mya.*
	tvám, tvâ,	*thwanm, thwâ,*	*τέ,*	*tē,*	*thuk,*	*tawęn,*	*tya.*
Instr.	*mayâ,*	. . . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	*manimi,*	*mnoyû.*
	tvayâ,	. . . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	*tawimi*	*toboyû.*
Dat.	*mahyam,*	. . . .	*ἐμίν,*[2]	*mihi,*	*mis,*[3]	*man,*	*mnye, mi.*
	mé,	*mê, môi,*	*μοί,*[4]	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
	tubhyam,	. . . .	*τεί̂ν,*[2]	*tibi,*	*thus,*[3]	*taw,*	*tebye, ti.*
	tvé, té,	*thwôi, tê, tôi,*	*τοί,*[4]	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
Abl.	*mat,*	. . . .	. . . .	*me(d)*	. . .	. . .	. . . .
	mattas,[5]	. . . .	*ἐμέθεν*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
	tvat,	*thwat,*	. . . .	*te(d)*	. . .	. . .	. . . .
	tvattas,[5]	. . . .	*σέθεν,*	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
Gen.	*mama,*	*mana,*	*μού̂,*	*mei,*	*meina,*	*manens,*	*mene.*
	mé,	*mê, môi*	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
	tava,	*tava,*	*τεύ̂,*	*tui,*	*theina,*	*tawens,*	*tebe.*
	tvé, té,	*thwôi, tê, tôi,*	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . . .
Loc.	*mayi,*	. . . .	. . . .	*mei,*[6]	. . .	*maniyè,*	*mnye.*
	tvayi,	*thvahmî,*[7]	. . . .	*tui,*[6]	. . .	*tawiyè,*	*tebye.*

[1] See §§. 175. 174. [2] See §. 222. [3] See §. 174. [4] See §. 329. [5] At the base of the forms *mattas*, *tvattas*, lies the proper ablative *mat*, *tvat*, as theme (compare Gramm. Crit. §. 289.), to which has been added the suffix *tas*, which signifies the same as the ablative termination *t*, and is also formally connected with it, and to which the Greek θεν corresponds. [6] See §. 200. [7] See §. 174.

DUAL.

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Nom.	*âvâm,*[1]	. . .	*νῶϊ,*[2]	*vit,*[3]	*muddu,*[4]	m. *va*, f. *vye.*[5]
	yuvam,[1]	. . .	*σφῶϊ,*[2]	. . . .	*yudu,*[6]	. . . .
Accus.	*âvâm,*[1]	. . .	. . .	*ugkis,*[7]	*mudu,*	m. *va*, f. *vye.*[5]
	nau,	. . .	*νῶϊ,*[2]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
	yuvâm,[1]	. . .	. . .	*igqvis,*[7]	*yudu*	. . . .
	vâm,[1]	*vâo,*	*σφῶϊ,*[2]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

		SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Inst.		*âvâbhyâm,*	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . .	*nama,*
		yuvâbhyâm,	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . .	*vama,*
Dat.		*âvâbhyâm,*	. . .	*νῶϊν,*[8]	*ugkis,*	*mum dwiem,*	*nama,*[8]
		nâu,	. . .	*νῶϊν,*[8]	. . . .	. . . .	*nama,*[8]
		yuvâbhyâm,	. . .	*σφῶϊν,*[8]	*igqvis,*	*yum dwiem,*	*vama,*[8]
		vâm,	*vâo,*	*σφῶϊν,*[8]	. . . .	. . . .	*vama,*[8]
Abl.		*âvâbhyâm*	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
		yuvâbhyâm	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Gen.		*âvayôs,*	. . .	. ..	*ugkara,*	*mumû dwieyû,*	*nayû,*[4]
		nâu,	. . .	*νῶϊν*	. . . .	*yumû dwieyû,*	*nayû,*[4]
		yuvayôs,	. . .	. . .	*igqvara,*	. . . .	*vayû,*[8]
		vâm,	*vâo,*	*σφῶϊν,*	. . . .	. . . .	*vayû,*[8]
Loc.		*âvayôs,*	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . .	*vayû,*
		yuvayôs,	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. . . .	*vayû,*

[1] I regard the termination *âm* as a hardening of the common dual termination *âu* (before vowels *âv*); and I would call attention to the frequent interchange of *v* and *m* (§. 63., compare p. 114). This hardening has not, in the 1st person, extended into the secondary form; and in the 2d person the Zend *vâo* speaks for an older Sanscrit form *vâu* for *vâm*. The Zend form *vâo* occurs in the 34th chapter of the Izeshne, and appears, also, to stand as nominative. However, the Zend is not wanting in an analogous form to the Sanscrit dual base *yuva;* for that which Anquetil, in his Glossary, writes *ieouâkem*, and renders by *vous deux*, ought probably to be 𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬆 *yavâkĕm*, and is clearly an analogous dual genitive (p. 473 Rem.) to the plural gen. 𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬹𐬨𐬆 *yûsmâkĕm*, which Anquetil likewise considers as nominative. [2] See §. 339. [3] The *t* clearly belongs to the number two (theme *TVA*), which, in Lithuanian, is retained through all the cases. [4] Feminine *muddwi.* [5] The distinction of the genders has been introduced, contrary to the original principle, through the analogy of the common dual (see §. 273.), as the Old Sclavonic, too, in the dual personal terminations, which, in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, mark the genders just as little as the other numbers distinguish the feminine from the masculine by the termination *ye* (=ए *ê*, §. 155. *e.*). [6] Feminine *yudwi.* [7] See §. 169. [8] The comparison with the Sanscrit principal form regards the case termination; that with the secondary form the theme.

PLURAL.

		SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Nom.		*vayam,*	*vaêm.*	...	...	*veis,*	...	...
		asmê,[1]	....	*ἄμμες,*	*nos,*[3]	*veis,*[4]	*mês,*[4]	*my.*
		yûyam,	*yûshém,*	...	...	...	...	...
		yushmê,[1]	*yûs,*	*ὔμμες,*[1]	*vos,*[3]	*yus,*[4]	*yûs,*[4]	*vy.*
Accus.		*asmân,*	....	*ἄμμε,*	...	*unsis,*[5]	*mùs,*	*ny.*
		nas,	*nô,*	...	*nos,*[3]	...	...	...
		yushmân,	....	*ὔμμε,*	...	*izvis,*[5]	*yùs,*	*vy.*
		vas,	*vô,*	...	*vos,*[3]	...	...	...
Instr.		*asmâbhis,*	....	...	*nobis,*	...	*mumìs,*	*nami.*
		yushmâbhis,	....	...	*vobis,*	...	*yumìs,*	*vami.*
Dat.		*asmabhyam,*	....	*ἄμμι(ν),*	...	*unsis,*	*mumus,*	*nam.*
		nas,	*nô,*	...	*nobis,*	...	...	*nam.*
		yushmabhyam,	*yusmaêibya,*	*ὔμμι(ν),*	...	*izvis,*	*yumus,*	*vam.*
		vas,	....	...	*vobis,*	...	...	*vam.*
Abl.		*asmat,*	....	...	*nobis,*	...	...	...
		yushmat,	*yûsmat,*	...	*vobis,*	...	...	...
Gen.		*amâkam,*[6]	*ahmâkĕm,*	*ἀμμέων,*	...	*unsara,*	*mûsû,*	...
		nas,	*nô,*	...	*nostri,*	...	...	*nas.*
		yushmâkam,	*yûsmâkĕm,*	*ὑμμέων,*	...	*izvara,*	*yûsû,*	...
		vas,	*vô,*	...	*vestri,*	...	...	*vas.*
Loc.		*asmâsu,*	....	...	...	...	*musûse,*	*nas.*
		yushmâsu,	....	...	...	...	*yusûse,*	*vas.*

[1] See §. 332. [2] See §. 170. [3] See §. 337. [4] See §. 335.
[5] See §. 174.

"Remark. — Max Schmidt rightly takes the forms *asmâkam, yushmâkam,* for possessives; and Rosen has since confirmed his view (Journal of Education, July—Oct. 1834, p. 348) by the Vêda dialect युष्माकाभिर् ऊतिभिः *yushmâkâbhir ûtibhis,* '*vestris auxiliis*'). We must therefore regard *asmâkam, yushmâkam,* as singular neuters, which are, as it were, petrified, and have thus lost the power of being governed according to the gender, number, and case of their substantive. In the two first respects they may be compared with numeral expressions like पञ्च *pancha,* 'five' which, in the Greek *πέντε* and Latin *quinque,* has become completely indeclinable, and

therefore exactly like *asmâkam*, *yushmâkam*, Zend *ahmâkĕm*, *yûsmâkĕm*, and the dual form mentioned at p. 472, Rem. 1., *yavâkĕm*. It is clear that the Latin forms, also, *nostri*, *nostrum*, *vestri*, *vestrum*, belong to the possessive; and for *nostrum*, *vestrum*, are used also *nostrorum*, *vestrorum* (Schmidt, p. 10.) As, then, *unsara*, *izvara*, stand altogether isolated in Gothic as genitives, it is, in my opinion, much more natural to derive them from the possessive bases of the same sound—which form, in the nominative singular masculine, *unsar*, *izvar* (see §. 292. Rem.)—than, on the contrary, to deduce the possessives from the unexplained genitives of the personal pronoun, so that they would be without any derivative suffix whatever, which is opposed to the common laws for the derivation of words. I most prefer regarding *unsara*, *izvara*, and the analogous dual forms as singular and dual neuters, like the Sanscrit *asmâkam*, *yushmâkam*, and with an antiquated retention of the *a* of the base, which in *daur'* for *daura* (§. 153.) has disappeared. Ought, also, the singular genitives to be viewed in this light? for *meina*, *theina*, *seina*, are possessive bases as well as the genitives of the personal pronouns; and if the former had proceeded from the latter, the addition of a suffix might have been expected. Perhaps even in Sanscrit the expressions *mama*, *tava*, which are far removed from all the forms of genitives, are originally possessives, from which, after they were no longer recognised as such, sprang the secondary forms *mâmaka*, *tâvaka*, as *bâlaka* comes, without alteration of meaning, from *bâla*, "a boy." Observe, also, the surprising accordance between the Greek possessive base TEO, from TE*F*O, and the Sanscrit genitive *tava*. The form σό-ς, however, has scarcely proceeded from σοῦ, but from the more entire τεό-ς, by syncope and exchange of the τ with σ. In regard to the replacing of the genitive of pronouns without gender by the corresponding possessives, it deserves further to be remarked, that, in Hindústáni, the forms, which

are represented in both numbers of all declinable words as genitives, are shewn to be unmistakeable possessives, by being governed by the gender of the following substantive. The pronouns of the first and second person have in the masculine *râ*, in the feminine *rî*, as the possessive suffix; other words, in the masculine *kâ*, feminine *kî*; and the latter answers to the Sanscrit *ka* in *asmâka*, *yushmâka*, *mâmaka*, *tâvaka*. In Hindústáni, therefore, *mêrî mâ*, *têrî mâ*, is literally, not '*mei mater*,' '*tui mater*,' but '*mea mater*,' *tua mater*;' and the feminine termination *î* answers to the Sanscrit feminine formation (§. 119.). In the masculine the possessives under discussion are sounded *mêrâ*, *têrâ*, plural *hamârâ*, *tumhârâ*. In this it is remarkable that the formative suffix *râ* agrees with the Gothic *ra* of *unsara*, *izvara*, dual *ugkara igqvara*. In respect, also, to the transposition of the nasal, *tumhârâ* for *tuhmârâ*, from *tusmârâ*, is similar to the Gothic *ugkara*, *unsara*, *igqvara*.

PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

341. The Sanscrit is deficient in a simple substantive pronoun of the third person, devoid of gender: that it, however, originally possessed such a pronoun is proved, not only by the unanimous evidence of the European cognate languages, but especially by the circumstance that, in Zend, 𐬵𐬎 *hê* and 𐬵𐬀𐬎 *hôi* (also 𐬵𐬎 *sê*, according to §. 55.), and, in Prakrit, से *sé*, are used as the genitive and dative of the third person in all genders,* and indeed in the direct sense, and in form analogous to the secondary forms of

* In Zend I remember only examples of the kind where the pronoun mentioned refers to masculines; but in Prakrit से *sé* is often found feminine; *e.g.* Urvasi by Lenz, pp. 46. 55 twice. Still I have not yet met with examples for *sé* as dative, numerous as the examples of the genitive are. In Zend both cases occur, and the dative, indeed, more frequently than the genitive.

the first and second person; Sanscrit मे *mé*, ते *té*, त्वे *tvé*, Zend 𐬨𐬉 *mé* or 𐬨𐬋𐬌 *môi*, 𐬙𐬉 *té* or 𐬙𐬋𐬌 *tôi*, 𐬚𐬋𐬌 *thwôi* (§. 329.) In Sanscrit *sva*, lengthened to *svê*, must be considered as the theme of this pronoun, as, according to §. 326., *ma*, *mê*, *tva*, *tvê*, are the singular bases of the two first persons. From स्वे *své*, in combination with the nominative termination *am*, (§. 326.) comes स्वयम् *svayam*, which means "self," and in the present state of the language is indeclinable in all cases, numbers, and genders. The form *sva* prevails as the possessive, but is used not only for *suus*, but for *meus* and *tuus*, in which it is to be observed, that in the majority of the European cognate languages the possessive of the third person may be also used for the two first, and the Doric σφός corresponds as exactly as possible with the Sanscrit *sva-s*, while ΣΦΙ lies as theme at the base of the plural of the personal pronoun (σφεῖς, σφί-σι), with the old *a* weakend to *i*, as in the plural of the two first persons (§. 332.). The apparent agreement of the base with the second person in the dual is, then, to be explained thus, that in the latter the σ has proceeded from an older τ, but in the third person is primitive. In οὗ, οἷ, ἕ, for σφοῦ, σφοί, σφέ—of which only the latter has been retained—from σϜοῦ, &c., the digamma, which may remain after σ in the form of φι, has been necessarily suppressed after the σ has become a rough breathing. Thus οἷ is similar to the Zend 𐬵𐬋𐬌 *hôi* and 𐬵𐬉 *hé* (for *hvôi*, *hvê*), and the Prakrit से *sé* for *svê*. A similar rejection of the *v*, together with a weakening of the old *a* to *i*, shews itself in the Gothic *sei-na*, *si-s*, *si-k*, for *svei-na*, *svi-s*, *svi-k* (see §. 327.). On the other hand, the *v* has remained in the adverb *svê*, as mentioned at §. 150., which evidently belongs to a theme *SVA*, as *hvê* from *HVA*, *thê* from *THA*. As *ê*, according to §. 69., stands sometimes for the long *a*, so these forms are, l. c., explained as instrumentals. They might, however, be regarded as locatives, which have been pointed out at §. 294. Rem. 2., with

an *é* termination. The Lithuanian and Old Sclavonic in this pronoun follow exactly the analogy of the second person, and distinguish it from the latter only by the initial *s* for *t*; but, like the Latin, Greek, and German, dispense with the nominative as they are only used reflectively, and use the singular, also, instead of the plural. From the Latin, besides *sui*, *suus*, perhaps also *spontis*, *sponte*, from *SPONT*, are to be adduced here, since, according to all probability, the meaning "self," or "the self, selfness," is the primitive: *sp*, however, may be regarded as the modification of *sv* (comp. §. 50.), as *spiro*, in my opinion, is connected with *śvas*, "to breathe." The Doric ψίν, for σφίν, and the Latin *pse*, of *i-pse*, which should be declined *ejus-psius*, *ei-psi*, &c., for *ipsius*, *ipsi*, are formed, in like manner, by transposition. As regards the termination *nt* of *SPONT* it might be carried back to the Sanscrit suffix *vant*, regarding which see §. 324. It may here be further remarked that, in Prakrit, the pronoun of the second person occurs, amongst other forms, in that of पइ *pai* and पनि *pani* (Urvasi, pp. 61. 69), so that the *t* of *tva* is suppressed, but the *v* hardened to *p*. Compare, in the former respect, the Doric φίν for σφίν, *vas*, *vos*, for *tvas*, *tvos* (§. 336); and, in both respects, the Latin *porta*, which in this way may be compared with द्वार् *dvâr*, "a door" (θύρα).

342. We here give a connected view of the declension of the pronoun of the third person, devoid of gender, in the singular, which, excepting in the case of the Greek, supplies also the place of the plural.

	PRAK.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LAT.	GOTH.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
Accusative,	..	....	σφέ, ἕ,	*se*,	*sik*,	*saweń*,[1]	*sya*,
Instrument.	..	....	....	..	...	*sawimi*,[1]	*soboyû*.[1]
Dative,	*sê*,	*hê*, *hôi*,	οἱ,	*sibi*,	*sis*,	*saw*,[1]	*sebye*, *si*.[1]
Genitive,	*sê*,	*hê*, *hôi*,	οὗ,	*sui*,	*seina*,	*saweńs*,[1]	*sebe*.[1]
Locative,	..	....	....	..	...	*sawiye*,[1]	*sebye*.[1]

[1] Compare §. 330. It is not, however, necessary to assume, that, in the

second person, the Lithuanian theme *taw* and the Sclavonic *teb* have arisen from the Sanscrit genitive *tava;* but these forms may be regarded as transpositions of the base त्व *tva.* Both explanations agree in the main, as the syllable *tav* belongs to the base in the Indian genitive तव *tava* also, whether we derive it by Guna from *tu*, whence तुभ्यम् *tu-bhyam*, "to thee," or regard it as the transposed form of त्व *tva.* In the reflective forms given above, *saw* and *seb* are based on the same principle as the *taw* and *teb* just mentioned, and hence they may be derived, by transposition, from the Indian base *sva;* or we may suppose a genitive *sava* to have existed in Sanscrit also, which language, it may be concluded, originally possessed a complete declension of this pronoun. The Gothic *sibya*, "kinsman," theme *sibyan*, Old High German, *sippëa*, "relationship," "kith," agrees, in a striking manner, with the Sclavonic base *seb;* and it would not be surprising if the "kinsman" has been designated as "the man belonging to him," "his;" and that, therefore, the original *v* of these Gothic forms has been hardened, as in Sclavonic, to *b.* The Gothic *svês*, theme *svêsa*, "property," is also a derivative from this pronoun.

343. The base त *ta*, feminine ता *tâ*, signifies, in Sanscrit, "he," "this," and "that." The Zend form is identical with the Sanscrit: the medial, however, frequently occurs instead of the tenuis, as in the accusative singular masculine, in which the place of ᵹᵹᵹ *tĕm* is commonly supplied by *dĕm*, or, still more frequently, by *dim.* In Greek and German this pronoun has assumed the functions of the article, which is not found in the Sanscrit and Zend, nor in the Latin, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic. The bases TO, Gothic *THA* (§. 87.), feminine TĀ, TH, Gothic *THŌ* (§. 69.), correspond regularly with the Sanscrit-Zend *ta, tâ*, with which the Lithuanian demonstrative base *TA*, nominative masculine *tas*, "this," feminine *tá*, is completely identical. The Old Sclavonic base is, as in Greek, in the masculine and neuter *to*, in the feminine *ta* (§. 255. *a.*), but in the nominative masculine drops the vowel; hence *t, ta, to*, "this." This pronoun does not occur, in its simple state, in Latin, with the exception of the adverbial accusative forms *tum, tunc* (like *hunc*), *tam, tan-dem*, and *tamen.* The latter resembles surprisingly the Sanscrit locative तस्मिन् *ta-smin*,

"in this" (§. 201.), only that the *s* is dropped, as in the Lithuanian *tamé* (p. 176); on which account I am inclined to replace the derivation I formerly gave of it by transposition from the Greek *μέντοι*, by that which I now offer, and which is less remote. Moreover, in Latin, the derivative forms *talis, tantus, tot, totidem, toties, totus*, spring from this pronoun, and will be treated of hereafter. It appears, however, to be declined in the compound *iste*, of which the first member *is* is either to be regarded as a petrified nominative masculine, the case-sign of which, unconscious of its derivation, is retained in the oblique cases —*istius* for *ejustius*, compare our *jedermann's*—or, which seems to me less probable, the *s* is a pure phonetic affix, adopted on account of the favourite combination of *s* with *t* (compare §§. 95. 190.).

344. In the same way that *iste* is compounded in Latin, so, also, in Sanscrit and Zend, the base *ta* combines with another pronoun prefixed to it, in fact, with *é*, and thus forms एत *éta*, "this," "that," Zend 𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀 *aêta* (§. 28.). The nominative singular is, in Sanscrit, एष *ésha*, एषा *éshâ*, एतत् *état*; in Zend 𐬀𐬉𐬰𐬌 *aêshô*, 𐬀𐬉𐬰𐬀 *aêsha*, 𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬌 *aêtaṭ*. In Greek *αὐτός* is a similar compound, the first syllable of which, *αὐ*, will subsequently be remarked upon. This *αὐτός* is again combined with the article as a prefix to it, and forms *οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο*, for *ὁ-αυ-τος, ἡ-αυ-τη, το-αυ-το*. There are several ways in which *οὗτος, τοῦτο* may be supposed to have arisen; in the first place as *h'-oûτος, τ'-oûτο*, by suppressing the vowel of the article and weakening the *α* of the diphthong *αυ* to *ο*, both changes being made to prevent the whole word from being too ponderous, for *α* is the heaviest of the three representatives of the Indian अ *a* (*α, ε, ο*); and for this reason *αυ* appears to be especially the representative of the Vṛiddhi diphthong औ *áu*,* while for ओ *ô* = *a* + *u*, is

* See Vocalismus, Rem. 2. p. 193, &c.

found either *ευ* or *ου*. In the feminine form *αὕτη*, if we distribute it thus, *h'-αύτη*, the diphthong remains unweakened, as in *ταὐτό*. But *αὕτη* may also be derived from *'ᾱ-ύτη*, and the loss of the first element of the diphthong may be assumed; the gender would then be expressed in both members of the compound, and a better distinction would be made from the masculine and neuter base *τοῦτο*. But if, as appears to me preferable, we make the latter accord with the explanation, which has just been given of the feminine form, the *ο* of *ου* will then be ascribed to the article, and we shall likewise assume that the *α* of *αυ* is dropped; thus, *ὁ-ῦτος, το-ῦτο*. Max. Schmidt (*De Pronomine Gr. et Lat.* p. 38) sees in *οὗτος* only the article compounded with itself, and assumes that *υ* is inserted; thus *οὗτος* for *ὅτος*, *αὕτη* for *ἅτη*. He adduces, in support of his view, *ὁσοῦτος, τοιοῦτος, τηλικοῦτος*, which he supposes to have admitted a similar insertion. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that these forms do not contain the simple base of the article TO as the last element of their composition, but 'AΥTO; for why should not this pronoun, though itself already a compound, admit, just as well as the article, of being combined with words preceding it? I do not agree with Max. Schmidt in explaining the adverbs *ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν*, for *ἐνθαῦθα, ενθεῦθεν*, Ionic *ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν*, by the simple duplication of the suffixes *θα, θεν*, but I consider them to be compounded of two adverbs of similar formation. Though *αὖθα, αὖθεν*, from the pronominal base 'AΥ, of which more hereafter, have not been retained in use by themselves, still I look upon *ἐνταῦθα* as the combination of *ἐνθ'* + *αὖθα*, and *ἐντεῦθεν* as that of *ἔνθεν* + *αὖθεν*. In order to avoid the concurrence of two breathings in the two syllables which meet one another, the breathing of the former syllable is suppressed, or, as in the Ionic dialect, that of the latter is dropped. It may remain a question, whether the *ε* of *εὖθεν* is the thin sound of the *α* of *αὖθεν*, in which case the preceding adverb has lost

not only its *ν*, but its *ε* also, or whether *αὐθεν* has been weakened by the loss of its *α*. In the latter case *ἐνταῦθα* may be divided into *ἐντα-ῦθα*. It is at least more natural to suppose the combination of two adverbs, and the weakening of the latter, on account of the ponderous nature of the compound, than to assume the mere doubling of the formative suffix and the insertion of a redundant *ν*, for neither part of this assumption can be supported by analogous phenomena elsewhere.

345. In the nominative singular masculine and feminine the Sanscrit substitutes—and in this the Gothic remarkably coincides with it—for the T sound of the pronoun under discussion an *s*, which in Zend, according to §. 53., becomes *h*, and in Greek the rough breathing, hence Sanscrit स, *sâ*. *tat*, Gothic *sa*, *sô*, *thata*, Zend *hô*, *hâ*, *taṭ*, Greek *ὁ*, *ἁ*, *το*. The Old Latin has introduced into the accusative this originally purely subjective pronominal base: *sum* for *eum*, and *sam* for *eam*, also *sapsa* as nominative for *sa-ipsa*.*

As this *s* is excluded from the neuter, we have found in it (§. 134) a satisfactory explanation of the nominative sign, the *s* of which is likewise foreign to the neuter. A remnant of the old *s* of the base is still preserved by the Greek in the adverbs *σήμερον* and *σῆτες*, though as these compounds express an accusative relation, not that of a nominative, they accord with the use of the Sanscrit language less than the Attic forms *τήμερον*, *τῆτες*, as त *ta* is the general theme, but स *sa* only that of the nominative. The first member of the said compounds occurs in the primary form or theme, the final *ο* of which (= अ *a*) has been changed into *ε*, having been melted down with the following *ε* and *η*; thus *τῆτες*, *σῆτες* from *τε-ετες*, *σε-ετες* for *το-ετες*, *σο-ετες*; *τήμερον*, *σήμερον* from *τε-ημερον*, *σε-ημερον*

* Accusative plural *soe*, cf. Max. Schmidt "De Pronomine Gr. et Lat." pp. 11, 12.

for *το-ημερον, σο-ημερον*. These adverbs correspond to the Sanscrit adverbial compounds (*Avyayî-bhâva*), which contain a substantive, assuming an accusative neuter form as their last member; *e.g.* यथाश्रद्धम् *yathâ-shraddham*, "according to troth," from श्रद्धा *shraddhâ*, feminine "troth."

346. The Greek falls into an abuse, in extending the substitution of the rough breathing for the T sound also to the nominative plural, as in *οἱ, αἱ*, while the cognate languages preserve the Doric-epic forms *τοί, ταί* as the original: Sanscrit ते *té*, तास् *tâs*, Zend 𐬙𐬉 *tê*, 𐬙𐬁𐬎 *tâo*, Gothic *thai*, *thôs* (compare §. 228.).

347. With reference to the masculine nominative singular, we have, moreover, to remark the remarkable coincidence of the Greek, Gothic, and Sanscrit in retaining the case-sign, so that *ὁ* for *ὁς* corresponds to the Sanscrit-Gothic *sa* for *sas*. The latter appears analogous to the interrogative *hvas*, "who?" in Gothic (§. 135.). In Sanscrit, however, the suppression of the case-sign is not quite universal; for before a stop we find सः *saḥ* euphonic for *sas* (§. 22. and Gramm. Crit. §. 75. *a.*); and before words beginning with *a* सो *sô*, according to a general principle of sound from *sas*, by melting down the *s* to *u*, and regularly contracting the *a* + *u* to *ô* (§. 2.). On the form *sô* is based the Zend 𐬵𐬋 *hô*, the *ô* of which is retained; so that 𐬵𐬀 *ha* which might be expected for स *sa*, does not occur. Although, then, 𐬵𐬋 *hô* is strikingly similar to the Greek *ὁ*, still the relationship of the two forms cannot be looked for in the *o*-sound, as the Greek *ὁ* rests on the suppression of the case-sign and usual substitution of *o* for अ *a* (§. 4.), while the Zend *hô* is to be referred to the existence of a case-sign (*u* for *s*), and its contraction with the *a* of the base to *ô*.

348. The reason why this pronoun gladly dispenses with the usual nominative sign *s* may be, partly, because the said case-sign has itself proceeded from the base *sa*,

and that *sa* does not admit of being re-combined with itself; and, partly—and this perhaps is the surer ground—that the pronouns, in general, are so strongly and vividly personified by themselves, that they are not in need of a very energetic and animated sign of personality; for which reason, although अहम् *aham* "I," त्वम् *tvam*, "thou," अयम् *ayam*, "this," स्वयम् *svayam*, "self," have a termination, it is not that of the usual nominative, but they appear as neuters in the more objective or accusative garb; while असौ *asâu*, m. f. "that," if its final diphthong is combined with the *u* of the oblique case अमु *amu* (compare §. 156.), is completely devoid of termination, and merely adopts the Vṛiddhi augment of the final vowel of the base.* The Latin obeys the same principle in the pronouns *hi-c*, *ille*, *iste*, *ipse*, which are deprived of the nominative sign, and for which we might have expected *his-c* (compare *hun-c* from *hu-mc*), *illus*, *istus*, and *ipsus*, which latter actually occurs; and in the same language the relative *qui* is distinguished from the more energetic interrogative *quis* by the absence of the nominative sign. In agreement with this principle stands also the circumstance, that in Sanscrit the masculine pronominal bases in *a*, in the plural nominative have not, like other words, *as* for their termination, but, in like manner, suppress the case suffix, and extend the *a* of the base to ए *ê*, by the admixture of a purely phonetic *i*; hence ते *tê*, from which the dative and ablative *tê-bhyas*, genitive *tê-shâm*, locative *tê-shu*. It has been before pointed out (§. 228.) what relation the cognate languages bear to Sanscṛit in this respect. And it may be observed, further, that the pronouns of the first and second person do not admit, in the plural, the termination *as*, but

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* The belief in this actually being the case is supported by the Pali, in which the form *asu*, without Vṛiddhi, corresponds to the Sanscrit *asâu*.

employ वयम् *vay-am*, यूयम् *yû-y-am*, with a neuter singular form, and in the Vêda dialect अस्मे *asmê*, युष्मे *yushmê*, after the usage of pronouns of the third person. The Greek forms ἄμμες, ὔμμες, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς appear, therefore, so much the more to be a more recent adaptation to the ordinary mode of formation; and what (§§. 335. 337.) has been said regarding the *s* of the Lithuanian *més*, *yûs*, the Gothic *veis*, *yus*, and the Latin *nos*, *vos* obtains additional confirmation from the present remark. The pronominal base अमु *amu*, "that," also avoids, in the masculine, the nominative-termination *as*, and forms *amî*, *illi*, which serves as a theme to the oblique plural cases, with the exception of the accusative; hence अमीभिस् *amî-bhis*, अमीभ्यस् *amî-bhyas*, अमीषाम् *amî-shâm*, अमीषु *amî-shu*. These forms confirm the opinion that the nominative *tê* also, and the like, are void of inflexion.

349. We here give a general view of the entire declension of the pronoun under discussion. From the Latin we adduce the compound *is-te*, as the simple form does not occur. The Zend forms in brackets I have not met with, but have formed them according to the analogy of the compound 𐬀𐬞𐬀 *aê-ta*, and other pronouns of the third person, with which we may suppose the base 𐬞𐬀 *ta* to have originally agreed in inflexion. Observe, also, the occasional weakening of the *t* to *d*, mentioned in §. 343. Those cases of the Lithuanian and Sclavonic to which * is prefixed, etymologically do not belong to this place, but to the compound त *tya*, mentioned in §. 353.

SINGULAR.

MASCULINE.

	Sanscrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Gothic.*	*Lith.*	*Old Sclav.*
N.	*sa, sah, sô,*	*hô,*	*ó,*	*is-TE,*	*sa,*	*tas,*	*tъ.*
Ac.	*tam,*	*tĕm,*	*τόν,*	*is-TUM,*	*thana,*	*tañ,*	*tъ.*
I.	*têna,*	*(tâ),*		.....	....	*tû, tûmi,*	**tyem.*

SINGULAR.

MASCULINE.

Sanscrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Gothic.*	*Lith.*	*Old Scl.*
D. *tasmâi*,[1]	(*tahmâi*),[1]	*τῷ*,	*is-TĪ*,[2]	*thamma*,[3]	*tam*,[4]	*tomû*.[5]
Ab. *tasmât*,	(*tahmât*),	. . .	*is-TO(D)*,	. . . .	. . . .	. . .
G. *tasya*,	(*tahê*),[6]	*τοῖο*,[7]	*is-TĪUS*,[7]	*this*,	*to*,	*togo*.[8]
L. *tasmin*,[9]	(*tahmi*),[9]	. . .	*tamen*?[10]	. . . .	*tamè*,[11]	*tom*.[12]

NEUTER.

N. Ac. *tat*,[13]	*tat*,[13]	*τό*,[13]	*isTUD*,[13]	*thata*,[14]	*tai*,[15]	*to*.[16]

The rest like the Masculine.

FEMININE.

N. *sâ*,	*hâ*,	*ἅ, ἡ*,	*is-TA*,	*sô*,	*tà*,	*ta*.
Ac. *tâm*,	(*tanm*),	*τάν, τήν*,	*is-TAM*,	*thô*,	*tań*,	*tû*.[17]
I. *tayâ*,	(*tahmya*),[18]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	*tà*,	*toyû*.
D. *tasyâi*,[19]	(*tanhâi*),[20]	*τᾷ, τῇ*,	*is-TĪ*,	*thizai*,[21]	*tai*,	*toĭ*,
Ab. *tasyâs*,[19]	(*tanhât*),[20]	. . . .	*is-TA(D)*,	. . . .	. . .	. . .
G. *tasyâs*,[19]	(*tanhâo*),[20]	*τᾶς, τῆς*,	*is-TĪUS*,[22]	*thizôs*,[19]	*tôs*,	*toya*.[23]
L. *tasyâm*,[19]	(*tahmya*),[24]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	*toye*,[25]	*toĭ*.

[1] See §. 166. [2] *Isti*, and similar pronominal forms, differ from the common second declension, to which they belong, in this particular, that they preserve the case-termination in preference to the final vowel of the base; thus, *isti* for *istoi*, opposed to *lupo* for *lupoi*. [3] Regarding *mm*, from *sm*, see §. 170., and with reference to the termination §. 356. Rem. 3. [4] §. 176. [5] §. 267. *sub finem*. [6] We might, also, expect 𐬞𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬵𐬀 *tanhé* and 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬵𐬀 *tainhé*, according to the analogy of 𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬵𐬀 *anhé*, which often occurs as well as *ahé* (from the base *a*), and 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬵𐬀 *ainhé*, and similar forms (§§. 41. and 56. *a*.). [7] §. 189. [8] §. 269. [9] §. 120. [10] §. 343. [11] §§. 176. 197. [12] The *m* comes from the appended pronoun *sma* (comp. §. 267. end): in the instrumental *tyem*, on the contrary, it belongs to the case-sign (§. 266.). [13] §§. 155. 156. [14] §. 155. and 281. [15] §. 157. [16] The Sclavonic *to*, and similar pronominal neuters, are to be explained, like the Greek, through the suppression of a *T*-sound; while substantive and adjective forms in *o*—with the exception of those from bases in *s* (as *nebo* from *NEBES*)—have lost a final nasal, which the Greek retains, both

according to the euphonic law in §. 255. *l.* [17] §. 266. [18] §. 171. [19] §. 172. [20] §. 172. Note *. [21] §. 356. Rem. 3. [22] If we assume that the termination *yus*, peculiar to the pronouns, which in §. 189. is considered as the transposed form of the Sanscrit termination *sya*, belonged originally to the feminine, and from that gender has been unorganically transferred to the others, then (*is*)*tîus*—from (*is*)*ti-yus*, for (*is*)*ta-yus*—would agree tolerably well with the Sanscrit *tasyâs*, with the loss of the *s* preceding *y*—in this resembling the Sclavonic *taya* for *tasya*, §. 271., and shortening the last *â* but one; after which from the short *a*, as is so frequently done before a final *s*, an unorganic *u* is formed. [23] From *tosyas*, §. 271. [24] §. 202. [25] §. 268. Rem. *

DUAL.

MASCULINE.

	Sanscrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Lith.*	*Old Sclav.*
N. Ac.	*tâu, tâ,*[1]	(*tâo, tâ*),	τώ,	*tû,*	*ta.*
I. D. Ab.	*tâbhyâm,*	(*taêibya*),	D. τοῖν,[2]	D. **tiem,*[3]	I. D. **tyema.*[4]
G. L.	*tayôs,*	(*tayô*),[5]	G. τοῖν,	G. *tû,*	*toyû.*[6]

NEUTER.

N. Ac.	*tê,*[7]	(*tê*),	τώ,	....	*tye,*[8]

The rest like the Masculine.

FEMININE.

N. Ac.	*tê,*[9]	(*tê*),	τᾶ,	*tie,*	*tye.*[8]
I. D. Ab.	*tâbyâm,*	(*tâbya*),	D. ταῖν,	*tom,*[3]	**tyema.*[4]
G. L.	*tayôs,*	....	G. ταῖν,	G. *tû,*	*toyû.*

[1] Vêda form, see §. 208. [2] §. 221. [3] §. 215. [4] §. 273., where, however, the reason for the *ye*, instead of the to be anticipated *o*, was incorrectly assigned. The truth is, *obyema* is founded on the Sanscrit base उभय *ubhaya*, nom. *ubhayam*, "both"; and with regard to the designation of the number two, we must observe, that the Lithuanian, also, forms some cases from an extended theme in *ia*, euphonic *ie*; viz. the gen. *dwiey-û*, and the dative *dwie-m*; the former, with regard to its *y* before the case-termination, agrees with the Sclavonic *dvoy-ú* and Sanscrit *dvay-ôs* (§. 273. Note *); the theme of both cases is *dwie*, from *dwia*, and is founded, in my opinion, on the Sanscrit द्वय *dvaya*, "a pair," with the suppression of the *a* preceding the *y*. On this, then, is based, also, the Sclavonic

tyem, as also *tyem*, on the compound pronominal base त्य *tya* (§. 353.).

[5] §. 254. Rem. 1. [6] §. 273. Note *. [7] §. 212. [8] §. 213.
[9] §. 213.

PLURAL.

MASCULINE.

Sanscrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Lith.	Old Sclav.
tê,[1]	*tê*,[1]	τοί, οἱ,[1]	*is-TĪ*,[1]	*thai*,[1]	**tie*,[1]	*ti*.[1]
tân,	(*tanî*),[2]	τούς,	*is-TŌS*,	*thans*,	*tus*, *tûs*,	*ty*.[3]
tâis,[4]	(*tâis*),	....	....	....	*tais*,[4]	**tyemi*
têbhyas,	*taêibyô*,	s. Loc.	*is-TĪS*,[5]	*thaim*,[6]	**tiem(u)s*,[7]	**tyem*
têshâm,[9]	(*taêshaṅm*),[10]	τῶν,	*is-TŌRUM*,[9]	*thizê*,[8]	*tû*,	*tyekh*,[1]
têshu,	(*taêshva*),	D. τοῖσι,	....	....	*tûse*,	*tyekh*.[1]

NEUTER.

tâni, *tâ*,[11] *tâ*,[12]		τά,[12]	*is-TA*,[12]	*thô*,[12]	....	*ta*.[13]

The rest like the Masculine.

FEMININE.

tâs,	(*tâo*),	ταί, αἱ,[1]	*is-TAE*,[1]	*thôs*,	*tos*,	*ty*.[15]
tâs,	(*tâo*),	τάς,	*is-TĀS*,	*thôs*,	*tas*,	*ty*.[15]
tâbhis,	(*tâbîs*),	....	....	....	*tomis*,	**tyem*
tâbhyas,	(*tâbyô*),	s. L.	*is-TĪS*,	*thaim*,[16]	*tom(u)s*,[7]	**tyem*
tâsâm,[9]	(*tâṅhaṅm*),[17]	τάων, τῶν,	*is-TĀRUM*,[9]	*thizô*,[9]	*tû*,	*tyekh*.[1]
tâsu,	*tâhoa*,	D. ταῖσι,	....	....	*tosa*,	*tyekh*.[1]

[1] §§. 228. 348. Regarding the Lithuanian *tie* see, also, §. 235. Note * and for the Sclavonic *ti* §. 274. [2] §. 239. [3] §. 275. [4] §. 219. The surprising agreement between the Sanscrit तैस् *tâis* and Lithuanian *tais* is so far fortuitous, as that the Sanscrit has rejected its *bh* and the Lithuanian the *m* derived from *b*, independently of each other. The Sclavonic *tyemi*, from *tyemis* (§. 277.), points to a Lithuanian *ta-mis*, and is analogous to the Vêda forms like अश्वेभिस् *aśvêbhis*, mentioned in §. 219., and to the common pronominal-instrumental एभिस् *ê-bhis*, "through this," from the base अ *a*. It is, however, doubtful whether the *ye* of *tyemi* is founded on the corruption of the Sanscrit ए *ê* of a Vêda form which may be supposed to have existed, *têbhis*, according to §. 255. *e*., or whether, as I am more inclined to think, this case, like several others, belongs to the compound base त्य *tya*, to which, also, is to be assigned the

singular instrumental *tyem*, as from the base *to* only *tom* could proceed, according to the analogy of *rabom*, from the base *rabo*. On the other hand, the locative *tyekh* is not to be referred here, as all *o* bases in this case have *ye* corresponding to the Sanscrit *é*; as, *rabyekh*, from the theme *rabo*. Concurrent forms are wanting in the common declension for *tyekh*; it answers, however, to तेषाम् *têshâm*, just as the locative of similar sound does to तेषु *têshu*; and for it also, therefore, we do not have recourse to the pronoun compounded with य *ya*, however natural it might appear from the point of view of the Grammar, which is limited to the Sclavonic alone, that all the *ye*, which occur in this pronoun, are of the same origin. [5] From *istibus* for *istolıus*, see §. 244. [6] §§. 215. and 288. Rem. 4. [7] §§. 215. and 235. Note *. [8] §. 276. [9] §. 248. [10] Comp. 𐬀𐬞𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌 *aêshaṅm*, "*horum*," from the base *a*, Vend. S. p. 230, and elsewhere (erroneously 𐬱 *s* for *sh*, see §§. 51. 52.). [11] §. 284. Rem. 6. [12] §. 234. Note †. [13] §. 231. [14] §. 274. [15] §. 271. [16] This has found its way from the other genders into the feminine, where we should expect *thôm*, while in the masculine and neuter the *ai* has its ancient fixed position (§. 288. Rem. 4.). In Sclavonic, all oblique plural cases are borrowed from the masculine, hence *tyemi*, *tyem*, *tyekh*, for *tyami*, *tyam*, *tyakh*, or *tami*, *tam*, *takh*. [17] Compare the often-occurring 𐬀𐬎𐬹𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬌 *âonhaiṁ*, "*harum*" (§. 56[h].), Sanscrit *âsâm*, from the base *â*. Polysyllabic bases in Zend shorten the feminine *â* in the genitive plural; hence, not *aêtâonhaṅm*, but 𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌 *aêtaṇhaṅm* (according to §. 56[a].) answers to the Sanscrit *êtâsâm*.

350. The weakening of the *t* to *d*, mentioned in §. 343., which occasionally enters into the pronominal base *tá*, coincides with that which takes place in Greek in the appended particle δέ, which, when isolated, is used as a conjunction, and to which no more suitable origin can be assigned than the pronominal base TO. The weakening of the vowel *o* to ε resembles that which occurs in the uninflected vocative of bases in *o* (§. 204.), as also in the equally uninflected accusatives μέ, σέ, ἕ, (§. 326.) The descent of the tenuis to the medial occurs also in Sanscrit, in the isolated neuter form *i-dam*, "this" and *a-das*, "that," inasmuch as, in my opinion, this is the proper distribution* which with

* Cf. Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 13.

reference to *i-dam* is supported, also, by the Latin *i-dem*, *qui-dam*. In Sanscrit इदम् *i-dam* and अदस् *a-das* are limited to the nominative and accusative neuter, which are the same in sound, and are deficient in the formation of the other cases, which originally may have belonged to them, as the Greek δε has still left behind it, in Homer, the plural-dative δεσσι, δεσι (τοῖςδεσσι, τοῖςδεσι), which, according to what was said in §. 253. Rem., regarding the dative in εσ-σι, sounds very homogenous to the Sanscrit neuter *das*, probably a weakened form of *dat*. As to the proof of the relation of the idea of the conjunction δέ to that of our pronoun, it is sufficient to remark, generally, that all genuine conjunctions in the Indo-European family of languages, as far as their origin can be traced, are derived from pronouns, the meaning of which frequently lies more or less obscured. Those from μέν and δέ are contrasted with one another like "this" and "that," or "the other;" and the connection of our German *aber*, Old High German *afar*, with the Indian अपर *apara-s*, "the other," has been already shewn elsewhere,* and in the same manner the Gothic *ith*, "but," of which more hereafter, is of pronominal origin, just as the Latin *au-tem*.

351. A descent from the tenuis to the medial, similar to that which we have observed in the Greek δέ, and in δεῖνα, which will be discussed hereafter, is exhibited in Latin in the adverbs *dum*, *demum*, *donec*, *denique*, which all, with more or less certainty, belong to our demonstrative base. Perhaps *dudum*, also, is to be referred to this class, and is to be regarded as the doubling of the base *du* for *tu*, *to*, as *totus*, which has retained the old tenuis. In Sanscrit, the doubling of pronouns, in which both are nevertheless declined, expresses multiplicity; *yó yas* signifies "whoever," "*quicunque*," and *yaṅ yam*,

* Vocalismus, p. 155.

"*quemcunque*," &c., and *sa sah*, *tan tam*, &c. answers to them. *Totus* is properly "this and this," "the one and the other half," hence the whole. The case is the same with *quisquis*. In *dudum*, "long ago," the notion of multiplicity is equally clear; and for this reason I prefer viewing it as the combination of two similar elements rather than as *diu* and *dum*. The same relation, in a phonetic respect, that *dudum* has to *totus*, *dum* has to *tum*, which latter has been marked above (§. 343.) as the accusative. The circumstance, that in these pronominal adverbs the accusative inflexion does not stand in its customary sense, ought not to divert us from this mode of derivation; for in adverbs the case-inflexions very frequently overstep their ordinary signification. Notwithstanding, it cannot be denied that, in all pronominal adverbs of this kind, or at least in some of them, the *m* might also belong to the appended pronoun *sma*, which is so widely diffused in Sanscrit and its kindred languages, and has been conjectured to exist in *ta-men* as analogous to the Sanscrit locative *tasmin*, and in *immo* by assimilation from *ismo*.* According to this mode of explanation, in the Latin forms *dum*, *tum*, *tam*, *quam*, &c., there would be exactly as much left of the appended pronoun, and the case-terminations combined with it, as in our German datives, as *dem*, *wem*, and the Sclavonic locatives, as *tom*. The locative would be very suitable for *dum*, "since," "while," (in which time), and *tum* in the meaning "then," and consequently *du-m* and *tu-m* would be = Sanscrit तस्मिन् *ta-smin*, Old Sclavonic *tom*. For the meaning, "hereupon," which in Sanscrit is expressed by ततस् *tatas*, (literally "from there"), it might be better to refer to the ablative तस्मात् *ta-smât*, for it is not necessary that *tum*, in all its meanings, should belong to one and the

* In the author's Essay on Demonstrativ stämme, p. 21.

same case-form, as the *m* approaches very closely to the terminations स्मै *smâi*, स्मात् *smât*, and स्मिन् *smin*.

352. *Dēmum*, considered as a demonstrative form, agrees exceedingly well, apart from the weakening of the consonants, with the Greek τῆμος, with respect to which the obsolete form *dēmus* is to be remarked. In τῆμος, however, to which the relative ἧμος corresponds, there is no necessity to follow Buttmann in regarding the latter portion of it as the substantive ἦμαρ, notwithstanding the apparent inducement for so doing contained in αὐτῆμαρ; but I prefer dividing thus, τῆ-μος, ἧ-μος, and I consider τη, ἡ, to be merely the lengthening of the base TO, as according to §§. 3. 4., ο = अ *a*, and η = आ *â*. Thus this η coincides with the cognate Sanscrit *â*, in several pronominal derivations, with the base-vowel lengthened, as यावत् *yâ-vat*, "how much," "how long," "while," &c., and with the word answering to it, तावत् *tâ-vat*. Nay, we might not perhaps venture too far if we were to recognise in μος a corruption of वत् *vat*, the *v* being hardened to μ, as we perceive happens among other words in δρέμω = द्रवामि *dravâmi*, "I run," (p. 114), the τ being changed to ς, which is necessary at the end of words if the T sound is not to be entirely dropped, modifications which have aided us in explaining several forms of importance in Grammar (§§. 152. 183.). In *dēmum*, *dēmus*, however, the demonstrative force is not so clearly perceptible as in the cognate Greek expression, and it lies concealed under the usual translation, "then first," or "at last," which does not affect the general sense of the sentence. Still *nunc demum venis?* means, properly, "now comest thou at this (so late a time)?" The time is doubly denoted; and in this lies the emphasis, first by *nunc*, from the pronominal base *nu*, and next by *demum*. In such adverbs, however, of place and time, it is not required to express the place and time formally, and this is done very rarely. In general, the mind has to understand these categories in the

interior, as it were, of the verbal form. It is the property of the pronouns that they convey the secondary notion of space, which then admits of being transferred to time. Thus our *wo*, "where," has reference to place; *wann*, "when," to time; *da*, "then" or "there," to both; but the pronominal idea alone is formally represented in all three. When it is required to denote adverbially absolutely definite divisions of time, a pronoun is naturally combined with the designation of time in question, as in *hodie*, *σήμερον*, and *heute*, "to-day," (Old High German, *hiutu*, §. 162.). But if, in these expressions, one of the ideas combined in them were to lose its formal designation, that of time would most easily be dispensed with; the important matter being "on this" and not "on that (day);" and the language therefore adheres more tenaciously to the pronominal element than to that of time, which is very faintly seen in our *heute*, and even in the Old High German *hiutu*. Hence I cannot believe that the adverbs *dum*, *demum*, *donec*, *denique*, are connected with the term for "day" (§. 122.), which is common to the Latin and the Sanscrit, to which Hartung (Gr. Particles, I. 230), besides the forms which have been mentioned, refers, among others, *yam* and the Gothic *yu*, "now," "already," and *yuthan*, "already," as also the appended *dam* in *qui-dam*, regarding which see above (§. 350.). In the first place, in the *dam* of *quon-dam*, and in the *dem* of *tan-dem*, we might admit the term denoting "day" without being compelled, from the reason given above, to this explanation, still less to the inference that *qui-dam*, *qui-dem*, and *i-dem*, also have arisen in this manner. If *quondam* contains the name of "day," then its *dam* approaches most nearly to the Sanscrit accusative द्याम् *dyâm* from द्यो *dyô*, "heaven," which, like other appellations of heaven, may also have signified "day," as a shoot from the root दिव् *div*, "to shine," (§. 122.). With this accusative द्याम् *dyâm*, agrees,

also, the Greek δήν, "long," if, as Hartung conjectures, it is taken from an appellation of "day," like the Latin *diu* (Sanscrit द्यु *dyu*, "day.")* On the other hand, I prefer referring the particle δή to our demonstrative base, the significant and animating force of which is evinced clearly enough in the way in which it is used. We return to the Latin *dōnec*—the more complete form of which, *dōnicum*,† has been already, in another place, divided into *do-nicum*—since I see in it a connection, in formation and base, with the Greek τηνίκα. "So long as is the time in which," or "in which time," "how long a time," and *do* here represents the pronominal idea, and *nec*, *nicum*, that of time, as it also actually expresses, which will be shewn hereafter, a division

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* Perhaps we should also class under this head ἡμέρα, and divide it into ἡ-μέρα, considering it as "day-time." The first member of the compound would have lost the *T* sound of the Sanscrit base द्यु *dyâ*, as, in §. 122., we have seen *Yu* proceed from *Dyu*, and the rough breathing would, as frequently happens in Greek—*e. g.* in ἧπαρ, answering to *jecur* and यकृत् *yakrit*—supply the place of the *y*. As regards the second portion of ἡ-μέρα, we might easily suppose it connected with μέρος. If this idea be well founded, then ἡ-μέρα would mean "day's-side" or "light-side" (of time). But μερα admits, also, of comparison with a word which, in Sanscrit, means time in general and day of the week; for by assuming the frequently-mentioned hardening of a *v* to *m* (cf. p. 425), and a shortening of the middle vowel, we arrive at the Sanscrit वार *vâra*, which has been before the subject of discussion (§. 309.), and with which, too, our *mal*, Gothic *mêl* (theme *mêla*), is connected. According to this view, ἡ-μέρα would, therefore, signify "day's-time," in which case an etymological connection between μερα and μέρος might still exist, inasmuch as μείρομαι, from the base ΜΑΡ (εἵμαρται), is probably connected with the Sanscrit base *var* (*vṛi*), "to cover" and "to choose"; whence *vara* (nominative *varam*), "the gift, lent by a god or a Brahman," "grace"; and whence is derived, also, *vâra*, "opportunity," "time," &c. For further particulars regarding the base वर् *var* (वृ *vṛi*) and its branches in the European cognate languages, see my Vocalismus, p. 166.

† Influence of the Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 12.

of time. In the Sanscrit यावत् *yâvat*, on the other hand, from the relative base *ya*, which signifies both "so long" and "until," the pronominal idea is alone represented; and we have hereby a fresh proof of the existence of a demonstrative element in *donec*, *donicum*. *Dēnique*, in like manner, with regard to its origin, appears to be related to τηνίκα, to which it bears a surprising resemblance, with *qu* for *k*, as in *quis*, *quid*, corresponding to कस् *kas*, किम् *kim*, κῶς, κοῖος, &c.

353. The pronominal base त *ta* is combined, in Sanscrit, with the relative base *ya*, for the formation of a new pronoun of similar signification, which belongs especially to the Vêda dialect, and, like many other Vêda words, has found more frequent use in the European cognate languages than in the common Sanscrit. The *a* of त *ta* is suppressed in this compound, hence त्य *tya*; and in the nominative of the personal genders, as in the simple त *ta*, the T sound is replaced by *s*; hence स्यस् *syas*, स्या *syâ*, त्यत् *tyat*; accusative त्यम् *tyam*, त्याम् *tyâm*, त्यत् *tyal*, &c. The base *sya*, which is limited to the nominative, with its feminine form *syâ*, possesses a complete declension in several cognate languages, and in the Sclavonic has found its way into the neuter also. The Gothic has adhered most closely to the Sanscrit, and does not permit this pronoun to extend beyond the singular nominative. Moreover, only the feminine form *si* remains; and one could wish that a masculine *syi-s*, for *sya-s*, (according to §. 135) occurred with it. Most of the forms, however, which express, in Gothic, the idea "he," and its feminine, have proceeded from the demonstrative base *i*, among which *si*, though, as it were, an alien, has found its place. This *si*, from the base *syô* = Sanscrit *syâ*, is an abbreviation of *sya*, according to the analogy of the substantive declension of like termination (Grimm's second strong declension), as *thivi* for *thiuya*, from the base *thiuyô*.

354. The Old High German *siu* is more exactly retained than the Gothic *si*. We will leave it undecided whether it should be written *syu*,* which has not entirely dropped the Sanscrit अ *á*, of स्या *syá*, but has first shortened it to *a*, and then weakened it to *u*.† *U*, however, in Old High German, is a favourite letter after *i* or *y* (Vocalismus, p. 246. Rem. 80.). The form *siu*, in Old High German, is not so isolated as *si* in Gothic; but from the base *siô* springs also an accusative *sia*, and in the plural the form *siu*, which is common to the nominative and accusative, and, in a Gothic dress, would be *syôs*, in Sanscrit स्यास् *syás*. Contrasted with the singular nominative *siu*, the accusative *sia* may appear remarkable, for in both cases similar forms might have been expected. The difference, however, consists in this, that the nominative form, at the oldest period to which we can arrive by the history of the language, terminated in a vowel without any case-sign whatever, while in the accusative the vowel of the base was protected by a nasal. This nasal, then, may have preserved the old quantity of *a*, just as, in Greek, a final *α* frequently occurs in places where a nasal was permitted to follow it by the old Grammar; while, where a short *a* sound is found originally unprotected, or accompanied by consonants not nasal, it is usually changed into *ε* or *ο*; hence *ἑπτα*, *ἐννέα* *δέκα*, answering to the Sanscrit *saptan*, *navan*, *daśan*, though from these likewise in the nominative and accusative, according to §§. 139. 313., *sapta*, &c.; *ἔδειξα* answering to अदिक्षम् *adikṣam*, *πόδα* to पदम् *padam*, but *ἔδειξε* to अदिक्षत् *adikṣat*, *λύκε!* to वृक *vṛika*, *ἐδείξατο* to अदिक्षत *adikṣata*.

355. While the Gothic article, like that in Greek, is to

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* See p. 367, Rem. 5.; and Vocalismus p. 234, Rem. 31.

† Respecting *u*, as lighter than *a* and heavier than *i*, see Vocalismus p. 227, Rem. 16.

be referred to the bases discussed in §. 343., स *sa*, सा *sâ*, त *ta*, ता *tâ*, the High German, as has been before remarked (§. 288. Rem. 5.), attaches itself chiefly to the compound त्य *tya*, fem. *tyâ*, and introduces this into the nominative also; hence, in the feminine, *diu* (or perhaps *dyu*), as above *siu*, accusative *dia*, answering to the Sanscrit त्याम् *tyâm*, and in the nominative and accusative plural *dio* = *tyâs*. With regard to the masculine, compare, with the Sanscrit nominative त्ये *tyê*, the form *die*, which in High German has found its way also into the accusative, which in this language is everywhere the same as the nominative. In the neuter, *diu* agrees with similar Old High German forms, from substantive bases in *ia*, as *khunniu*. In the masculine singular, and in those cases of the neuter which are the same as the masculine, the compound nature of our pronominal base is less palpable; and taking it as our starting point, or restricting our views to it, we should have classed the forms *dër*, *dës*, *dëmu*, *dën*, not under *tya*, but, like the Gothic forms of kindred signification, under the simple base त *ta*. But if *dër*, *dën*, be compared with the corresponding feminine cases *diu*, *dia*, and with the masculine plural *die*, without the supposition—which is refuted by the Sanscrit, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic—that in the latter word a redundant *i* is inserted, which never occurs in other parts of the Old High German Grammar,* then the assumption becomes necessary that *dër*, *dës*, *dëmu*, *dën*, have had their origin from older forms, as *dyar*, *dyas* (= त्यस् *tyas*, त्यस्य *tyasya*), so that, as very frequently happens in Gothic (§. 72.), in the syllable *ya* the *a* is dropped, and the *y* changed into a vowel; just as, above, we have seen *si* and *thivi* spring from *sya* and *thiuya*. The Old High German, however, very commonly employs *ë* for the Gothic *i*.

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* See Vocalismus, p. 247.

356. The distribution of forms with *ë* and *i* (or *y*) and a following vowel is not fortuitous, but rests on an historical basis, so that the contraction to *ë* occurs universally where the Sanscrit has a short *a* after य् *y*;* but the more full form is found only when a long *â*, or the diphthong *ê*, accompanies the Indian semivowel, though this circumstance does not, in every case, ensure the more complete form in Old High German; for in the genitive plural we find *dërô* (masculine, feminine, and neuter), notwithstanding the Indian त्येषाम् *tyêshâm* in the masculine and neuter, and त्यासाम् *tyâsâm* in the feminine; and in the dative, together with *diêm*—according to Notker, *dien*—occurs, also, *dêm* or *dên*, and this, too, in most authorities. The neuter instrumental *diu* is based on the instrumental [illegible] *thyâ*,† which may be supposed to exist in Zend, and where, therefore, we have, in like manner, the *i* or *y* retained with original long vowels following that letter. Compare

MASCULINE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	Sanscrit.	*Old H. G.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Old H. G.*
Nominative,	*syas,*	*dër,*	*tyê,*	*die.*
Accusative,	*tyam,*	*dën,*	*tyân,*	*die.*
Dative,	*tyasmâi,*	*dëmu,*	*tyêbhyas,*	*diêm.*
Genitive,	*tyasya,*	*dës,*	*tyêshâm,*	*dëro.*

NEUTER.

Nom. Acc.	*tyat,*	*daz,*	*tyâni, tyâ*[1],	*diu.*
Instrumental,	*tyêna, thyâ*[2],	*diu,*	*tyêbhis,*	. . .

The rest like the masculine.

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* Respecting the neuter *daz*, see §. 356. Rem. 2.

† I cannot, however, quote this pronoun in Zend, except in the nominative plural masculine in combination with the relative, §. 62.

[1] The latter is the Vêda and Zend form, see §. 231. and §. 234. Note *.

[2] The latter the Zend form pre-supposed above.

FEMININE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	Sanscrit.	*Old H. G.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Old H. G.*
Nominative,	*syâ,*	*siu*[3], *diu,*	*tyâs,*	*dio.*
Accusative,	*tyâm,*	*dia,*	*tyâs,*	*dio.*
Dative,	*tyasyâi,*	*dëru,*	*tyâbhyas,*	*diêm.*
Genitive,	*tyasyâs,*	*dëra,*	*tyâsâm,*	*dëro.*

"Remark 1.—I differ from Grimm, whom, §. 288. Rem. 5., I have followed, as I here give *die,* not *diê,* and in the feminine plural *dio,* not *diô,* in the genitive plural *dëro,* and in the genitive and dative singular *dëra, dëru,* without a circumflex; since the circumstance that theory, and the history of language, would lead us to expect a long vowel, does not appear sufficient ground for the inference that the original long quantity, which has been retained in Gothic, was not shortened in the three centuries and a half which elapsed between Ulfilas and the oldest High German authorities. Where a long vowel is not shewn by Kero's doubling the vowel, or Notker's accenting it with a circumflex, which is not the case in the examples before us, we have there to assume that the vowel, in the course of centuries, has undergone a weakening change. To this, final vowels are, for the most part, subject; hence, also, the subjunctive present preserves the *ê,* which corresponds to the Sanscrit ए *ê* and Gothic *ai* only in persons in which the vowel is protected by a personal termination following it; but in the first and third persons singular, which have lost the personal signs, the organic length of quantity is also lost.*

"Remark 2.—It is very probable that the simple base

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[3] See §. 354.

* Grimm appears to have committed a mistake in referring, I. 723., to the third p. conj. for support of the supposed length of the *e* in the nominative plural, as at p. 868 he ascribes to it a short *e.*

ita, was, in Old High German, originally more fully declined, and that remains of that declension still exist. The neuter *daz* has the strongest claim to be viewed as such, which, contrary to §. 288. Rem. 5., I now prefer referring to the Sanscrit *tat*, rather than to *tyat*, as the syllable त्य *tya* has elsewhere, in Old High German, universally become *dë* (§. 271.). Perhaps, too, the *de* which occurs in the nominative plural masculine, together with *die* (Grimm. I. 791.), is not an abbreviation of the latter by the rejection of the *i*, but a remnant of the simple pronoun, and therefore akin to the Sanscrit ते *tê* and Gothic *thai*. On the other hand, in Old Sclavonic, in the declension of the simple pronoun given at §. 349., several remains of the compound त्य *tya* have become intermingled, which are there explained. But the forms *toĭ*, *toe*, *taya*, which occur in the nominative and accusative, together with *t'* (masculine), *to* (neuter), *ta* (feminine), though they contain the same elements as the Sanscrit त्य *tya*, त्या *tyâ*, were first formed in Sclavonic, in the sense of §. 284., otherwise they would not have restored the vowel of the first pronoun, which the Sanscrit has suppressed (§. 353.); thus, *ti* for *toĭ*, *te* or *tye* for *toe*, and *tya* for *taya* (compare §. 282.). The same is the case with the compound plural forms of the nominative and accusative; masculine *tiĭ*, neuter *taya*, feminine *tyya*.

"Remark 3.—In §. 160. I have made the assertion that the German dative is based on the old instrumental, as it often occurs with an instrumental signification. I was, however, particularly impelled to this view by the dative form of bases in *i*, as *gasta* from the theme *gasti*. But if we make the division *gast-a* and regard the *a* as the case-termination, there is nothing left us but to refer this form to the Indo-Zend instrumental. There is, however, a way of comparing this form with the Sanscrit dative, which I now prefer, as the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, which are so near akin to the German, have retained the dative,

together with the instrumental; and the Old High German has preserved a particular form for the instrumental, the generic difference of which from the dative is especially observable in the pronoun, in which *dëmu* answers to त्यस्मै *tyasmâi*; but the instrumental *diu*, and the Gothic *thê* (§. 159.), no more exhibit the appended pronoun *sma*, mentioned in §. 165. &c., than does the Sanscrit-Zend instrumental. *Diu* agrees best with the Zend *thyâ*, supposed above, and the Gothic *thê* with the simple *tâ*.* The form *dëmu*, and the Gothic *thamma*, compared with त्यस्मै *tyasmâi* and तस्मै *tasmâi*, have lost the *i* element of the Sanscrit diphthong ऐ *âi* (= *â* + *i*); and the long *â* has been shortened in Gothic, otherwise it would have been supplied by *ô* or *ê*.† The short Gothic *a* has, however, in Old High German been still further weakened to *u*. But to return to the Gothic *gasta* from the theme *gasti;* I do not now regard the final *a* of this word as a case-suffix, but as a Guna-vowel, after which the *i* of the base has been dropped, together with the case-character, while all bases in *u*, and feminine bases in *i*, have lost only the inflexion, and not a portion of the base with it. The same relation that *sunau* has to the dative सूनवे *sûnav-ê*, from *sûnu*—which in Sanscrit also receives the Guna—the feminine *anstai*, from the theme *ansti*, has to the Sanscrit *matay-ê*, from *mati*. The masculine *gasta*, however, has not only lost the inflexion of *gastay-ê*, as it must originally have been pronounced, but also the *y*, which ought to have reverted to *i*. In the *a* declension *vulfa* is readily made to accord with the Sanscrit वृकाय *vṛikâya*, and Zend 𐬬𐬆𐬵𐬎𐬐𐬁 *vĕhrkâi;* to the latter it bears the same relation that *thamma* above does to तस्मै *ta-smâi*. The feminine *gibai*, from the theme *gibô*, is as easily de-

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* The Sanscrit *tyê-n-a* has, according to §. 158., a euphonic *n* inserted, and the *a* of the base changed into *ê* by the blending of an *i*.

† The latter actually takes place in *hvammê-h*, *hvaryammê-h*.

rivable, in regard to form, from the dative जिह्वायै *jihvây-âi*, as from the instrumental जिह्वया *jihvay-â*. In both ways the inflexion has been lost, and the semivowel preceding it changed to a vowel. But if we are to believe that a genuine dative character is retained in German, we should find it in the declension of the pronouns, inasmuch as, for instance, the feminine form *zai*, in *thi-zai*, is directly derivable from the Sanscrit *syâi*, from *smy-âi*, by merely dropping the semivowel; so that *thizai* and तस्यै *tasyâi* stand historically near to one another, as we have represented in §. 172., where we expressed our belief that *ai*, in *thizai*, may be explained on the same principle as that of *gibai*; and thus *thizai* must be considered as an abbreviation of *thizay-ai*, and, therefore, as indeclinable. But if *thizai* stands for *thizy-ai*, and *âi* is, therefore, in this and similar pronominal forms, a remnant of the Sanscrit feminine dative termination *âi*, then the Gothic *ai* abovementioned is essentially distinguished from the similar termination in *gibai*, "*dono*," and *anstai*, "*gratiæ*," as these two, also, are diverse from one another, since the *i* of *anstai* belongs to the theme *ansti*, while an *i* is foreign to the theme of *gibai*, viz. *gibô*, and accompanies the base in the dative only: while in the corresponding class of words in Sanscrit it is added in several cases, after which is annexed the true inflexion, which is omitted in Gothic. But if the *ai* of *thizai* is identical with the Sanscrit ै *âi* of तस्यै *tasyâi*, then we cannot distribute the genitive *thizôs*, into *thiz-ôs*, and this must be considered as an abbreviation of *thi-zy-ôs* = तस्यास् *ta-sy-âs*; and we should have in this, and similar pronominal forms,* a feminine genitive termination *ôs*, while elsewhere in all genders the genitive sign consists in a mere *s*.

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* To these belong the (strong) adjectives combined with a pronoun.

357. It has been already remarked, that our *dieser* is a compound pronoun (§. 288. Rem. 5.), the first member of which is founded on the Sanscrit base त *tya*, and our article (§. 353.). It is not, however, requisite to assume that its *ie* presupposes an older *ia*, but it may be regarded, which now appears to me preferable, as the unorganic lengthening of the *di-sêr* of Notker. As regards the second part of this demonstrative, its declension might be assigned partly to the simple Sanscrit base स *sa*, partly to the compound *sya*; to the latter evidently belongs the feminine nominative *dësIU* (= स्या *syâ*, *diese*, "this,") and the neuter plural nominative of the same sound. But if the feminine accusative is *dësa*, not *dësia*, and the masculine *dësan*, not *dësian*, or *dësën*, according to the analogy of *dën* (p. 356), then, instead of regarding these and other analogous forms as remains of the simple base स *sa*, सा *sâ*, it may be assumed that the *i* (or *y*) has been dropped, as occurs in most cases of the declension of *hirti* (theme *hirtia* or *hirtya*); so that in the plural, *hirta*, *hirto*, *hirtem*, and in the dative singular *hirta*, answers to the Gothic *hyirdyôs*, *hairdyê*, *hairdyam*, *hairdya*. If this is, as I believe it is, the proper view of the declension of *dësêr*, the declensional difference between *dër* and *sêr* then lies in this, that it has been necessary to lighten the latter, owing to the incumbrance of the base of the article which is prefixed to it, and that, therefore, *i* is rejected; hence *dësa*, "*hanc*," but without the article *sia*, "*eam*." It is remarkable that the Lithuanian presents us with what appears to be the transposed form of our compound *dieser*. As such, at least, I regard the so-termed emphatic demonstrative *szittas*, in which the Sanscrit, subjective but compounded pronoun स्य *sya*, occupies the first place, and the objective and simple त *ta* the second. The first *t* of *szittas*, which I divide thus, *szit-tas*, is, in my opinion, a remnant of the neuter case-sign *t* (§. 155.), and presupposes a Sanscrit स्यत् *syat*, which

sya would form in the neuter, if it was used in that gender. It may be observed, that in Sanscrit, also, the neuter case-sign *t*, at the beginning of compounds, is drawn into the theme, and *tat-putras*, "his son," is used, not *ta-putras*.

358. The *sz* (= *sh*) in the Lithuanian *szis* and *szittas* is founded on the form assumed by the Sanscrit base in the Vêdas under certain circumstances (§. 55.), which change its *s* into ष् *sh*. For otherwise the Lithuanian *sz* does not agree with the Sanscrit स् *s*, but perhaps, under other conditions, with ष् *sh*, e.g. in *szeszi* = षष् *shash*, "six." With regard to the declension of *szis*, it is to be remarked, that it exhibits several cases, in which the *i* of the base *szia*, feminine *sziâ*, has been rejected, or which belong—and this view is the one I prefer—to the simple pronominal base स *sa*, feminine सा *sâ*, which completes the compound *szis*; as, p. 486, among the cases of the simple Sclavonic base *to*, we have seen remains of the compound त *tya*. We here annex the complete declension of the Lithuanian pronoun under discussion, accompanied by the kindred form in Old Sclavonic, regarding which reference may be made to Rem. 1.

SINGULAR.

	MASCULINE.		FEMININE.	
	Lithuanian.	*Old Sclav.*	*Lith.*	*Old Sclav.*
Nominative,	*szis,*	*sy*̀,	*szi,*[1]	*si.*[1]
Accusative,	*szin̂,*	*sy*̀,	*szen̂,*	**siyû.*
Instrumental,	**szů, szům,*	*sim,*	*szè,*	*seyû.*
Dative,	*sziam,*	*semû,*	*sziei,*	*seĭ.*
Genitive,	*szio,*	*sego,*	*sziós,*	*seya.*
Locative,	*sziamè, szemè,*	*sem,*	*sziuye,*	*seĭ.*

[1] The agreement with the Gothic *si* (§. 353.), and, in Sclavonic, the complete identity with it, should not be overlooked. With respect to the contraction of the Sclavonic theme *syo* sometimes to *si*, at other times to *se*, compare §. 282.

DUAL.

	MASCULINE.		FEMININE.	
	Lithuanian.	*Old Sclav.*	*Lith.*	*Old Sclav.*
Nominative,	**szû,*	**siya,*	*szi,*	**sĭĭ.*
Accusative,	*szûn,*	**siya,*	*sziĩ,*	**sĭĭ.*
Dative,	*sziem,*	I. D. *sima,*	*sziom,*	*sima.*
Genitive,	**szú,*	*seyû,*	*sziú,*	*siyû.*

PLURAL.

Nominative,	*szie,*	*si,*	*szios,*	**siya.*
Accusative,	**szus,*	**siya,*	*szes,*	**siya.*
Instrumental,	*szeis,*	*simi,*	**szomis,*	*simi.*
Dative,	*sziems,*	*sim,*	**szoms,*	*sim.*
Genitive,	*sziû,*	*sich,*	*sziû,*	*sich.*
Locative,	**szûse,*	*sich,*	**szosa,*	*sich.*

NEUTER.

Nom. Acc. sg.	. . . .	*se.*
Nom. Acc. du.	. . . .	*sĭĭ.*
Nom. Acc. pl.	. . . .	**siya.*

"Remark 1.—The composition of the Sclavonic base *syo*, which occurred in the ancient period of the language, and by which it is shewn to be identical with the Sanscrit स्य *sya*, having been forgotten, it need not appear surprising that this base, which, in Sclavonic, passes as a simple one, should be again combined with the pronoun which forms the definite declension, and which, from the first, forms its last member; hence, in the nominative singular, together with *sy* is used also *sĭĭ*, and in the feminine with *si* also *siya* (compare §. 284.). In some cases the ancient compound only is used, *e.g.* in the feminine accusative singular only *si-yu* is used, not *syû*.

"Remark 2.—In the light of the Sclavonic modern compounds just mentioned, as *si-ĭ*, *si-ya*, must be regarded the Old High German *sêr* (of *dësêr*), if the *ê* of this form

is a contraction of *a* + *i*, as in so many other places. While, therefore, the feminine *siu* is to be referred direct to the Sanscrit स्या *syâ*, and is, as it were, its continuation, *sir* has been formed first in the German language, by combining the base *sa*, which has been retained in Gothic in the nominative of the article, with the defining element *i* (from *ya*). Compare what has been before remarked (§. 288. Rem. 3.) regarding analogous adjective-nominatives, as *plintêr* from *plinta-ir*. As a corroboration of this distribution it may be here further observed, that each of the elements *a* and *i*, which are united in the *ê* of *plintêr*, also occurs separately,* each having, on different occasions, divested itself of the other. Thus *plintar* and *plintir* may occur;—a clear proof that *plintêr* has been contracted from *plinta-ir*; for diphthongs are frequently subject to abbreviations, in which one of the elements combined in them is lost; as, in the Gothic, *haba*, "I have," and *habam*, "we have," are used instead of *habai*, *habaim*, as is shewn by the analogy of the other persons and the Old High German *habêm*, *habêmês*.† The Old High German furnishes examples of forms in which only the latter element of *ai* is retained; as *ensti*, answering to the Gothic dative *anstai* and genitive *anstais*. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in the nominative of the definite adjective, together with *êr* (=*air*) *ar* and *ir* also occur. Of these three forms (*êr*, *ar*, *ir*), the first appears to be the original, since it best admits of comparison with the two others. But if *plintar*, from *plintas*, was the original form, the *a* in this place could not have been preserved beyond the fourth century, not to mention the eighth; as *a* in polysyllabic words in Gothic before a final *s*, which has from the first held this place, is

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* Graff, II. 346.

† Cf. Vocalismus, p. 203.

regularly suppressed, or, after *y*, weakened to *i*;* while *ai* is retained before a final *s*. Hence, in the second person singular, compare *ais*, Old High German *ês*, answering to the Sanscrit एस् *és* (from *ais*), Latin *ês*, *âs*†, and Greek *οις*."

359. The Lithuanian *szit-ta-s* has been mentioned above (§. 357.), which, with regard to its last portion, is identical with the Greek *αὐτο-Σ*, and with the Sanscrit एत *ĕTA* (§. 344.). But the demonstrative base त *tya*, also, which is formed of *ta* + *ya*, occurs in Lithuanian at the end of a compound pronoun. As such I regard *patis* (*pat'-s*), "*ipse*," which I distribute thus, *pa-tis*: *tis* stands, according to rule, for *tyis* from *tyas*, as *yaunikkis*, "bridegroom," for *yaunikkyis* from *yaunikkyas* (§. 135.). But in Lithuanian, *t* before two vowels, *ie* excepted, is changed into *cz* (= *ch*);‡ hence dative *pa-czia-m*, locative *paczia-mè* or *patimè*, instrumental *pacziu*. In the genitive *paczio* might be expected, according to the analogy of *szio* and *yaunikkio*: we find, however, *patiês*, according to the analogy of *awiês* (§. 193.); the feminine genitive *pacziôs* agrees, however, with *sziôs*, and similar genitives from bases in a feminine *a* (आ *â*). As regards the first member of *pa-tis*, I consider it to be identical with the Sanscrit base *sva*, *svê*, whence स्वयम् *svayam*, "self." *Sva* becomes *pa* by the loss of the initial letter, and the hardening of the *v* to *p*, as, in Prakrit, पणि *pani*, "thou," proceeds from त्वम् *tvam*; so in the Bohemian or Gipsey language *pên*, "sister," comes from स्वसर् *svasar* (स्वसृ *svasṛi*). Indeed, in the pronoun under discussion, the Lithuanian admits of comparison with the Gipsey language, as in the latter, as has been already pointed out in

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* It is to be observed that the *s* of *vulfis*, from *vulfas*, "*lupi*," is not an original final, as follows from the Sanscrit *vṛika-sya* and Greek λύκο(σ)ιο.

† *Legâs* for *legäis*, Vocalismus, p. 201.

‡ Written also *ch*, see p. 138.

another place,* *pe* has been formed from स्व *sva*, whence *pe-s*, *pe-n*, the former as singular, the latter as plural accusative.†

360. We turn to a pronominal base consisting of a simple vowel, viz. *i*, which, in Latin and German, expresses the idea "he," and in Sanscrit and Zend signifies "this," and which has left, in those languages, no proper declension, but only adverbs; as इतस् *itas*, "from this," "from that place," and इह *iha*, Zend 𐬌𐬙𐬀 *idha*, and 𐬌𐬙𐬭𐬀 *ithra*, which supply the place of the ablative after comparatives, and signify "here," *i.e.* "at this," with an inherent notion of place; इति *iti*, Zend 𐬌𐬙𐬀 *itha*, Latin *ita*, "so," इदानीम् *idânîm*, "now," analogous with *tadânîm*, "then"; and also इत्थम् *it-tham*, "so," at the bottom of which lies the obsolete neuter *it* as the theme,‡ and which occurs in the Vêdas also, as an enclitic particle. I regard this इत् *it* as the last portion of चेत् *chêt* "if" (from *cha* + *it*), and नेत *nêt*, "if not" (from *na* + *it*), which latter is in Zend 𐬥𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬨 *nôiṭ* (§. 33.), and does not merely mean "not"; since, like our German *nicht*, it has been forgotten that its initial element alone is negative, while its latter portion signifies something real—in Zend "this," and in German "thing," (*ni-cht*, from *ni-wiht*, Gothic *ni-vaihts*). From the pronominal root *i* proceed, also, the derivatives इतरस् *itara-s*, "the other," with the comparative suffix; the accusative of which, *iteru-m*, coincides with the Latin *iterum*, ईदृश *îdṛiśa*, and similar forms, which signify "such," and इयत् *iyat*, "so many." Notwithstanding these numerous offshoots, which have survived the declension of the pronoun under discussion, its base has been entirely overlooked by the Indian grammarians; and I believe I am

* Berlin Jahrb. Feb. 1836. p. 311.

† Perhaps, also, the syllable *pen* of *bolapen*, "heaven," is identical with the Sanscrit *svar* of the same meaning.

‡ Compare what is said at §. 357. respecting the Lithuanian *szit-tas*.

the first who brought it to light.* The Indian grammarians, however, give extraordinary etymologies for some of the abovementioned words, and derive *iti*, "so," from इ *i*, "to go"; *itara-s*, "the other," from *i*, "to wish" (S. Wilson). In some, recourse is had to इदम् *idam*, "this"; and one would not be entirely in error in deriving from this word *itas*, "from here," though there is a difficulty in seeing how from *idam* as the theme can spring the form *itas* by a suffix *tas*. We should expect *idantas* or *idutas*.

361. In Latin the theme of *is* is lengthened in several cases by an unorganic *u* or *o*, in the feminine by *a*, and it is thus brought into the second and first declension, in which *i* is liable to be corrupted to *e*, especially before vowels. As from the verbal root *i*, "to go," come *eo* and *eunt*, in opposition to *is, it, imus, itis, ibam*; so from our pronoun come *eum, eo, eorum, eos*, and the feminine forms *ea, eam, eae, earum*, all from the base which has been subsequently lengthened, to which the obsolete *ea-bus* also belongs. To the old type belong only *is, id*, the obsolete forms *im, ibus*, with which agrees the Gothic *i-na*, "him," *i-m*, "to them," (from *i-b*, §. 215.), and the genitive and dative *e-jus, e-i*, which are common to the three genders, and also the locative *ibi*—in form a dative, according to the analogy of *tibi, sibi* (§. 215.)—and probably the word *immo*, which has been already mentioned (§. 351.), which we may suppose formerly to have been pronounced *immod*, and which corresponds to the Sanscrit pronominal ablatives in *smât*, but by assimilation approaches very closely the Gothic dative *imma*, "to him." The dative *ei* stands isolated in Latin Grammar, inasmuch as all other bases in *i* have permitted this vowel to be melted into one with the case-termination; thus *hosti*, from *hosti-i*: the pronominal base *i*, however, escapes this

* Heidel. Jarhb. 1818. p. 472.

combination by being changed into *e*. In my Vocalismus (p. 204), I have derived the length of quantity in the dative character from the combination of the *i* of the theme with the *i* of the inflexion, which is properly short; and I have assumed that bases terminating in a consonant lengthen the base in the dative singular, as in most of the other cases, by an unorganic *i*; thus *pedī* from *pedĭ-ĭ*. As, then, in this way a long *i* must be found almost universally in the dative, this would come to be regarded as the true sign of this case, and *eī*, and the whole fourth and fifth declensions follow the prevailing example of the more numerous class of words. *Cui* alone retains the proper short quantity. It cannot be objected to the Latin language generally that it shews any undue inclination towards terminations with a long *i*, and thereby lengthens unnecessarily that letter when originally short; for universally where a long final *i* is found, there is also a reason for its length, as in the genitive singular and nominative plural of the second declension it is the suppression of the final vowel of the base, which has induced the lengthening of the termination as a compensation; thus *lupī-ī*, in both cases, for *lupoi*; while in the dative *lupō* for *lupoi* the termination has been merged in the vowel of the base. We have already discussed (§. 349. Rem. 2) pronominal datives like *isti* for *istoi*, which would be analogous to the Greek *μοί*, *σοί*, *οἱ*.

362. The Gothic pronominal base *i* has two points of superiority over the Latin base which has been just mentioned: in the first place it has never admitted the corruption of the original vowel to *ĕ*, as generally this comparatively recent vowel is as completely foreign to the Gothic as to the Sanscrit; and secondly, the theme *i* in the masculine and neuter is preserved free from that unorganic admixture which transfers the Latin kindred form from the third to the second declension, and has

produced *eum* for *im*, *eo* for *e* or *i*, *ii* or *ei* for *ēs*, *eorum* for *ium*. The Gothic pronoun, by the side of which are given in parentheses the forms, which have been most probably drawn from the corresponding Sanscrit base at the time when it was declined, are as follows:—

MASCULINE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	Sanscrit.	*Gothic.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Gothic.*
Nominative,	(*i-s*),	*i-s*,	(*ay-as*),	*ei-s*.
Accusative,	*î-m*,[1]	*i-na*,	(*î-n*),	*i-ns*.
Dative,	(*i-shmâi*),[2]	*i-mma*,	(*i-bhyas*),	*i-m*.
Genitive,	(*i-shya*),[3]	*i-s*,	(*i-shâm*),	*i-zê*.

NEUTER.

Nom. Acc.	*i-t*,[4]	*i-ta*,	(*î-n-i*),	*iya-*.[5]

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[1] This form actually occurs in the Vêdas, see Rosen's Specimen, p. 10. We should have anticipated *im* (with short *i*), according to the common declension; but the substantive and adjective declension has no monosyllabic bases in *i*, and other monosyllabic bases—with the exception of those in *ó*—use *am* as their termination; hence *bhiy-am* for *bhî-m*; and so, also, *iy-am* might be expected from *i*, as in monosyllabic words both short and long *i* are changed before vowels into *iy*. The Vêda dialect in the foregoing case, however, has preferred strengthening the vowel of the base to an extension of the termination, or, which is more probable, it has contracted an existing *iyam* to *îm*, according to the analogy of the Zend (§. 42.); and thus, perhaps, also the Vêda *sîm*, "*eam*," cited by Rosen l. c., is a contraction of *syâm*, otherwise we must assume, that instead of the feminine base *sâ*, mentioned in §. 345., *sî* occurred, according to the analogy of the Zend *hmî* from *hma* (§. 172.). It is certainly remarkable that the *s*, which is especially subjective, has here found its way into the accusative, like the Old High German *sia* and Old Latin *sam*, "*eam*," *sum*, "*eum*" (§. 345.). [2] Comp. *amu-shmâi*, from *amu*, §. 21. [3] Compare *amu-shya*, from *amu*, whence it appears that all pronouns, with whatsoever vowel their theme ends, have, in the genitive, *sya*, or, euphonically, *shya* (§. 21.) [4] §. 157. [5] §. 233.

363. Although in Gothic, as in Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, the vowel *i* in substantives is appropriated equally well to the feminine theme-termination as to the masculine; still in our pronoun of the third person, where the idea is essentially based on the distinction of sex, so that that which signifies "he" cannot mean "she," the necessity for this distinction has produced an extension of the base *i*, in cases which, without such an extension, would be fully identical with the masculine.* In the nominative singular a totally different pronoun is employed, which, in High German, is used throughout all those cases which are formed in Gothic from the extended base: Gothic *si*, Old High German *siu*, &c. (§. 354.) The affix which is used in Gothic to extend the base consists in the vowel which, from a time far prior to the formation of the German language, was especially employed as the fulcrum of feminine bases, but which in Gothic appears in the form of *ô* instead of *â* (§. 64.); thus, *iyô* from *i* + *ô*, with the euphonic change of the *i* to *iy*, as in the plural neuter forms *iy-a*, *thriy-a* (§. 233.). From the base *iyo* is formed, however, in the uninflected accusative—as final vowels are for the most part liable to abbreviation—*iya*, an analogous form to the Latin *ea*, *eam* (for *ia*, *iam*), and in the nominative and accusative plural *iyôs*, which are likewise shortened.† In the dative plural the identity with the masculine and neuter is not avoided, and this case is, as might be conjectured, from the Old High German *im*, with

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* The accusative singular would, indeed, be distinguished from the masculine, since the feminine has completely lost the accusative character; but it was there originally, and therefore the necessity for a mark of distinction from the masculine also existed.

† The accusative alone occurs, yet it is probable that the nominative was exactly the same (Grimm 1. 785), in case it did not come from the same base as the singular nominative, and it would, therefore, be *syôs*.

regard to which we must observe, that in Latin, also, in several of the oblique cases, the distinction of gender is less attended to (*ejus, ei,* old *eae*). All the cases which distinguish the feminine by the inflexion spring from the original theme; thus *i-zôs, i-zai,* genitive plural *izô,* opposed to *is, imma, izê.* In Latin, also, the extension of the base *i* may have been commenced in the feminine, and thus an analogous masculine *eum* have been made to correspond to *eam,* and may have superseded the more ancient *im.* Similar corruptions have been adopted by the language in the same manner; thus *eorum* would have been placed beside *earum,* and thus the *ium,* which probably existed, would have fallen into disuse: *eabus, iis, eis,* were followed by the masculine and neuter *iis, eis,* which supplanted the older *ibus.*

364. If the singular nominative of the reflective pronoun given by the old grammarians was *ῑ́* and not *ῐ́,* it might be regarded as the kindred form of the pronoun under discussion; and in this view it would be of importance that the Vêda accusative *îm,* mentioned above (p. 510. Rem. 1.), has a reflective meaning in the passage quoted, and is rendered by Rosen *semet ipsum.* But if *ῑ́* is the right form, then it probably belongs to the Sanscrit base* *sva, svê,* whence *svayam,* "self" (§. 341.), and is connected with *οὗ, οἷ, ἓ* and *σφεῖς,* &c., the latter from the base ΣΦΙ. As in this word an *ι* stands for an original *α,* which would lead us to expect *ο,* so also in *ῑ́*; and it deserves notice, that, so early as the Sanscrit, together with *sva* is found a weakened form *svi,* from which I think may be formed the interrogative

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* Not necessarily so, as the rough breathing occurs also in words which originally begin with a pure vowel, as ἑκάτερος, answering to एकतरस् *ekatara-s.* On the other hand the form *ῐ́* would not peremptorily conduct us to a base इ *i,* as initial *s* has sometimes been entirely lost in Greek.

particle चित् *cit*, as neuter, and analogous to इत् *it* and चि *chi*. In favour of the opinion that *i* belongs to the old reflective base, may be adduced the circumstance, that, like the two other pronouns in which there is no distinction of gender (ἐγώ, σύ), it is without a nominative sign. If it belonged to the base इ *i*, it would most probably have had the same sound as the Latino-Gothic *is*, unless we prefer regarding *i* as the neuter. The dative *imma*, from its termination, falls under the pronouns devoid of gender (§. 222.), and would, therefore, likewise belong to the reflective base. The accusative *inna*, however, considered independently, would not furnish any objection to the opinion that it is identical with the Latin *im* and the Gothic *ina*.*

365. We have already mentioned the inseparable demonstrative *i* (§. 157.). There is, however (and this creates a difficulty), another mode of derivation, according to which that *i* would be identical with the *ei* (= *i*), which is attached in Gothic, in a similar manner, to other pronouns, not to strengthen their demonstrative meaning, but to give them a relative signification: *izei*, from *is* + *ei*, means "*qui*," and *sei*, a contraction of *si* + *ei*, signifies "*quæ*," in accordance with a law of sound universally followed in Sanscrit (Gramm. Crit. §. 35.). It is most frequently combined with the article; *saei*, *sôei*, *thatei*, "*qui*," "*quæ*," "*quod*"; *thizei*, feminine *thizôzei*, "*cujus*"; only in the feminine genitive plural *thizôei* has as yet not been found to occur (Grimm III. 15.). If the first or second person is referred to, *ei* is attached to *ik* and *thu*: thus *ikei*, *thuei*; for the Gothic relative requires that the person to which it refers should be incorporated with it; and as it is itself indeclinable, the relations of case are denoted by the pronoun preceding it, which is then merged in the meaning

* Compare Hartung on the Cases, p. 116; M. Schmidt De Pron., p. 12, &c.; Kühner, p. 385.

of its attendant. Alone, *ei* signifies "that," like the Latin *quod* and the Sanscrit relative neuter यत् *yat*. And I have no doubt that the Gothic *ei*, in its origin, belongs to the Sanscrit-Zend relative base *ya*, which in Gothic has become *ei*, just as, in many other parts of Gothic Grammar, *ei* (=*i*) answers to the Sanscrit *ya*, as in the nominative singular *hairdeis* from the base *hairdya*.* With respect to form, therefore, the derivation of the Gothic *ei* from the Sanscrit य *ya*, admits of no doubt; and since the significations of the two words are identical, we must rest satisfied with this mode of deducing it, and abandon Grimm's conjecture that *ei* is intimately connected with *is*, "he," or only allow it a very distant relationship to it, in as far as the derivation of the Sanscrit relative base *ya*, from the demonstrative base *i*, is admitted. The relationship, however, of these two is not susceptible of proof; for as *sa*, *ta*, *ma*, *na*, are simple primary bases, why should not such a one have originated in the semi-vowel *y* also? But if the Greek demonstrative *ί* is akin to the Gothic appended pronoun of similar sound, it likewise would proceed from the Sanscrit relative base, which appears to be especially destined for combination with other pronouns (see §. 353.); and this disposition is especially observable in Sclavonic in which language that base, when isolated, has laid aside the relative signification (§. 282.). Hence, before entering deeply into the Sclavonic system of declension, I mistook this base, and thought I saw in its abbreviation to *i* (*i*, "*eum*," *im*, "*ei*") the Sanscrit base *i*.

366. We return to the Sanscrit *idam*, "this," in order to notice the bases from which its declension is completed, and of which each is used only in certain cases. The most simple, and the one most largely employed, is अ *a*, whence *a-smâi*, "*huic*," *a-smât*, "*hoc*," *a-smin*, "*in hoc*," in

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* §. 135. Compare Vocalismus, p. 161.

â-bhyâm, and in the plural *ê-bhis*—analogous to
is like *aśvê-bhis* from *aśva* (§. 219.)—*ê-bhyas*, *ê-shâm*,
ictly like *tê-bhyas*, &c., from *ta*, viz. by the com-
of an *i*, as is usual in the common declension in
ses. There is no necessity, therefore, to have
to a distinct base *ê*, but this is only a phonetic
ng of *a*, and from it comes also the masculine
ve अयम् *ayam* from *ê* + *am*, as स्वयम् *svayam*, "self,"
(for *sva*) + *am* (§. 341.), Max. Schmidt is disposed
ire with this *ê* the Latin *e* of *eum*, *ea*, &c. (l. c. p. 10.),
regard the latter as an abbreviation of an origi-
ng *e*; for support of which opinion he relies prin-
on the form *aei*, in an inscription to be found in
and on the circumstance that, in the older poets,
ive *ei* has a long *e*. But we do not think it right
r from this dative that every *e* of the pronoun *is*
ginally long; and we adhere to the opinion ex-
l at §. 361., which is, moreover, confirmed by the
istance that *i* also occurs before vowels; and even
: plural *ii*, *iis*, is more common than *ei*, *eis*. As re-
however, the obsolete dative singular with a long *e*,
y be looked upon as the Guna form of *i*; as *i* in San-
according to the common declension, would form
:*ê* + *ê*. From this *ê*, however, which is formed by
from *i*, that which we have seen formed from *a* by
ddition of an *i* is different; and therefore the Latin
:, even if it had an originally long *e*, would still have
ng in common with Sanscrit forms like *ê-bhis*, &c.
in the genitive *ejus* is long through the euphonic
nce of the *j*, and for it occurs, also, the form *aeius*, in
scription given by Orelli (Nr. 2866.). When, through
nfluence of a *j*, the preceding vowel is long, it should
e termed long by position:* *j* is not a double con-

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he length of the vowel preceding the *j* may sometimes be differently accounted

sonant, but the weakest of all simple consonants, and approximates in its nature closely to that of a vowel. This weakness may have occasioned the lengthening of the preceding vowel, in remarkable coincidence with the Sanscrit, in which *i* and *u*, where they stand before a suffix commencing with य् *y* (*j*), are always either lengthened or strengthened by the addition of a *t*: hence the bases जि *ji* and स्तु *stu* form, in the passive, जीये *jîyê*, स्तूये *stûyê*, but in the gerund in *ya*, *jitya*, *stutya*.* The case is different where इ *i* or ई *î* in monosyllabic forms are changed, before a vowel following them, into इय् *iy*: the *y* which arises from *i*, *î*, has no lengthening power. It is scarcely possible to give any decided explanation of the orthographical doubling of the *i* for *j* in Latin. When Cicero wrote *Maiia*, *aiio*, he may have pronounced these words as *Mai-ya*, *ai-yo* (Schneider, p. 281); and we cannot hence infer that every initial *y* was described in writing by *ii*. If this were the case, we should be compelled to the conclusion, that by doubling the *i* the distinguishing the semi-vowel from the vowel *i* was intended, as, in Zend, the medial *y* is expressed by double *i* (ऽऽ); and as double *u* denotes, in Old German, the *w*, though a single *u*, especially after initial consonants, occurs as the representative of *w*. But if Cicero meant a double *j* by his double *i*, it would not follow that, in all cases, the language intended the same. The Indian grammarians admit the doubling of a consonant after *r*, as *sarppa* for *sarpa*, "snake," and

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accounted for; as *major* has been derived from *magior*, where the vowel may have been lengthened owing to the *g* being dropped. And a consonant must originally have preceded even the *j* of the genitive in *jus*, if this termination is akin to the feminine Sanscrit स्यास् *syâs* (§. 349. Rem. 22).

* Compare what has been said in my Vocalismus, p. 213, regarding the tendency of the *i* to be preceded by a long vowel.

they admit, also, of many other still more extraordinary accumulations of consonants, with which the language cannot be actually encumbered. But if the doubling of a consonant following *r* has any real foundation, the *r* would be assimilated to the consonant which followed it—as in the Prakrit, *savva* from *sarva*,—and then the simultaneous continuation of the *r* in writing would only be in order to retain the recollection of its originally having existed.*

367. From the demonstrative base अ *a*, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a feminine base *î* might have arisen (see §. 172.), whence, by the addition of the termination *am*, so common in pronouns, the nominative singular इयम् *iyam* (euphonic for *î-am*, Gram. Crit. §. 51.) may be derived. As, however, a short *i* with *am* might become इयम् *iyam*, it is uncertain if the feminine of our pronoun should be referred to the masculine base *a*, or to *i*; the former, however, appears to me the more probable, since thus the masculine nominative अयम् *ayam*, and its feminine इयम् *iyam*, would be of the same origin, while the base *i* does not occur uncompounded in the whole masculine and neuter declension. The Gothic *iya*, "*eam*," cannot, therefore, be compared with इयम् *iyam*, particularly as, in §. 363., we have seen the Gothic arrive, in a way peculiar to itself, but still in accordance with the Latin, at a theme *iyô* lengthened from *i*; but the *am* of the Sanscrit *iyam* is merely the nominative termination.

368. In Zend अयम् *ayam* becomes 𐬀𐬌𐬵 *aêm* (§. 42.), and इयम् *iyam* becomes 𐬀𐬌𐬨 *îm*. The neuter इदम् *idam*, however, is replaced by 𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬙 *imaṭ*, from the base *ima*, which, in Sanscrit, is one of those which supply the declension of *idam*. Hence, for example, come the accusative mascu-

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* Compare the assimilation of *m*, and its simultaneous graphical representation by ◡. (Gramm. Crit. §. 70.)

line इमम् *imam*, feminine इमाम् *imâm*; Zend 𐬬𐬨𐬆𐬨 *imĕm*, 𐬬𐬨𐬀𐬥 *imaṅm*. Ought we, then, to compare with it the Old Latin *emem* for *eundem*, or, with Max. Schmidt (l. c. p. 11), consider it as the doubling of *em* for *im*? It need not seem surprising that the base *ima*, which, in the singular, occurs only in this case, and which is principally limited to the accusative, should be found in Latin in the accusative only. I regard *ima* as the union of two pronominal bases, viz. *i* and *ma* (§. 105.): the latter does not occur in Sanscrit uncompounded, but is most probably connected with the Greek *μίν*, and the latter, therefore, with the Old Latin *emem*.

369. As *i* with *ma* has formed the combination *ima*, in like manner I regard the base अन *ana*, which likewise enters into the declension of *idam* as the combination of अ *a* with another demonstrative base, which does not occur in Zend and Sanscrit in isolated use, but perhaps in Pali, in several oblique cases of the three genders* in the plural, also in the nominative, and in that of the neuter singular, which, like the masculine accusative, is नं *naṅ*.† Clough gives the cases in which this pronoun occurs to the base त *ta*, as secondary forms, as, in Sanscrit, in several cases, a pronoun is found with the compound एत *êta*, which has *na* instead of *ta* for its last portion.‡ We will here give the compound Sanscrit pronoun over against the Pali simple pronoun.

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* In the feminine naturally produced to *nâ*, the *â* of which, however, is shortened in the accusative नं *naṇ* "*eam*."

† I write *naṅ*, not *nam*, as a final *m* in Pali, as in Prakrit, becomes an anusvâra, which is pronounced like a stifled *n* (§§. 9. 10.). The original *m* in Pali has been retained only before initial sounds commencing with a vowel. (Burnouf and Lassen, pp. 81, 82.) Final *n* is likewise corrupted in Pali to anusvâra, or is lost entirely.

‡ In Zend observe the feminine genitive 𐬀𐬉𐬥𐬀𐬇𐬀𐬴𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬱𐬀 *aênaṇhâo* (*aênaṇhâoścha*, Vend. S. p. 47), which presupposes a Sanscrit *ênasyâs*.

MASCULINE.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	Sanscrit.	*Pali.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Pali.*
N.	*ésha,*	*sô,*	*êtê,*	*tê, nê,*
Ac.	*étam, énam,*	*taṅ, naṅ,*	*êtân, ênân,*	*tê, nê,*
I.	*étêna, énêna,*	*têna, nêna,*	*êtâis,*	*tébhi, nêbhi,* or *têhi, nêhi.*
D.	*étasmâi,*	[1]	*êtêbhyas,*	[1] . . . .
Ab.	*étasmât,*	*tasmâ, nasmâ,* or *tamhâ, namhâ,*	*êtêbhyas,*	like Instr.
G.	*étasya,*	*tassa, nassa,*	*êtêshâm,*	*têsaṅ, nêsaṅ,*[2]
L.	*étasmin,*	*tasmiṅ, nasmin,* or *tamhi, namhi,*	*êtêshu,*	*têsu, nêsu.*

NEUTER.

N.	*état,*	*taṅ, naṅ,*	*etâni,*	*tâni, nâni.*
Ac.	*état, énat,*	*taṅ, naṅ,*	*êtâni, ênâni,*	*tâni, nâni,* or *tê, nê.*

The rest like the masculine.

FEMININE.

N.	*éshâ,*	*sâ,*	*êtâs,*	*tâ, na,* or *tâyô, nâyô.*
Ac.	*étâm, ênâm,*	*taṅ, naṅ,*	*êtâs, ênâs,*	*tâ, nâ,* or *tâyô, nâyô.*
I.	*étayâ, énayâ,*	*tâya, nâya,*[3]	*êtâbhis,*	*tâbhi, nâbhi,* or *tâhi, nâhi.*
D.	*étasyâi,*	[1]	*êtâbhyas,*	[1] . . . .
Ab.	*étasyâs,*	*tassâ, tissâ,*	*êtâbhyas,*	like the Instr.
G.	*étasyâs,*	*tassâ, tissâ,*[4]	*êtâsâm,*	*tâsaṅ, tâsânaṅ.*
L.	*étasyâm,*	*tassaṅ, tissaṅ,*	*êtâsu,*	*tâsu.*

[1] Is replaced by the genitive. [2] Or *tésânan, nésânan,* as the old genitive is taken as theme, after suppressing the nasal, and from it a new one formed according to the analogy of the common declension.

[3] Observe the transposition of the long vowel. [4] In the form *tissâ*

the Pali coincides in a remarkable manner with the Gothic *thizôs*, since, like it, it has weakened the old *a* to *i*. *Tissâ*, however, is inferior to the Gothic kindred form, in having dropped the final *s*; and in this point ranks with the Old High German, in which the Gothic *zôs* has become *ra* (p. 498). The Pali, however, has abandoned all final *s*, without exception. The older form *tassâ* (by assimilation from *tasyâ*), which is not given by Clough, is supplied by Burnouf and Lassen, with whom, however, the form *tissâ* is wanting, though they furnish an analogous one, viz. *imissâ* (Essai, p. 117). Clough gives, moreover, the forms *tissâya* and *tassâtâya*. The former, like the plural genitive, appears to be formed by the addition of a new genitive form, according to the common declension, to the pronominal genitive form. From the form *tassâtâya* we might be led to an obsolete ablative, which, in Sanscrit, must have been *tasyât*—still earlier *tasmyât*—which is proved by Zend forms like *avaṇhât*, "*ex hoc*" (§. 180.). But if we are to give to *tassâtâya* not an ablative sense, but a genitive and dative one, I then prefer dividing it thus: *tassâ-tâya*, so that the feminine base *tâ* would be contained in it twice—once with the pronominal, and again with the common genitive termination. But it is probable that the form *imamhâ*, which is given by Burnouf and Lassen (Essai, p. 117) as an anomalous feminine instrumental, is originally an ablative; for this case, in its significations, borders on the instrumental, and to it belongs the appended pronoun *sma*. But if *imamhâ* is an ablative, it is, in one respect, more perfect than the Zend forms, like 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯𐬀 *avaṇhâṭ*, since the Pali form has retained also the *m* of the appended pronoun *sma*—transposed to *mha*,—while the *ṇ* of 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯𐬀 *avaṇhâṭ* is only an euphonic affix (§. 56'.). The final *t*, however, in Pali, must, according to a universal law of sound, be removed, as in the masculine; and thus the ablative nature of *imamhâ* might the more easily lie hid before the discovery of the Zend form.

370. I have already, in my review of Forster's Grammar,* and before I became acquainted, through the Pali, with the isolated pronoun, considered the Latin conjunction *nam* as an accusative to be classed here; and I have there also represented the Sanscrit *ênа* as a compound, and compared the Latin *enim* with its accusative एनम् *ênam*. It will, however, be better to refer *enim*, as also *nam*, to the feminine accu-

* Heidelb. Jahrbücher, 1818. p. 473.

sative—P. नं *nan*, Sans. एनाम् *ênâm*—as the short masculine *a* in Latin has elsewhere become *u*, among other words, in *nunc*, i.e. "at this (time)," which (l.c.) I have explained like *tunc*, as analogous to *hunc*. But if *tunc* and *nunc* are not accusatives, their *nc* would appear to be akin to the Greek νίκα, and *tunc* might be compared to τηνίκα, of which more hereafter. With respect to *nam* and *enim*, we may refer to §. 351 with regard to the possibility, in similar pronominal formations, of their *m* being a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*. There is no doubt, however, of the pronominal derivation of all these adverbs. We may remark, in this respect, our German *denn*, and the Latin *quip-pe* from *quid-pe*, to which with regard to its last syllable, *nempe* from *nam-pe* (compare §. 6.) is analogous. The Sanscrit *kincha*, "moreover" (euphonic for *kimcha*), may be regarded as the prototype of *quippe*, for it consists of *kim* "what?" and *cha* (commonly "and"), which takes from it the interrogative meaning, and is in form the same as *que*, which also, in *quisque*, removes the interrogative signification. The syllable *pe*, however, of *quippe* is, in its origin, identical with *que*, and has the same relation to it that the Æolic πέμπε has to *quinque*. As regards the relation of the *i* of *enim* to the *a* of *nam*, we may refer to that of *contingo* to *tango*, and similar phenomena, as also to the Pali *tissâ* compared with *tassâ* (see Table, §. 369.). The Greek νίν, like μίν, has a weakened vowel, which appears also in the Sanscrit inseparable preposition *ni*, "down," whence has arisen our German *nieder*, Old High German *ni-dar* (p. 382), which bears the same relation to *na* that the neuter interrogative *kim* does to the masculine *kas*. A *u* also, in analogy with कुतस् *ku-tas*, "whence?" कुत्र *ku-tra*, "where?" has been developed in our demonstrative, and appears in the interrogative particle नु *nu*, with which we compare the Latin *num*, and the Greek νύ, which, in form, and partly in use, is identical with नु *nu*.* On the other hand, in

* Compare Hartung, Greek Particles, II. 99.

νῦν, *nun*, "now," which likewise belongs to the base *na* or *nu*, the original demonstrative signification is retained more truly. Are we to suppose in the *ν* of this word, as being a necessary corruption of final *μ*, a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*, and that the vowel preceding has been lengthened in compensation for the loss of the rest? Then νῦν would perhaps admit of comparison with the Pali locative *nasmiṅ*, or *namhi*, and the change of *α* to *υ* would have first taken place in Greek through the influence of the liquids, as σύν answers to the Sanscrit सम् *sam*, "with." Our *nun* Gothic *nu*, is likewise related, as is also *noch*, as analogous to *doch*. The Gothic forms are *nauh*, *thauh*, to the final particle of which, *uh*, we shall recur hereafter.

371. The Sanscrit negative particle न *na*, which appears in Gothic in the weakened form *ni*, comes next to be considered; in Old Sclavonic it is *ne*, *ni*, the latter only as a prefix.* So in Lithuanian, in *niékas*, "none," (*ni-ékas*; compare Sanscrit *êkas*, "one,") and kindred compounds; but elsewhere it is found as *ne*: in Greek it is lengthened to *νη*, but only at the beginning of compounds, as *νήκερως*, *νηκηδής*; in Latin it is found only as a prefix† in the form of *nĕ*, *nĭ*, *nē*, *nī* (*nefas*, *nefandum*, *neque*, *nisi*, *nimirum*). This negative particle occurs in the Vêdas with the signification *sicut*, which points at its pronominal derivation.‡ At least I think that we cannot assume a different origin for the particle in the two significations which are apparently so distinct: for if the idea *ya*, "yes," is denoted by a pronominal expression—in Latin by *i-ta*, in Sanscrit by *ta-thâ*, in Gothic by *yai*, of which hereafter—its opposite may be contrasted with it, as *dieses*, "this," to *yenes*, "that," and न *na* would therefore

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* See Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 77.

† I regard the conjunction *nē* as a corruption of *mē* =*μη*, मा *mâ*, as *narro*, probably, from *marro* (see Vocalismus, p. 165).

‡ Compare my Review of Rosen's Vêda Specimen in the Berl. Jahrb. Dec. 1830. p. 955.

simply direct to what is distant; for to say that a quality or thing does not belong to an individual, is not to remove it entirely, or to deny its existence, but to take it away from the vicinity, from the individuality of a person, or to place the person on the other side of the quality or thing designated, and represent it as somewhat different. But that which, in Sanscrit, signifies "this," means also, for the most part, "that," the mind supplying the place, whether near or remote, and the idea of personality alone is actually expressed by the pronouns. The inseparable negative particle अ *a*, too—in Greek the *α* privative—is identical with a demonstrative base (§. 366.), and the prohibitive particle मा *mâ* = *μή* belongs to the base *ma*, (§. 368.), and the Greek negation *οὐ* admits of being compared with a demonstrative, as will be shewn hereafter. Observe, further, that as न *na* in the Vêdas unites the relative meaning "as" with the negative, so the corresponding *ne* in Latin appears both as interrogative and negative; in the former sense affixed, in the latter prefixed.

It is further to be observed of the Sanscrit *na*, that when combined with itself, but both times lengthened—thus नाना *nânâ*—it signifies "much," "of many kinds," as it were, "this and that"; as *totus* also has been formed by reduplication (§. 351.). The Sanscrit expression, however, is indeclinable, and is found only in the beginning of compounds. We may here mention, also, the interrogative and asseverative particle नूनम् *nûnam*, which I agree with Hartung (l.c. II. 95.) in distributing into *nû-nam*, since I regard *nû* as the lengthened form of the *nu* mentioned above, without, however, comparing *nam* with नामन् *nâman*, "name," as the pronominal base *na* appears to me to be sufficient for the explanation of this Indian *nam*, as well as that in Latin; which latter, likewise, Hartung endeavours to compare with नामन् *nâman*, "name."

372. We return to the compound अन *ana*, the last element of which has been considered by us in §. 369. From *ana*

comes, in Sanscrit, the instrumental masculine neuter अनेन *anêna*, Zend 𐬀𐬥𐬀 *ana* (§. 158.), feminine अनया *anayâ*, Sclavonic *onoyû* (§. 266.), and the genitive and locative dual of the three genders *anayôs*, which, in Sclavonic, has become *onû* for *onoyû* (§. 273.). In Lithuanian, *ana-s*, or *an'-s*, signifies "that," feminine *ana*, and, like the Sclavonic *on*, *ona*, *ono*, of the same signification, is fully declined, according to the analogy of *tas*, *tà*, *t'*, *ta*, *to*,* being, in this respect, superior to the corresponding words in Sanscrit and Zend. To this pronoun belong the Latin and Greek *an*, ἄν, as also the Gothic interrogative particle *an* (Grimm. III. 756.), though elsewhere in the three sister languages the *n* is thematic; which is especially evident in Gothic, where, from a theme *ana* in the accusative masculine, only *an* could be formed, and the same in the neuter or *anata*. For the Greek and Latin we should assume that अन *ana* had lost its final vowel, as we have before seen एन *ênа* abbreviated to 'EN (§. 308.). But if the *n* belonged to the inflexion, or to the appended pronoun स्म *sma*, which appears to me less probable, then the simple base अ *a* (§. 366.) would suffice for the derivation of *an*, ἄν.

373. As the Latin preposition *inter* is evidently identical with the Sanscrit *antar* and the Gothic *undar*, our *unter* (§§. 293. 294.), and *i* is a very common weakening of *u*, we must class also the preposition *in* and the kindred Greek ἐν with the demonstrative base अन *ana*, although *in* and ἐν, considered by themselves, admit of being referred to the base इ *i*, and the relation of ἔνθα to the Zend 𐬀𐬎𐬌 *idha*, "here," might be deduced through the unorganic commixture of a nasal, as in ἄμφω, *ambo*, answering to the Sanscrit *ubhâu* and Sclavonic *oba*. I now, however, prefer regarding the ν of ἔν-θα, ἔν-θεν, which bear the relation of locative and ablative to one another, as originally belonging to the base, and ἐν

* See Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 59.

therefore, and the Latin *in*, the pronominal nature of which is apparent in *inde*, are connected with the Sanscrit अन *ana*. The Σ of εἰς, from ἐνς, appears to me an abbreviation of the suffix σε, which, in forms like πόσε, ἄλλοσε, expresses direction to a place, just as εἶ-ς is an abbreviation of ἐσ-σί, δός of δόθι, πρός of προτί. There would then be a fitting reason why εἰς should express direction to a place: it is opposed in meaning to ἐν, just as our *hin*, "towards," to *hier*, "here," only that the Greek expressions have lost their independent signification, and only precede the particular place denoted of rest, or to which motion is implied; like an article the meaning of which is merged in that of its substantive. The preposition ἀνά, like the Gothic *ana*, our *an*, has preserved more perfectly the pronominal base under discussion: ἀνά is opposed to κατά, as this side to that side.* The Gothic *anaks*, "suddenly," may likewise, in all probability, be classed here, and would therefore originally mean "in this" (moment). Its formation recalls that of ἄπαξ, the ξ of which is perhaps an abbreviation of the suffix κις (§. 324.). If the Gothic *ks* is connected with the suffix of such numeral adverbs, then the removal of the *k* has been prevented by the close vicinity of the *s*, though elsewhere the Gothic is not indisposed to the combination *hs*. In Lithuanian, *an-day*, from the base *ana*, points to past time, and signifies "that time," "lately," while *ta-day* refers to the future, and means "then."

374. The base अन *ana* forms, with the relative य *ya*, the combination अन्य *anya*, and, with the comparative suffix तर *tara*, अन्तर *antara*; both expressions signify *alius*, and have dropped the final vowel of the demonstrative base; for which reason the Indian grammarians do not admit अन्य *anya* to be a compound, any more than the previously discussed bases

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* Compare §. 105. and Demonstrative Bases and their connection with different Prepositions and Conjunctions, p. 9, *passim*.

त्य *tya*, स्य *sya*; nor do they see in *antara* any comparative suffix,* particularly as, besides the irregularity of its formation,† it is removed, by its signification also, from the common pronominal derivatives (§. 292.), and expresses, not "the one," or "the other," of two, but, like इतर *itara*, "the other" generally. In Gothic corresponds *anthar*, theme *anthara*, which has the same meaning; in Lithuanian *antra-s*, "the other," "the second"; in Latin, *alter*, the *n* being exchanged for *l* (§. 20.), on which also is founded the relation of *alius* to अन्यस् *anya-s*, the base of which is preserved complete in the Gothic *ALJA*.‡ The Greek ἄλλος is removed one step further than *alius* from the original form, and, like the Prakrit अण्ण *anna*, and the Old High German adverb *alles*, "otherwise," has assimilated the *y* to the consonant preceding it (compare p. 401.). On the other hand, अन्य *anya* exists in a truer form, but with a somewhat altered meaning, in Greek, viz. as ἔνιοι, "some," which may be well contrasted with the Sanscrit-Zend, *anyé*, "*alii*." From the base 'ENIO comes also ἐνίοτε, "sometimes," as analogous to ἄλλοτε, ἑκάστοτε, &c., for the derivation of which, therefore, we need not have recourse to ἔνι ὅτε, or ἔστιν ὅτε. In Old Sclavonic, *in* signifies "the other," and its theme is *ino*, and thus the *y* of the Sanscrit-Zend *anya* has been lost. The feminine nominative in Sclavonic is *ina*, the neuter *ino*.

375. Together with *anya*, *antara*, and *itara*, the Sanscrit has also two other words for the idea of "another," viz अपर *apara*, and पर *para*. The former may have sprung from the preposition *apa*, "from," as *apa* itself from the demonstrative base अ *a*. With it is connected, as has been

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* *Anya* is derived from *an*, "to live," and *antara* from *anta*, "end."

† The regular form would be *anatara*.

‡ *Alya-kunds*, "*alienigenus*," *alyai vaihtai*, "other things," *alya thrô*, "elsewhere" (p. 384 *et a*). In the nominative masculine I conjecture *alyis*, not *alis* (p. 358, Rem. 7).

already observed (§. 350.), our *aber*, Gothic and Old High German *afar* (§. 87.), the original meaning of which is still evident in *abermals*, "once more," *aberglauben*, "superstition," *aberwitz*, "false wit." In Old High German *afar* means, also, "again," like the Latin *iterum*, opposed to इतरस् *itara-s*, "the other." पर *para*, is derived by apocope from *apara*: it is more used than the latter; and if it has derivatives in the European cognate languages also, the Latin *perendie* may be among the first to be referred to a word which signifies "another." It should properly signify "the morrow," but the use of language often steps beyond the limits of what the actual form expresses; and thus, in the word alluded to, by "on the other day," not the next following is implied, but the day after to-morrow. The language, therefore, proceeds from "this day" (*hodie*) to *cras*—in which an appellation of day is not easily perceived—and thence to "the other day," *perendie*, the first member of which I regard as an adverbial accusative, with *n* for *m*, as in *eundem*. In the Sanscrit *parê-dyus*, "morrow," *parê*, on the contrary, is apparently in the locative, and the last member in the accusative, if we regard it as the contraction of a neuter *divas*;* but in *parê-dyavi* both are in the locative. The Latin *peren* occurs also in *perendino*, *perendinatio*, the last member of which guides us to another Sanscrit appellation of day, viz. to दिन *dina*. But to dwell for a moment on दिवस् *divas* and पर *para*, I am of opinion that these two expressions are united in *ves-per*, *ves-perus*, and ἑσπέρα, as it were दिवस्पर *divas-para*, which, if we look upon *para* as a neuter substantive, would signify

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* I prefer this derivation to that I formerly gave (Kleinere Gramm. p. 323) from *dyu* with an irregular *s*; for from *divas* the step is as easy to *dyus* as from *div* to *dyu*. *Divas*, however, does not occur alone, but instead of it *divasa*: still the compounds *divas-pati*, "Lord of Heaven," or "of day," and *divas-pṛithivyâu*, "heaven and earth," shew the trace of it; for in the latter it is impossible to regard *as* as a genitive termination.

"the last, latest part of the day," and *para*, used adjectively, and prefixed to another appellation of day, actually occurs with this meaning; for *parâhna* (from *para* + *ahna*) signifies the later, or after part of the day (see Glossar.) as *pûrvâhna* does the former, or earlier part. Consequently *vesper* would stand for *dives-per*; and this abbreviation of the appellation of day will not appear more remarkable than that of द्विस् *dvis* to *bis*. With respect to the loss of a whole initial syllable, I may refer to the relation of the Greek *μείραξ*, *μειράκιον* to कुमारस् *kumâra-s*, "boy," which, by the suppression of its middle syllable, but with the retention of the initial one, has been corrupted to *κόρος*, *κοῦρος*. We turn now to another trace of पर *para*, "the other," in Latin, which we find in the first portion of *pereger* and *peregrinus*, and which we could not well suppose to be the preposition *per*. *Pereger* would consequently signify "being in another land," like the Old High German *eli-lenti*, and *pereyrinus*, "who from another land." We might also refer *per-perus* to the same source, as the reduplication of *perus* = परस् *para-s*, in which the "bad and wrong" is opposed to "the right," as the other. In the cognate Greek *πέρπερος* the fundamental meaning has taken a more special direction. Lastly, the particle *πέρ* remains to be mentioned, the use of which is more of a pronominal than a prepositional nature. A word, which originally signifies "other," was well adapted to give particular emphasis to a relative, so as to bring prominently forward the persons or things denoted by it as other than those excluded. In this light let the French *nous autres*, *vous autres*, and our German *wenn anders*, "provided that," be considered, which is more energetic than the simple *wenn*, "if."* From पर *para* comes,

* Remark, also, the apparently pleonastic use of *ἄλλος*; and similar phenomena in Sanscrit, as Nal. I. 14, in which men are opposed to the gods and to other beings not human, as *others*: "Nowhere among the gods or Yakshas exists such beauty, nor amongst (others) men was such ever before seen or heard of."

in Sanscrit, *pâra*, "the further shore," and from this *pârayâmi*, "I complete": to the former answers πέραν, to the latter πέραν.* In German, in the word under discussion the idea of "other" has been changed to that of "far," Gothic *fairra*, "far," the second *r* of which seems to have sprung from *n* by assimilation. In Sanscrit, even *para* occurs in the sense of "far," in the compound *parâsu*, "dead," having life removed.

376. The Gothic *yains*, (theme *yaina*) *yener*, "that," Greek κεῖνος, ἐκεῖνος, (Æol. κῆνος) and Doric τῆνος, correspond, in respect to their last element, with the bases in the cognate languages which are compounded with *na*, *no*; among which we may especially notice *ana-s* (*an's*) "on," which has the same meaning in Lithuanian and Sclavonic. In the Doric, τῆνος, like τηλίκος, τηνίκα, the vowel of the article is lengthened (comp. §. 352.), and the Æolic κῆνος has the same relation to the interrogative base KO, that τῆνος has to TO. But in κεῖνος, to which ἐκεῖνος bears the same relation that ἐμοῦ does to μοῦ (§. 326), instead of the base-vowel being lengthened an ι is introduced, and the ο is weakened to ε: compare, in the former respect, the Sanscrit é and the compound इन *éna* (§. 369.). So, also, in the Gothic *yain(a)s*, "that," an *i* has been blended with the Sanscrit relative base य *ya*. But if in German, as in Sclavonic, a *y* preceded the old initial vowel, as in *yesmy* = अस्मि *asmi*, Lithuanian *esmi*, "I am" (§. 255. *n.*), *yains* would then shew itself to be a cognate form to इन *éna*, "this," the real countertype of which we have, however, already found in the numeral *ains*, theme *aina* (§. 308.). In Greek, the word δεῖνα, theme ΔEIN, may also be classed here. It is a plural neuter, which has been peculiarly dealt with by the language: its ει has the same relation to the ο of the article that κεῖνος has to KO (κότε, κότερον), and the tenuis has been removed, as in δέ beforementioned (§. 350.). The ν, however, of ΔEIN can

* Compare Vocalismus, p. 177, &c.

scarcely be connected with the appended pronoun न ; but is more probably a mere phonetic affix, as in TIN, which hereafter, and in many words of our so-called we declension (§. 142.).

377. The Zend demonstrative base 𐬀𐬵𐬀 *ava*, "this," l been already repeatedly mentioned. In it we find a n and powerful confirmation of the proposition—which is c of importance for the history of language—that pronou and genuine prepositions are originally one; for in Sanscrit, in which *ava* has been lost as a pronoun, it l remained as a preposition, with the signification "fro "down"; as *ava-plu*, *ava-tar* (अव *tṛi*), "to spring from," descend," but the original meaning of which is "to alight do or at this (place)." In Sclavonic, *ava* has been changed, cording to rule (§. 255. *a*), to *ovo*, which signifies "this" "that": its fem. nom. *ova* is almost identical with the sa case in Zend—𐬀𐬵𐬀 *ava*. With this form is connected the Gr αὐ of αὐτός,* in which, after the suppression of the final vov the *υ* has been changed to a vowel. When used alone the p nominal nature of this base is most apparent in αὖθι, "he which, therefore, is not to be regarded as an abbreviatio αὐτόθι, for it is quite as natural for the locative suffix to attached to αὖ as to other pronominal bases. With the sa signification as αὖθι we might expect to find αὖθα, as ana gous to ἔνθα and to the Zend 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀 *avadha*, which cor sponds in its base, suffix, and signification. But the Gr expression does not occur alone, but only in combinat with ἔνθα in ἐνταῦθα for ἐνθαῦθα†; and so, also, the ablat adverb αὖθεν is retained only in the compound ἐντεῦ (p. 480). The indeclinable αὖ, the use of which is not oppo to its pronominal origin, has probably lost some suffix

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* Compare p. 387, Rem.*.

† §. 344. p. 480. The derivation of ἐνταῦθα given at p. 387 must corrected accordingly.

case or of another kind. If it were a neuter for *αὐτ* or *αὐδ* the suppression of the T sound would accord with a universal phonetic law (comp. §. 155.). Perhaps it is an abbreviation of *αὖθις*, which has the same meaning, or of *αὖτε*, which latter agrees in its formation with the pronominal adverbs *τότε*, *ὅτε*, *πότε*, though the signification has diverged.

378. Through a combination with the comparative suffix is formed *αὐτάρ*, "but," with reference to which we must again advert to our German *aber* (Old High German *afar*, "but," "again") with the Sanscrit *apara*, "*alius*." The suffix of *αὐτάρ* is distinguished from the customary *τερος* by the preservation of the original *α* sound, and in this manner corresponds exactly to the Sanscrit *antar* (§. 293.). The Latin *au-tem*, on the other hand, appears to contain the superlative suffix, as *i-tem* in opposition to *i-terum*.* The *i* of *timus* might easily be corrupted to *e* in a word terminating with a consonant. I now, however, prefer regarding the suffix *tem* of *i-tem* and *au-tem* as not originating in the Latin language, but as identical with the suffix थम् *tham*, which, in Sanscrit, likewise occurs only in two pronominal adverbs, viz. in इतथम् *it-tham*, "so," and कथम् *ka-tham*, "how?" with regard to which it may be left undecided whether their *tham* is connected with the superlative suffix with a phonetic alteration, just as *thama* in प्रथमस् *prathama-s*, "the first" (p. 379). The Latin *au-t* appears to me an abbreviation of *au-ti*, so that it agrees in its formation with *uti*, *ut*, and *iti* in *itidem*, as also with the Sanscrit इति *iti*, "so."† With regard to the *au* of *aufugio*, *aufero*, I see no adequate reason for dissenting from the common opinion which regards it as a weakened form of

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* Compare Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818, p. 479, and Demonstrative Bases, p. 14.

† The *i* of *iti-dem* might also be regarded as the weakening of the *a* of *ita*, caused by the addition of weight through the *dem*.

*ab.** On the other hand, the Sanscrit inseparable preposition *ava*, mentioned above (§. 377.), evidently re-appears in the Homeric *αὐερύω*,† without the ancient connection between this prepositional *αὐ* and the particle *αὖ* being thereby removed, as, as has been remarked above, the Sanscrit preposition *ava* and the Zend demonstrative base of similar sound, are cognate forms.

379. It has been elsewhere pointed out‡ that of the three forms into which the originally short *a* in Greek has been distributed (*ε*, *o*, *ᾰ*), most frequently *ε* occurs in places where a Sanscrit *a* is combined with *u*; more rarely the weightier *o*; and the still heavier *α* never.§ The Greek diphthong *αυ*, however, corresponds to the Vriddhi diphthong औ *âu*, as *ναῦς* = नौस् *nâus*: its *α* is therefore long, and is found as such in *νᾱός*, &c., for *νᾱϝός* = नावस् *nâvas*. If, then, the final vowel of the Indo-Zend *ava*, Sclavonic *ovo*, be removed, and then the *u*, formed by the melting down of the *v*, be combined in a diphthong with the initial vowel, we should have *ευ* or *ου*. As, however, *αυ* has arisen, we must regard the lengthening of the initial vowel as compensation for the final vowel, which has been suppressed. This compensation, however, does not take place universally; for as *οὖν* is plainly shewn, by its use, to be of pronominal origin,‖ it may be best compared with our demonstrative base *ava*, of which it is

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* Without this weakening, *affero*, from *abfero*, would be identical with *affero*, from *adfero*; and the change of the *b* into the cognate vowel may have taken place in order to avoid this identity, as, *vice versâ*, the *u* of *duo* (originally a *v*) seems to have been hardened into *b* in *bis*. If, for this reason, *au* has arisen from *ab* on one occasion, it might be still further adopted without its being occasioned from a view to perspicuity.

† Compare A. Benary in the Berl. Jahrb. May 1830, p. 764.

‡ Vocalismus, p. 193, &c.

§ This combination produces ओ *ô* (§. 2.), which, before vowels, is resolved into *av*, as, *gav-âm*, "*bovum*," from *gô*.

‖ Compare Hartung II. 3, &c.

further to be remarked, that, in Zend, in departure from §. 155., it forms the nominative and accusative neuter, not by ϱ *t* but by *m*. For *avĕm*, according to §. 42., *aûm* must be employed; but in its place we have the irregular form ϱ𐬀𐬨 *aom*, and the same in the masculine accusative.* I agree with Hartung (l. c.) in considering the Greek *οὖν* likewise as an accusative, whether it be masculine, or, as we may assume from the Zend *aom*, neuter. The negative particle *οὐ* is also to be classed here, according to what has been said in §. 371., and before, in my Review of Rosen's Vêda Specimen regarding the derivation of negative particles from pronouns: it has the same relation to *οὐκ* which, owing to its terminating with a consonant, is used before vowels, that, in Latin, the prefix *ne* has to *nec*, an abbreviation of *neque*. Οὐκ is, therefore, an abbreviation of *οὐκι* (with the change of the tenuis, *οὐχί*), the *κί* of which is, perhaps, connected with the Sanscrit enclitic pronominal base चि *chi*, of which more hereafter. To this चि *chi* the च *cha*, which is likewise enclitically used, and with which the Latin *que* is identical, bears the same relation that कस् *kas*, "who," does to its neuter किम् *kim*. If, then, the syllable *κι* of *οὐκί* is connected with the Indian चि *chi*, it is also related to the Latin *que* of *neque* (compare §. 380., *sub finem*.)

380. It remains for us to shew that an offshoot of the pronominal base *ava* exists in German also. Such is our *auch*, the demonstrative signification of which is easily discoverable in sentences like *er ist blind, und auch lahm*, "he is blind and also lame," in which the *auch* adds to the quality "blind," as "that," pnother "this:" he is lame and this "blind." The *auch* performs the same service for a single quality that the conjunction *dass*, "that," does for an entire member of a sentence; for in sentences like "I am not willing (*dass*) that the should come," the conjunction *dass* expresses generally

* Compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes p. 5.

or only grammatically, the subject of my will, and "h should come" expresses it particularly and logically. I Old High German, *auh* (*ouh*, *ouc*, &c.) has other meaning besides *auch*, also, which are elsewhere expressed only b derivatives from pronouns, as *denn*, *aber*, *sondern*, "for "but," &c. (see Graff I. 120.), and the Gothic *auk* occurs onl with the meaning "for."* If *auch*, also, were the onl meaning of the conjunction under discussion, in all Germa dialects, we might suppose it to be connected with th Gothic *aukan*, "to increase."† But what connection hav *denn* and *sondern* ("for" and "but") with the verb "to in crease?" Moreover, verbal ideas and verbal roots ar the last to which I should be inclined to refer the deriv tion of a conjunction. All genuine conjunctions sprin from pronouns (§. 105.), as I have endeavoured to shew i a particular instance in my Review of Forster's Grammar But whence comes the *ch* of our *auch?* I do not thin that it can be regarded in the same light as that of *do* and *noch*, which have been likewise explained as pr nominal formations,¶ but, in Gothic, terminate with *h* (*nau thauh*); while our *auch* bears the same relation to th Gothic *auk* that *mich*, *dich*, *sich*, do to *mik*, *thuk*, *sik*. Th *k*, therefore, of *auk* may perhaps, in its origin, coincide wit that of the so-called pronominal accusative, and, like th latter, belong to the appended pronoun स *sma* (§§. 174, 175. which, in Zend, becomes *hma*, but in Prakrit and Pali transposed to *mha*. But if the pronoun *ava* were used i

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* The meanings "but" and "also," which I have, in accordance wit Fulda, given elsewhere (Demonstrative Bases, p. 14), rest on no authorit as Ulfilas gives *auk* only when answering to the Greek γάρ (Grimm II 272).

† Compare Sanscrit *ûh*, "to collect," whence *samûha*, "crowd."

‡ Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818, p. 473.

¶ §. 370 and Demonstrative Bases, p. 18.

Pali, its ablative would be *avaṃhâ* and locative *avamhi* (comp. §. 369. Table). In the Gothic *auk* the sounds which surround the *h* in these forms are lost, and the final vowel of the base is suppressed, as in the Greek *ἀυτός*. With regard to the guttural, however, *auk* bears the same relation to *avamhâ, avamhi*, that *ik*, "I" does to अहं *ahaṅ*. If, of the forms of negation mentioned at p. 533, the last were the original one, we might suppose the χι to be related to the Pali pronominal locatives in म्हि *mhi*, as χ usually represents the Sanscrit and Pali ह *h* (§. 23.).

381. As regards the etymology of the base *ava*, the first member of it is easily perceived to be the demonstrative *a*, and the latter portion appears to be analogous to *iva*, "as," from the base *i*, as also to *êva*, "also," "merely," &c., and with the accusative termination *êvam*, "so," from the base *ê* (§. 266.). *A-va* and *ê-va*, therefore, would be as closely connected as *a-na* and *ê-na*; and as from the latter has arisen the Gothic term for the numeral, "one," (theme *aina*, §. 308.), so from *êva* would come the Zend numeral for "one," *aêva*, with *a* prefixed, according to §. 38. In Gothic corresponds *aiv* (theme *aiva*), which, however, as "all time," *i.e.* eternity, answers to the cognate form in Zend as logical antithesis, or as "another" to "this." It may be observed, that it is highly probable that our *all*, Gothic *alls*, "*omnis*" (theme *alla*), has been formed by assimilation from the base *alya*, "*alius*," and has therefore experienced the same fate as the Greek *ἄλλος*, Old High German *alles*, "else," and the Latin *ille, olle*. In Sanscrit, from the energetic subjective demonstrative base *sa*, "he," "this," "that," (§. 345.), arises the general term "all," viz, सर्व *sar-va*, "every," plural सर्वे *sarvê*, "all," and the adverbs of time सदा *sada*, and सना *sanâ*, "ever": from the latter comes the adjective सनातन *sanâtana*, "perpetual." The final member of *sarva* is identical with that of our अव *ava*, एव *êvâ*, and इव *iva*; and, with respect to the *r*, analogous

forms to *sarva* occur in *êtar-hi*, "then," and *kar-hi*, "when?"* the *h* of which I consider as an abbreviation of *dh*, and the whole *dhi* as a cognate suffix to the Greek θι (compare §. 23.). Thus *êtarhi*, exclusive of the prefixed pronoun *ê* agrees with τόθι, and *kar-hi* with πόθι, from κόθι. In the Gothic, *tha-r*, "there," in our *dar* in *immerdar*, (always *darbringen*, "to offer," *darstellen*, "to represent," &c., and *hva-r*, "where?" (compare *war-um*, "wherefore," *wor-aus* "whence," &c.) the syllable *hi* or *dhi* of the Indian prototype is wanting. We may notice, also, the compound *hvar-yis*, "which?" the last member of which belongs to the Sanscrit relative base य *ya*. In Lithuanian we have in *kittur* (*kit-tur*), "somewhere else," a form analogous to the Gothic locative adverbs in *r*. With the Sanscrit *sarva* "every," may be compared the Old High German *sâr* "*omnino*," our *sehr*, "much." But to return to the Gothic base *aiva*, we see clearly enough the pronominal origin of this word in expressions ike *ni aiv*, "*nunquam*," *ni aiva dagê* "on no day whatever," and still more in our *ye*, Old High German *êo*, *io*, which latter has been formed from *aiv*, by suppressing the *a*, and changing the *v* into a vowel; and by this alteration it has become estranged from *êwa*, "eternity." A word, however, signifying merely eternity or time, would scarcely have entered into combinations like *êo-man*, "*aliquis*," our "*jemand*," in which *êo* may be regarded as equivalent to the Zend *aêva*, "one;" so, also, in *êo-wiht*, "*aliquid*," literally "one thing," or "any one thing": *ionêr* means "anywhere," and, with respect to it *r*, agrees with the abovementioned locative adverbs (*thar hvar*), and, in regard to its entire final syllable, with pronouns compounded with *na*, *no* (§. 376.); and this affords striking proof that the preceding *io* cannot, from its origin

* The Indian grammarians assume, without cause or reason, a suffix *rhi* for both these expressions, and distribute them thus, *êta-rhi*, *ka-rhi*.

be a term for denoting time. Perhaps, however, the Old High German *io* is not in all places the corruption of the Gothic *aiv*, for a short way of arriving at it is through the old relative base य *ya*. It is certain that the Lithuanian *yů* belongs to it, which, in its use before comparatives in sentences like *yů bagotésnis yů szykoztésnis*, "the richer the more niggardly," corresponds exactly to the use of the German language, only that the same expression is always retained in the corresponding sentence, which may be done in German also, as, in Sanscrit, the idea of one* is expressed by attraction, after relatives by *ya*, and after interrogatives by *ka* (see §. 308.). The Lithuanian *yů*, however, is clearly the instrumental of the base *ya*, which elsewhere signifies "he," but, in this kind of expression, retains the old relative meaning. In Lithuanian, *yo* may be used for *yů;* and if this is not merely an abbreviation of *yů* (*yuo*) it is the genitive of the pronoun referred to; for *yis* (for *yus*), "he," forms, in the genitive, *yo*. Rubig renders "the sooner the better," by *yo pirmyaus yo geraus.*† Graff (I. 517.) rightly compares the Old High German *io* with this Lithuanian *yo*, and the former must therefore be distinguished from the *io*, which are

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* The meaning of this is, that if, in Sanscrit, a sentence be interrogative, the object of the verb likewise becomes interrogative, as it were by attraction, instead of being, as in English, indefinite. Thus, in the passage referred to §. 308., कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ कञ् घातयति हन्ति कम् *kathaṇ sa purushaḥ pârtha kan ghâtayati hanti kam*, "How, O Partha, can that spirit cause to be killed *whom*, can it kill *whom?*" The same attraction takes place in a relative sentence. Thus, in the Second Book of the Hitopadeśa, यदेव रोचते यस्मै भवेत तत्तस्य सुन्दरं *yadêva rôchatê yasmâi bhavêt tat tasya sundaram*, "*Whatever* is agreeable to *whomsoever* (in English it would be 'to any one soever'), that to him will be beautiful."—*Translator's Note.*

† As addenda to §. 306. may be noticed the uninflected comparatives, which accord with the superlatives in *aus-as* (§. 307.).

corruptions of the Gothic *aiv*. In Latin we find a form corresponding to this *aiv* (theme *aiva*) in *ævum* which has quite lost a pronominal signification. It may be left undecided whether the Greek *αἰών* should be referred to this class. But we must remark that the syllable *va* of अव *ava*, एव *êva*, and इव *iva*, is, as it appears to me, of itself a pronoun, and connected with the enclitic *vat*, "as." Perhaps the *v* is a weakened form of *m* (§. 63.), and *iva* therefore connected with the demonstrative *ima*. Observe that the derivative suffixes *vat* and *mat*, in the strong cases *vant*, *mant*, are completely identical in meaning, as are also *min* and *vin*.

382. We come now to the relative, the base of which is, in Sanscrit and Zend, *ya*, feminine *yâ*; and the offshoots of which, in the European cognate languages, have been already frequently mentioned. With respect to the Greek ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, answering to the Sanscrit *yas*, *yâ*, *yat*, we may notice how frequently the Indian य् *y* is represented by the Greek spiritus asper. And ὅς has the same relation to *yas* that ὑμεῖς has to the Vêda युष्मे *yushmê*, "ye," ὑσμίνη to युध्म *yudhma*, "strife," ἦπαρ to यकृत् *yakṛit* and *jecur*, ἄζω to यज् *yaj*, "to honour," "adore," ἥμερος to यम् *yam*, "to restrain." The circumstance, that the relative is dialectically replaced by the article, is as little proof of the connection of the two, as our German *welcher*, "which," being replaced by the demonstrative *der*, "the," is, that it is cognate to it in form. Since, as early as Homer, the use of the true relative is very common, and the relative expressions ὅσος, οἷος, ἡλίκος, ἧμος, answer to the demonstrative derivatives τόσος, τοῖος, τηλίκος, τῆμος, we may find in this alone sufficient evidence, exclusive of proofs drawn from the Sanscrit and other cognate languages, of the original existence of a distinct relative base in Greek.

383. In Zend the relative occurs also with a demonstra-

tive meaning: thus we frequently find the accusative [illegible] *yim* in the sense of *hunc*. This guides us to the Lithuanian *yis*, "he" (euphonic for *yus*, §. 135.),* accusative *yiṅ*. The dative *yam* corresponds with the Sanscrit *yasmâi*, Zend *yahmâi*; as does the locative *yame* (§. 176.) with *yasmin*, *yahmi*. In Sclavonic, *ye* is the most perfect form that has been retained in the masculine and neuter singular of this pronominal base (see p. 353): in the neuter plural *ya* agrees most exactly with the Zend and Vêda *yâ* (§. 255. *a.*), just as, in the nominative singular feminine, *yâ* (*ya-she*, "which") corresponds to the Sanscrit-Zend *yâ*. The masculine form *i* is derived, as has been already remarked, by suppressing the vowel of the base, and vocalising the *y*, and thus resembles tolerably closely the Gothic relative particle *ei* (= *î*). In Gothic, however, there exist derivatives from the base under discussion, which are even yet more similar. For instance, the conjunction *ya-bai*, "if," springs from it as the cognate form of the Sanscrit यदि *ya-di*, which signifies the same. The suffixes alone differ. The Gothic *bai* is a corruption of *ba*, and appears in this form in the compound *thauh-yaba*. There is an analogous form to *yabai*, *yaba*, viz. *iba*, *ibai*,* which is used particularly as an interrogative particle, and proceeds from the pronominal base *i*. Combined, also, with the negative particle *ni*, *iba* means "if;" thus *niba* (for *ni iba*, as *nist*, "he is not," for *ni ist*), "if not," where we must remark that the Sanscrit इत् *it* connected with *iba*, as regards its base, likewise means "if"; and, indeed, in like manner only

* In Zend the *i* of *yim* is not produced by the euphonic influence of the *y*, for we also find *dim* for *dĕm* (§. 343.), and *drughim* for *drughĕm*, from *drugh*, "a demon."

† Compare Demonstrative Bases, p. 15, and Graff (I. 75), who assents to my opinion, but designates the pronominal bases as adverbs of place, or locative particles.

in combination with particles preceding it; so that *nêt* (*na* + *it*), "if not," is, as it were, the prototype of the Gothic *n'-iba* (see §. 360.). It can hardly be that the suffix, also, does not contain somewhat of Sanscrit. I conjecture a connection between the syllables *va* in *iva*, "as," *êv-a*, "also," &c., and that of *e-vam*, "so," or what almost amounts to the same thing with the enclitic वत् *vat*, "as." And thus the derivation of the Gothic adverbs in *ba* may be shewn.* It cannot appear surprising that the *v* is hardened to *b*, for in Bengáli every Sanscrit *v* is pronounced as *b*, and in New German, also, we have *b* for *v* in the older dialects. In Lithuanian the *v* of the Sanscrit *iva*, "as," is altered to *p*, as we have before seen *pa* formed from स्व *sva* (§. 359.). No more satisfactory derivation, therefore, can, in my opinion, be given for pronominal adverbs terminating in *ipo* or *ip*, than from the इव *iva* above mentioned, particularly as the latter is constantly subjoined, as तद् इव *tad iva*, "as this." So, in Lithuanian, *taipo* or *taip*, "so," *i.e.* "as this," from the base *ta* + *ipo*; *kaipo* or *kaip*, "how"? *kittaipo*, *kittaip*, and *antraipo*, *antraip*, "else." Another view of these impressions might be taken, according to which *i* would be allotted to the principal pronoun, which would be regarded as neuter (§, 157.); thus *tai-po*, *kai-po*, &c. In this case the vowel of the Sanscrit इव *iva* would be lost in Lithuanian; but I prefer the former opinion, and believe that the Gothic *hvaiva*, "how"? taken as *hva-iva*, must be

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* Not *aba*, for the *a* belongs to the adjective base; hence those in *u* have, not *v-aba* but *u-ba*; but those in *ya*, for the most part, lay aside their final vowel, and form *i-ba* for *ya-ba*. Examples: *frôda-ba*, "intelligent," from *FRŌDA* (nom. *fróths*); *harda-ba*, "hard," from *HARDU*; *andaugi-ba*, "evident," perhaps from the substantive base *ANDAUGYA* (nominative *andaugi*), "visage." The full form is seen in *gabaurya-ba*, "willing."

referred to this class; for it cannot appear remarkable that the termination *va*, in Gothic, should not have been everywhere hardened to *ba*, but that a trace of the original form should be still left. But if the *sva*, "so," answering to *hvaiva*, does not, as has been before conjectured, belong to the Sanscrit reflective base स्व *sva* (§. 341.), I should then regard it as analogous to *hvaiva*, and divide it thus, *sh-va*, so that it would contain the demonstrative base *sa*, mentioned in §. 346., from which, in Sanscrit, comes, among other words, सदृश *sa-dṛiśa*, "similar," literally "appearing like this." But to return to the Sanscrit *yadi*, "if," its *di* is probably a weakened form of the suffix, which we have seen above in इति *iti*, "thus," and elsewhere, also, in अदि *adi*, "over," and altered to धि *dhi* in अधि *adhi*, "to," "towards." The Prakrit जइ *jaî* (§. 19.) has quite dropped the *T* sound, just as the Lithuanian *yey*: through both languages the Greek *εἰ* is, as it were, prepared; as to the connection of which with our relative base I have no longer any doubt, as all is regular as far as the suppression of the semivowel in the initial sound; and by a similar suppression we have not been prevented from recognising the Vêda युष्मे *yushmê*, "ye" in the Æolic *ὔμμες*.

384. The Gothic particle *yau*, which in the signification "whether" coincides with the Sanscrit यदि *yadi*, which together with "if" means also "whether," supports the derivation of *ba* from *va*, given above; for *yau* is, for the most part, in the same relation to *yaba*, that, in Lithuanian, *taip* bears to the more full *taipo*. The form *yau*, however, probably owes its origin to a time when, in more perfect accordance with the Sanscrit, *yaba* for *yava* was still used, whence, after suppressing the *a*, *yava* must be formed, as *e.g.* the base *thiva*, "servant," in the nominative *thius*, accusative *thiu*. But if *yau* arose at a time when *yaba* was already in use for *yava*, we should have to notice the relation of the Latin *au* (*aufugio*, *aufero*) to *ab*. The

Lithuanian has likewise a particle *yau*, which is connected, in its base at least, with the Gothic: it signifies "already," *i.e.* "at this" (time), and therefore reminds us of *jam*, which, in Latin, is the only remnant of the pronominal base under discussion. Perhaps the *u* in the Lithuanian form is the dissolution of a nasal, by which *yam* and *yau* would be brought still closer, and the latter would be related to the former, as *buvau*, "I was," to the Sanscrit अभवम् *abhavam* (compare §. 255. g.). With the Latin *jam* and Lithuanian *yau* must be classed, also, the Gothic *yu*, "now," "already," which, in respect to its *u*, is an analogous form to the *nu*, "now," mentioned above (§. 370.), and, with *than*, forms the combination *yuthan*, "already." This furnishes a new proof that *yu* is probably but an abbreviation of the Sanscrit द्यु *dyu*, "day;" for if this were the case, it would follow that the demonstrative, and *thanyu* or *thayu* would be used, as in Latin *hodie*, and Old High German *hiutu*, in Sanscrit *a-dya*, in Greek σήμερον. The Old High German *ie* in *ie zuo*, whence our *jetzo*, *jetzt*, is probably a weakened form of the Gothic *yu*, and literally signifies "to this," with a preposition subjoined. It first occurs in an inscription of the twelfth century (Graff I. 516.), for which reason it cannot be matter of surprise that the *u* is corrupted to *e*.

385. There remain to be noticed, in order to complete the list of the remnants of the Sanscrit relative base, the affirmative particle *ya*, *yai*, (compare §. 371,) and the copulative *yah*, "and," "also." The form *ya* may be taken as neuter, analogous to the interrogative *hva*, "what," and, like the latter, it is indeclinable. The more usual form *yai* may have sprung from *ya*, through the inclination, which the *a* manifests, even in Sanscrit, to form a diphthong with the addition of an *i* (§. 158.). Hence there arises an apparent affinity of declension with the sole pronominal neuter in Lithuanian, viz. *tai*. The copulative

particle *yah* is identical in its final *h* with the Latin *que* and Sanscrit च *cha*, which is likewise subjoined, and which owes its origin to the interrogative base *ka*, on which we will bestow a closer examination in the following paragraphs.

386. The interrogative bases in Sanscrit are three, according to the three primary vowels, viz, *ka*, *ku*, *ki*. The two latter may be looked upon as weakened forms of the first and principal one, for which reason I shall take them in the order of the diminution of the weight of the *a*.* From क *ka* springs the whole declension of the masculine, as also that of the neuter, with the exception of the singular nominative and accusative किम् *kim*. The neuter कत् *kat*, which is obsolete as far as regards its isolated use, and on which the Latin form *quod* is founded, is easily recognised in the interrogative particle कच्चित् *kach-chit*, euphonic for *kat-chit*: it also appears as the prefix in expressions like कदध्वन् *kad-adhvan*,† "a bad street," literally "what a street!" Other interrogative expressions are similarly prefixed, in order to represent a person or thing as bad or contemptible, as I have already previously noticed.‡ But since then my conjecture regarding the cognate form in Sanscrit has been still more confirmed by the Zend, where 𐬐𐬀𐬑 *kat* is actually the common neuter of the interrogative. From the masculine and neuter base *ka* springs, in Sanscrit and Zend, the feminine base *ká*, which, according to §. 137., appears in the nominative singular without inflexion.

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* Vocalismus, p. 227, Rem. 16.

† *Kad* for *kat*, according to §. 93ª.

‡ Götting. Auzeig. 1821, p. 352. Wilson, on the other hand, follows the native grammarians in deriving both the interrogative particle *kachchit* and *kad-adhvan*, and similar compounds from *kat* for *kut*, "bad"; and it appears that the connection of the prefixes *kat* and *ku* with the interrogative has quite escaped the Indian grammarians.

None of the European cognate languages agrees better with the twin Asiatic sisters than the Lithuanian, in which the masculine nominative *kas* is completely identical with the Sanscrit कस् *kas*, over which, too, it maintains this superiority in the retention of the original form, that its *s* remains unalterable, and is not liable to suppression, while the Sanscrit *kas* is changed into *kaḣ*, *kô*, and *ka*, according to the quantity of the initial sound following, or before a pause, and retains the original sibilant, according to a universal law of sound, only before त् *t* and थ् *th*, and changes it before च् *ch* छ् *chh*, or ट् *ṭ*, ठ् *ṭh*, into the sibilant of the corresponding organ. In the corresponding Zend form there is this remarkable peculiarity, that, if followed by the singular of the pronoun of the second person, the latter combines with the preceding interrogative, and forms one word—a combination which is of course only phonetic, and has no influence on the sense. Though I have no doubt this combination has been occasioned simply by the tendency in several languages to unite *s* and *t*, or *th*, still in the case before us a conjunctive vowel has been, in the course of time, introduced in Zend; and indeed, according to the oldest MSS., an *ĕ*,* in the sense of §. 30. As, however, in the edited codex of the V. S., in two out of four passages in which [illegible] *kaṡĕthwaṅm*, "who thee," should be read, we find instead *kaṡê thwaṅm;* and in one passage, indeed, these words occur combined, but still with a long *ê*, *kaṡêthwaṅm;* and, in the fourth case, there is an erroneous reading, *kaṡithwaṅm;* I was therefore formerly of opinion Gramm. Crit. p. 327.), that we might consider the *ê* or *i*, combined with *kaṡ*, as analogous to the Greek demonstrative *ī́*; a conjecture which must be withdrawn, owing to the various readings since published by Burnouf, and the inference (l. c. p. 108) thence deduced. With the dative

† Burnouf's Yaçna, Note R. p. 134.

[illegible] *tê*, and with [illegible] *nâ*, "man," [illegible] *kaš* forms, without an auxiliary vowel, the combination [illegible] *kaštê*, [illegible] *kašnâ* (Burnouf l. c. p. 409.).

387. According to §. 116., from the Sanscrit-Zend-Lithuanian interrogative base *KA* must come the Greek KO, which, retained in Ionic, has elsewhere become ΠΟ, from the easy interchange of gutturals and labials. The declension, however, of this KO or ΠΟ is disused in favour of that of τίς, and the only remains of it are adverbs and derivatives, as κότε, πότε, κῶς, κότερον, πότερον (see कतरस् *kataras*, "whether of the two?"), κόσος, πόσος, κοῖος, ποῖος, which are clear enough proofs of the original existence of a κός, κή, κό. These form the foundation of those cases of the Latin interrogative and relative, which belong to the second declension, viz. *quod* (= [illegible] *kat*), *quo*, and, in the plural, *qui*, *quorum*, *quos*. The plural of the neuter *quæ* differs from the common declension, according to which it should be *qua*. The form *quæ*, however, may have remained from the dual, which is otherwise lost in Latin, and may have assumed a generally plural signification; for *quæ* agrees, as has been already remarked (§. 234.), exactly with the Sanscrit dual के *kê*. The Latin feminine is founded, in the cases peculiar to it, on the Indo-Zend feminine base *kâ*: compare, for instance, *quam* with काम् *kâm*, *quârum* with कासाम् *kâsâm*, *quâs* with कास् *kâs*. The singular nominative *quæ*, however, is remarkable, standing isolated in Latin grammar as the neuter plural nominative just mentioned; for the demonstrative *hic* (of which hereafter), is, in its origin, identical with the pronoun under discussion, the feminine nominative of which should be *qua*, which it actually is in the compound *aliqua*, &c. Whence, then, the forms *quæ* and *hæ-c*? If they are not corruptions of *qua*, for which no reason can be assigned, or weakened forms of the originally long *quā* (§. 137.), by the last element *â* (= *ă* + *ă*) becoming *i*, there

is no course left but to regard the *æ* of *quæ*, *hæ-c*, as a remnant of the feminine character ई *î*, mentioned in §. 119. As, however, in Sanscrit and Zend, the masculine and neuter *a* of the primitive is dropped before this feminine *î*, and from क *ka* might be formed, in the feminine base, *kî* (compare §. 172.), but not *kê*, I now prefer, contrary to my former opinion,* the explanation pointed out above—that the long *â*, which should be found in the uninflected nominative of bases in *â*, has for once been weakened, as is usual in the vocative of the corresponding Sanscrit class of words, in which सुते *sutê*, (= *sutaï*) "daughter," bears the same relation to *sutâ* that *quæ* does to का *kâ*; and, secondly, with the complete abbreviation of the *â*, which, in Sanscrit, is the case only in a small number of vocatives, *e.g.* अम्म *amma*, "mother," from *ammâ*.

388. In Gothic, according to a universal law of permutation, the old tenuis of the interrogative base has passed into *h*; and as gutturals freely combine with *v*, with this *h* a *v* has been joined as euphonic; hence *HVA* from क *ka*, and, in the feminine, *HVŌ* (according to §. 69.) from का *kâ*. The *v* has remained alone in our *wer*, "who?" We have before drawn attention to the masculine nominative *hva-s*, with respect to its grammatical importance (§. 135.), and have remarked that the feminine nominative *hvô*, as also *sô*, "this," has not admitted, owing to its being monosyllabic, the shortening of the *ô* to *a*, which takes place elsewhere in this case (§. 137.). In the neuter *hva* the inflection *ta* is wanting, in which respect the Old High German *huaz* (Old Saxon *huat*) is more perfect. In Old Saxon, according to §. 255. *a.*, a masculine and neuter base *ko* and a feminine *ka* might be looked for; but the simple declension of the interrogative does not occur, but only that compounded with the definitive, originally

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* Influence of the Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 3.

relative pronoun (§. 282.): hence, nom. *ky-ĭ* (*ko-ĭ*, §. 255. *d.*), *ka-ya*, *ko-e*, genitive masculine and neuter *ko-ego*, feminine *ko-eya*, &c. The same principle is followed in Old High German, only the cases do not occur in which the combination of the interrogative base and old relative base would be most perceptible, with the exception of the instrumental *hwiu* (=*hwiu*), our *wie*, the simple form of which would be *hwu* (*hwu*). It is a question whether *huiu* be really an instrumental, and not from the Gothic *hvaiva*, "as" (p. 540). The feminine, if it were used, would be, in the singular nominative, *huiu*, and, in the plural, *huio* (Grimm, 796). The masculine singular forms *huër*, *huës*, *huëmu*, *huën* (or *huënan*); and the case is the same here with regard to the more concealed appended pronoun, as above with *dër*, *dës*, *dëmu*, *dën* (§. 356.). The Old Saxon, on the other hand, has, in the masculine nominative singular *huie*, clearly the old relative base, just as in the demonstrative *thie*, which latter forms the truest countertype of the Sanscrit base त *tya* (§. 353.). The Middle Netherlandish shews, in the whole masculine singular of the interrogative, the appended relative य *ya*, the semivowel being corrupted to *i* and the *a* to *e*; but the guttural of the interrogative base has disappeared, and only the euphonic affix *w* has remained; thus, *w-ie*, *w-ies*, *w-ien*, *w-ien*. With respect to the latter portion of the word compare the Sanscrit *yas*, *yasya*, *yasmâi*, *yam*; the Lithuanian *yis*, *yo*, *yam*, *yiṅ*; and the Gothic *yis*, *yis*, *yamma*, *yana*, contained in *hvar-yis* (p. 536). The Old High German *yenêr* is also to be viewed in the same light, the base of the old relative being added, that is to say, to the Gothic base *yaina*; and what has been said above (p. 504) of *dësêr* applies to the long *ê*. Perhaps, too, the *ê* of the locative adverb *ionêr*, "anywhere" (p. 536), which has been before mentioned, is to be viewed in the same light, as from *iona-ir*. The feminine of *yënĕr* is *yenu*, with *i* suppressed (compare §. 288. Rem. 5.); on the other hand, in the Middle High German *jeniu* and, according to Notker, *eniu*, and in

the masculine, *enêr*. If these forms, in which the initial *y* is wanting, are not abbreviated from *yenër*, *yeniu*, but genuine, then they would belong to the Sanscrit *ana*, "this," and Lithuanian *ana-s*, Sclavonic *on*, "that" (comp. Graff, I. 398).

389. We turn to the second interrogative base mentioned in §. 386., viz. कु *ku*, from which spring only the adverbs कुत्र *ku-tra*, "where?" and कुतस् *ku-tas*, "whither?" perhaps, also, क्व *kva*, "where?" if it is to be distributed into *ku-a*, not into *k'-va*; further in the Zend 𐬐𐬆𐬙𐬀 *kutha*, "how?" which would lead us to expect a Sanscrit कुथा *kuthâ*, for which, however, कथम् *katham* is used; for कु *ku* is prefixed in a deteriorating, derisive sense, as in कुतनु *kutanu*, "having an ugly body," properly "having a what sort of body?" a title of Kuvera. In Zend this *ku* occurs as a prefix to verbs, where it gives additional emphasis to the negative expressed by 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬑 *nôiṭ*, and signifies "any one." Thus we read in the beginning of the Vendidad, 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬑 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬨 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬑 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬐𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬑 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬑 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬨 *nôiṭ kudaṭ sâitîm** *yêidhi zi nôiṭ azĕm daidhyaṅm*, &c., "no one could have created them if I had not created them." Under this class might be brought the Latin genitive *cu-jus* and the dative *cu-i*, which in a measure belong to the fourth declension, as the obsolete forms *quojus*, *quoi*, from the base *QVO* = *KO*, क *ka*, do to the second. It is not requisite, therefore, to consider the classical forms *cujus* and *cui* as corruptions of *quo-jus*, *quo-i*; for as the base *cu*, as is apparent from the Sanscrit and Zend, is in its origin equally old with *QVO*, from it may have proceeded *cujus*, *cui*, *cujas*, or *cujatis*,

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* This appears to me an abbreviation of *ésâvaitîm*, and presupposes a Sanscrit *ésh-âvat* together with *étâvat* (from *éta*, §. 344.). The initial *é* has been dropped, but has left its influence on the sibilant following: hence *sâitîm* for *shâitîm* (§§. 51. 52.), not *hâitîm*. Remark the Zend 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 *shâu*, mentioned before, as compared with the Sanscrit *asâu*, unless the conjecture mentioned §. 55. is well grounded.

which may have existed together with *quojus*, *quoi*, *quojas*, as *quid*, from the base *QVI*, together with *quod* from *QVO*. Considering, however, that, in Sanscrit, the whole interrogative declension, with the exception only of *kim*, comes from the base *ka*—on which the Latin *QUO* is founded—just as in Lithuanian it all comes from *KA*, and in Gothic from *HVA*; and that the rarely-occurring base *ku* has, in the European cognate languages in particular, left us traces which can be relied upon;—under these considerations I now prefer, contrary to my former opinion,* deriving *cujus*, *cui*, from *quojus*, *quoi*; so that, after rejecting the *o*, the semi-vowel preceding has been changed into a vowel, as, in Sanscrit, *u* frequently appears as the abbreviation of the syllable *va*, as *ukta* spoken for *vakta*, and even in the Latin *cutio* (*concutio*) from *quatio*. Qu, however, $=kv$, if the *v* in this place be pronounced like the English or German *w*—and the Latin like the Gothic (§. 86. 1.), loves the euphonic addition of a *v* after gutturals; hence the forms *QVO* and *HVA*, in the interrogative, correspond in their difference from the Sanscrit, Zend, and Lithuanian *KA*, and thus *qVa*, and the Gothic *ahva*, "river," shew an agreement when contrasted with the Sanscrit अप् *ap*, "water," with the common interchange between gutturals and labials. We must observe, also, the relation of *angVis* to the Sanscrit अहिस् *ahi-s*, "snake," and Greek ἔχις. If, then, as I doubt not, *cujus*, *cujas*, *cui*, spring from *quojus*, *quojas*, *quoi*, as *cum*, "since," from *quum*, *cur* from *quare*, then we must also derive *uter*, *uti*, *ut*, *ubi*, and *unde*, from lost forms like *quoter*, &c., and the latter would correspond tolerably well with the Gothic *hvathar* (§. 292.). It is certain that *uter*, and the other interrogative and relative expressions commencing with *u*, have lost a preceding guttural, as *amo* has, compared with कामयामि *kámayámi*, "I love," and *nosco*, *nascor*, from *gnosco*, *gnascor*. The more perfect *cubi*, *cunde*, is still preserved in the com-

† Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 3.

pounds *ali-cubi, ali-cunde*;* as the root of the verb substantive is retained more truly in the compound participles *ab-sens* and *præ-sens*, than in the simple *ens*, answering to the Sanscrit *sat*, nominative *san*, accusative *santam*. Under this head are to be classed, also, *unquam, usquam, uspiam, usque:* the interrogative meaning, however, is removed by their lost element, just as in *quisquam, quispiam*, and *quisque*. In abbreviating *cu* (from *QVO*) to *u* all these forms agree, in some measure, with our German *wer*, "who?" in which only the element which has been added for the sake of euphony, according to §. 86. 1., has remained of the consonants which belonged originally to the base. It might, indeed, be asserted, that the *u* of *uter*, and other interrogative expressions beginning with *u*, has nothing in common with the euphonic *v* of the base *QVO*, but that it is the original *a* of क *ka* weakened, and that thus *uter* is a corruption of कतरस् *kataras*, by simply dropping the *k* and changing the *a* to *u*. To this it may be objected that *u* in Latin does, indeed, often enough correspond to an Indian *a*, but still principally only before liquids and before a final *s*: the अ *a* of कतरस् *katara-s*, however, it might be expected, would, under the most favourable circumstances, remain unchanged, or, more probably, be altered to *ŏ*, as in *κότερον*, or to *ĕ* or *ĭ*.

390. The third interrogative base कि *ki* is more fertile of derivatives than कु *ku*, both in Sanscrit and in the cognate languages. From it comes the word *kim*, "what?" (as nominative and accusative) which has been frequently mentioned, which is so far isolated in Grammar, as otherwise substantive and adjective neuters in *a* alone make *m* the sign of the nominative and accusative singular (§. 152.),

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* I do not think that these words can be distributed thus, *alic-ubi, alic-unde*, and that we can assume a compound of *ALIQUI* with *ubi, unde*; but as *ali*, as the abbreviation of *ALIO*, is the first member of the compound *ali-quis*, so it is also that of *ali-cubi* and *ali-cunde*.

and bases in *i* use the simple theme. We should have looked, therefore, for *ki*, or, according to the pronominal declension, कित् *kit*, before sonant letters किद् *kid*. Of the prior existence of this form there can be scarce any doubt, after what has been before said of the neuter इत् *it* and चित् *chit*: it is, however, confirmed by the Latin *quid* and the Lithuanian *kittur* elsewhere, which I regard as a compound, and distribute thus *kit-tur*, with regard to which the *szit-tas* before cited (§. 357.), may be again brought to notice, which, with reference to its lost portion, is identical with that of *kit-tur*, of which mention has been before made as locative adverb. That, in Sanscrit also, there existed a masculine nominative किस् *kis*, as prototype to the Latin *quis*, perhaps with a more full declension, is proved by the compounds माकिस् *mâkis* and नाकिस् *nakis*, which occur, perhaps, only in the Vêdas, and the former of which probably signifies the same as the corresponding *nêquis* (from *mêquis*, §. 371.), and Zend *mâchis*,* while the latter agrees in meaning with the Zend 𐬥𐬀𐬎𐬉𐬌𐬱 *naêchis*, "not any one," "no one." Grammarians, however, include both expressions among the indeclinables, and write them माकिर् *mâkir*, नाकिर् *nakir*, which Colebrooke renders, together with माकिम् *mâkim* and नाकिम् *nakim*, by "no," "except,"† without signifying that they are masculine nominatives, which might be very easily understood without the aid of the Zend.

391. Other derivatives from the interrogative base कि

* Gramm. Crit. p. 328.

† Sanscrit Grammar, p. 121. On account of the mutual transitions of final *s* and *r*, and the uniformity of the phonetic laws to which they are subject after vowels other than *a*, *â*, it might remain undecided in the expressions given above, whether *s* or *r* is the original final letter. As, however, with reference to *mâkim* and *nakim*, they are shewn to be masculine nominatives, it is matter of astonishment that *mâkir* and *nakir* could ever be taken for the original forms.

ki are *kîdṛisha*, "similar to whom?" and analogous forms, of which more hereafter, and कियत् *kiyat*, "how much?" in the strong cases (§. 129.) कियन्त् *kiyant*, hence nominative masculine *kiyân*, accusative *kiyantam*. As *k* easily passes into *h*, and, in Germanic, the old tenues are almost always changed into aspirates, and *e.g.* *k* to *h*; and as हृद् *hṛid* and *hṛidaya*, "heart," correspond to the Latin *cor* and Greek κῆρ and καρδία; so, perhaps, also *hi*, "for," may be regarded as the weakened form of कि *ki*, with the transition of the interrogative signification into the demonstrative, which is easily intelligible, and which occurs also in the Greek γάρ, which, with regard to its formation, appears analogous to the Gothic *hvar*, *thar*, and Sans. *kar-hi*. As to the change of the tenuis to the medial, it cannot be more a matter of difficulty than in δέ and δεῖνα (§§. 350. 376.). We may here mention, as derivatives from the interrogative, the particles κε (Doric κα), κεν, γε (Doric γα). The Sanscrit *hi*, however, occurs in ह्यस् *hyas*, "yesterday," which I think may be distributed into *hi* + *as*, and considered as "that day;" for words which signify "yesterday," "to-day," "to-morrow," as far as the elements concealed in them, and which are often so altered as to be quite undistinguishable, admit of any derivation at all, can be traced only to pronouns and terms denoting "day." The *as*, therefore, of *hy-as* may be a weak remnant of *divas*, "day," as in our *er* of *heuer*—Middle High German *hiure*, from *hiu-jâru*—is concealed the word *jahr*, "year," which is in Zend *yârĕ*, a remnant of which is to be found, also, in the Latin *hornus*, with *nu*, *no*, derivative. In the Greek χθές, the θ appears to have arisen by a kind of semi-assimilation from the older semi-vowel (compare §. 300.), by which its etymology is still more obscured. In the Latin *heri*, from *hesi* (compare *hes-ternus*, Sanscrit *hyas-tana-s*), a demonstrative element is more perceptible than in χθές, from the partial retention of *hic*. The *g* of our *gestern*, "yes-

terday," Gothic *gistra*,* is a consequence of the regular transition of old aspirates into medials, but otherwise the *gis*, to which the *tra* is affixed as mark of derivation, resembles the Sanscrit ह्यस् *hyas* tolerably well.

392. From *gestern* we proceed to *morgen;* but we must first settle the derivation of a word, which, in Sanscrit, signifies "all," "every," and in which I recognise an affinity to श्वस् *śvas*, "morrow"; I mean विश्व *viśva*, which, in Zend, according to §. 50., becomes 𐬬𐬌𐬯𐬞𐬀 *vîspa*, and in Lithuanian is changed by assimilation into *wissa-s*, whence *wissur*, "everywhere," analogous to the abovementioned *kittur*, "elsewhere." The first portion of the Sanscrit विश्व *viśva*, I believe to be the preposition *vi*, which expresses "separation," "dissipation," "diffusion," and, with the aid of a pronoun, may be well adapted to express the idea "all." There remains श्व *śva*, as a pronoun, in which it may be observed, that श् *ś* is of guttural origin, and represented, in the classical languages, by *k*, *c* (§. 21.); so that श्व *śva* appears to be related to the interrogative base, with a euphonic *v*, as in the Gothic *HVA*, and Latin *QVO*. Observe further, that, in Lithuanian, *ka-s*, combined with the appended particle *gi*, which is probably a softened *ki*, signifies both "who then?" and "every." And without *gi*, *kasdiên'*, means "all days," and *diên-iskay*, with the interrogative appended, signifies the same. But to return to the Sanscrit विश्व *vi-śva*, "all," I consider its latter portion as derived from श्वस् *śvas*, "morrow," with which the Latin *cras* is connected (§. 20.). We should, however, probably distribute thus *ś-vas*, so that the pronominal base is represented only by its consonant, as in the Sclavonic *k-to*, "*quis?*" (§. 297.). The syllable वस् *vas*, however, we refer to दिवस् *divas*, an appella-

* *Gistra-dagis* occurs Matt. vi. 30. in the sense of "morrow."

tion of "day," which would therefore be less altered by one letter than in ह्यस् *hy-as*, "yesterday," and agrees with the Latin *ves* in *ves-per* (§. 375.).

393. We return to the interrogative base कि *ki*, which has led us to its corruption हि *hi*, and thence to the derivation of ह्यस् *hy-as*, "yesterday," and श्वस् *śvas*, "morrow." In Zend I have hitherto found the base 𐬴𐬌 *ki*, unchanged only in the neuter plural nominative, 𐬴𐬌𐬌𐬀 *ky-a* (from *ki-a*) (§. 233.); with which may be compared the Latin *qui-a*, which Max. Schmidt (De Pron. p. 34) has rightly taken as the plural neuter. The Sanscrit and Zend, therefore, mutually complete the declension of the interrogative, so that the former admits the base *ki* only in the nominative and accusative singular; the latter in the plural; while in Latin the corresponding *QVI* enters more largely into the declension; so that *quis* and *quem* have quite dislodged the *quus* and *quum*, which might have been expected from the base *QVO*, or, as in the case of the latter word, have restricted it to its use as a conjunction. And in the dative plural, *quibus* has abolished the use of *quis*, *queis*, which spring from *QVO*. In the ablative singular, however, *quī*, from *QVI*, has been superseded by *quō*, from *QVO*, or its use has been much diminished by it; just as, in the plural, the obsolete *ques* is supplied by *qui* and *quos*. I have elsewhere noticed, that four declensions (the first in the feminine), enter into the declension of the Latin relative interrogative and *hi-c*, which is identical with it in origin.* The use of the fourth is, however, only specious, as *cu-i* above has been shewn to be a contraction of *quoi*, which belongs to the second declension, and, with respect to the more true retention of

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* Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, pp. 3, 4. Max. Schmidt (De Pron. Gr. et Lat. p. 33) has discussed this subject almost simultaneously with myself, and viewing it in the same light.

the case-termination, agrees with other obsolete forms, as *popoloi Romanoi* (§. 200.).

394. That *hic* is identical in origin with *quis, qui,* is shewn by its sharing in the peculiarities and mixed declension of the latter,—peculiarities which belong exclusively to *hi-c* and *qui, quis,* viz. the feminine *hæ-c,* and the plural neuter of the same sound. The reason of the non-existence of *hă-c,* together with the form given above, as might have been expected from the analogy of *aliqua, iqua,* &c., is that *hæc* does not occur at the end of compounds; for it seems not to admit of any doubt that *quæ* is reduced to *quă,* on account of the increased weight of the compound, which has occasioned the lightening of its latter part. Though *si quis, ne quis,* may be written separately, and a word may sometimes be interposed between them; still, where they occur together, they really belong to one another, and form a compound, as, in Sanscrit, the corresponding माकिस् *mâkis,* नकिस् *nakis,* and, in Zend, 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯 *mâchis,* 𐬥𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯 *naêchis.* Contrary to the conjecture expressed at §. 387., I now prefer regarding the neuter-plural forms *quæ* and *hæ-c,* not as remains of a dual, and thus corresponding to the Sanscrit के *kê,* but as exhibiting in their *æ* a weakening of the older *â,* which originally belongs to the nominative and accusative plural of the neuter of bases in *ŏ* (from *ă*); but which in Zend, according to §. 231., is retained only in monosyllabic themes, just as, in the nominative singular feminine, its being monosyllabic is the cause of the retention of the original length of *a* (§. 137.). This principle is observed in Gothic in both places; thus *sô* (from *sâ*), *hæc, hvô, quæ?* and, in the neuter plural, in which the interrogative cannot be cited, *thô.* This *thô,* then, being the only monosyllabic form of its kind, and remarkable for its *ô* (=*â*), for *ă,* as has been noticed by Grimm (I. 790.), coincides with the Latin *quæ* and *hæ-c,* which, both in the singular nominative feminine

and neuter plural, are the only monosyllabic forms of their kind; and as, for this reason, they are qualified to retain the long *a*, that letter is not only entirely shortened but changed to *æ* (=*ă* + *ĭ*), and afterwards, in compounds, reduced to short *a*, which is more suitable to polysyllabic forms: thus we have *aliquă*, both in the feminine and in the neuter plural.

395. *Hi-c* resembles the Sanscrit हि *hi* before mentioned in the irregular change of the old tenuis to the aspirate. This change, however, is not admitted in *ci-s* and *ci-tra*, which is likewise demonstrative, and akin to कि *ki*;* and, in *hic*, may be promoted or occasioned by the recession of *c*, in order that like initial and final sounds may be avoided; as in Sanscrit, to prevent the recurrence of gutturals, these, in the syllable of reduplication, are weakened to palatals; hence चकार *chakâra*, "he made," for *kakâra*; and, according to the same principle, though anomalous, जहि *jahi*, "kill ye," for *hahi*, from the root हन् *han*. Thus, in Latin, *hic*, *hæc*, *hoc*, for the less euphonious *cic*, *cæc*, *coc*. The final *c* is, I doubt not, an abbreviation of *ce*, which is again combined with itself in *hicce*; but *ce*, as also *pe* in *quip-pe* (from *quid-pe*), is only another form of *que*, by abandoning the euphonic affix *V*. As, then, *que*, *pe*, *quam* and *piam*, which are all originally interrogative, when they are attached to an interrogative destroy its interrogative meaning, and give a different sense to the pronoun; so also the *c* of *hic* makes a similar change in it, and should therefore accompany this pronoun through all its cases, as it perhaps originally did. In the neuter *hoc* the case-sign makes way for the *c*, as *hodc* would be pro-

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* *Ci-tra* is analogous with *ul-tra*, from *ille*, *olle*, suppressing *le*, and *ci-* with *ul-s*, the *s* of which may be connected with the Greek locative suffix θι (πό-θι, &c.), to which it bears the same relation that δός does to δό-θι. Remark, that final ĭ is suppressed in Latin almost universally.

nounced with difficulty. The interrogative meaning is similarly destroyed by the enclitic *uh* in Gothic, which is also identical in its origin with the *c* of *hic* or the *que* of *quisque*.* And *hvazuh* (euphonic for *hvasuh*, §. 86. 5.) actually signifies "*quisque*"; and after verbs *uh* means "and," *e. g.* *gagith quithiduh*, "*ite diciteque*" (Marc. xvi. 7.); *jah bigêtun ina quêthunuh*, "*et invenerunt eum dixeruntque* (Joh. vi. 25.). In *yah*, "and," therefore (§. 385.), the copulative force may lie principally in the *uh*, which is abbreviated to *h*, and to which the preceding relative base serves only as the fulcrum; as, in Sanscrit, the particle वा *vâ*, "or" (comp. Latin *ve*), which is generally subjoined, is attached, when prefixed, to यदि *yadi*, "if," or अथ *atha*, "then," which then lose their signification, like the Latin *si* in *sive*. As to the abbreviation, however, of *uh* to *h*, this regularly occurs in monosyllabic words terminating in a vowel; hence *hvô-h*, "*quæque*," is the formal countertype of *hæ-c*, just as *sva-h*, "so," from *si-c*, and *ni-h* ("and not," *nih-nih*, "nor not"), from *nec*. *Nauh*, "yet," and *thauh*, "but," form an exception, inasmuch as they ought to be divided *na-uh*, *tha-uh*, not *nau-h*, *thau-h*. It is clear, however, that, in Gothic, in these expressions the composition with *uh* has been lost sight of: they are obscurely transmitted from an ancient period of the language, and the separate elements of composition are no longer perceived in them. But regarded from the Gothic point of view, how is *uh* to be derived? I agree with Grimm in considering it as *hu* transposed, and connected with *hun*, which is likewise enclitic (III. 33.), and occurs almost only in negative sentences; so that *ni ainshun* and *ni hvashun* signify "not any one whatever." *Hun*, like the Latin *quam*, may be an accusative, but of the masculine gender, as feminines in Gothic have generally lost the

* Compare Grimm III. 23, where *uh* and the Latin *que* (=κε) are for the first time shewn to be identical.

accusative sign. But if *hun* be the accusative masculine it has lost the final *a*, which is added in Gothic to the original final nasal (§. 149.); in this respect it agrees with the adverbial pronominal accusatives *than*, "then," &c., and *hvan*, "when?" "how?" Perhaps, however, *hun* is only a contraction of the latter, by suppressing the *a*, and changing the *v* into a vowel, just like the Latin *cujus*, *cui*, from *qVojus*, *qVoi* (§. 389.), and like *cum* from *qVum*. But in the Gothic there was greater ground for this abbreviation, as *hun* occurs only in composition, and must not therefore be too broad. The same applies to *uh* as the transposition of *hu*, inasmuch as this is actually a contraction of the base *HVA*. The possibility, however, of a different derivation of *uh* and *hun* will be shewn subsequently (§. 398.)

396. To the Sanscrit-Zend interrogative base *ki*, and the Latin *QVI*, *HI*, and *CI*, corresponds the Gothic demonstrative base *HI*; of which, however, as of the Latin *CI*, from which it is only distinguished by the legitimate transposition of sounds, but few derivatives remain, viz. the dative *himma*, and the accusative *hina*, as also the adverbial neuter accusative *hita*, which are used only with reference to time; *himma* and *hita* in the sense of "now," and *himmadaga*, "on this day," "to-day," *hinadag*, "this day." The adverb *hi-drê*, "hither," is also a derivative from *HI*; and *hâr*, "here," is likewise irregularly connected with it, which, with respect to its *r*, is analogous to the *thar* and *hvar* mentioned at §. 381. The regular and undoubted derivative of the base *HI*, viz. *hir*, occurs in the compound *hir-jan*, "to descend"; in which, however, the pronominal expression has an accusative meaning, signifying direction to a place. On the Gothic accusative *hina* is based our *hin*, properly "to this or that (place)," which supplies the place of a preposition in compounds like *hingehen*, "*adire*." Instead of the Gothic dative in *himmadaga*, the Old High German uses the instrumental *hiu*,

contained in *hiutu*, our *heute*, "to-day"—according to Grimm's very satisfactory derivation, an abbreviated form of *hiutagu*—and which is found also in the Middle High German *hiure*, our *heuer*, "this year," which presupposes an Old High German *hiuru*, and is evidently an abbreviation of *hiu-jâru*; for the Latin *hornus* cannot be considered as the root, but must itself be compounded of a demonstrative and an appellation of "year," the age of which is shewn by the Zend (compare §. 391.). In Old High German, in combination with *naht*, "night," we find the form *hînaht*, Middle High German *hînaht*, and *hînte*, our *heunt*, for *heint*. I agree with Grimm in considering *hî* as an abbreviation of *hia*, which must be supposed as the accusative feminine; so that the suppression of the *a* is compensated by lengthening the *i*, which is short of itself. The base *HI*, therefore, is lengthened in the feminine in the same manner as, in Gothic, the base *i* (§. 363.), the feminine accusative of which, *iya* (euphonic for *ia*), coincides with the presupposed Old High German *hia*, the nominative of which was probably *hiu*, in analogy with *siu*, accusative *sia* (§. 354.). This opinion is supported by the Anglo-Saxon and Old Frisian, which express "he" by this pronoun, but, in the feminine, lengthen the base *hi* by the unorganic affix mentioned; thus, Old Frisian, *hiu*, "*ea*," *hia*, "*eam*"; and for the former, in Anglo-Saxon, *hëo*, and in the accusative *hi*, abbreviated from *hia*. As, then, as appears from what has been said, the base *HI* refers principally to appellations of time, it may be observed that the Sanscrit had already furnished the example for this by its हि *hyas*, "yesterday," from *hi* + *as*.

397. The Latin *ni-hil* is also to be mentioned here, the *l* of which springs perhaps from the frequent corruption of *d* to *l*, a weakening which takes place in compounds especially, to prevent the whole word from becoming too ponderous. In this respect we may adduce the instance of

the number ten (दशन् *daśan*, δέκα), the *d* of which becomes *r* in Hindústáni and Bengáli, in the compound numerals eleven, twelve, &c. (p. 442), and *l* in Germanic and Lithuanian. If, then, *nihil* is a corruption of *nihid*, it then literally means "not something"; and may thus be compared with the Zend 𐬥𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬱 *naêchis*, "none," "not any one," mentioned at §. 390., the neuter of which, which I am unable to cite, can scarce be any thing but 𐬥𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬱𐬙 *naêchiṭ*. From *nihil*, as in its change to *l* the inflexion is no longer perceived to be the case-sign, might easily come the lengthened form *nihĭlum*, and *hīlum*, after removing the negation, and lengthening the vowel. The Sanscrit intensitive particle किल *kila* must also be mentioned, which has also probably proceeded from the pronominal base कि *ki*. And from this quarter must be further adduced खिलस् *khila-s*, "*vacuum*," the negative of which, अखिल *akhila*, signifies "all," "whole," literally "having nothing empty"; whence, by assimilation, may have arisen our "all," Gothic *alls*, theme *ALLA*, since it has not been formed by a reverse assimilation from *ALYA*, "*alius*." With regard to the Latin *omnis*, the conjecture has been already elsewhere expressed, that its *o* is a particular modification of the negative *a*, and *mnis* may be an abbreviation of *minus*; so that *o-mnis* would properly mean "having no *minus*," and would be based on the same ideal process as the Indian अखिल *akhila*.

398. The reason that the Sanscrit माकिस् *mâkis*, नकिस् *nakis*, mentioned at §. 390., are, in Zend, corrupted to 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬱 *mâchis*, 𐬥𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬱 *naêchis*, may be this, that *ch*, as softer and weaker than *k*, is more suitable in forms encumbered by composition. The same explanation may be applied to the Sanscrit appended particle *chit* (for *kit*, §. 390.), the use of which, in Zend, is more extensive, and is there combined, amongst other words, with 𐬐𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬀 *katara*, "*uter*," whence, in the nominative masculine, 𐬐𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬌𐬙 *kataraśchiṭ* (V. S. p. 40.) which, when con-

trasted with the Latin *uterque* for *cuterque*, and the Gothic *hvataruh*, is clearly seen to be cognate in form, as in meaning. In Sanscrit, also, चित् *chit* removes from the interrogative expression preceding it its interrogative force, and forms *kaschit*, "any one," "one," from कस् *ka-s*, "who?" and similarly in the other genders; and so *kadâchit*, "at any time," *kathanchit*, "in any manner," *kvâchit*, "any where," from *kadâ*, "when?" *katham*, "how?" and *kva*, "where?" And as the base *chi* has proceeded from *ki*, in the same manner the enclitic च *cha*, which signifies "and," "but," and "for," springs from the principal base *ka*, which therefore appears more corrupted in *cha*, than the Latin *QVO* in the enclitic *que*. The Sanscrit च *cha* is further combined with *na*, and forms चन *chana*, which is likewise enclitic, and occurs principally, if not solely, in negative sentences like the Gothic *hun* mentioned above: *na kaschana* signifies "*nullus*," *na kadâchana*, "*nunquam*," and *na kathanchana*, "*nullo modo*." Hence the appended *na* may be regarded both as the negation, and as increasing the indefiniteness of the expression. But by this चन *chana* a derivation may be given to the Gothic *hun*, different from that furnished above (p. 558). It is certain that if the *u* of *hun* is not the vocalised *v* of *hvas*, it can only have proceeded from an older *a*, whether from the influence of the liquid (§. 66.), or from the weight of the vowel of the appended particle being lessened on account of the composition. But if *hun* be identical with *chana* from *kana*, I should also prefer regarding the *u* of the appended particle *uh* (p. 557), not as the solution of an older *v*, but as the weakened form of a prior *a*; and thus *uh* from *hu* might be compared with the Sanscrit *cha* from *ka*.

399. As expressions, which occur chiefly in negative sentences, readily adopt, as it were, a negative nature, so that, even when the true element of negation is omitted, they obtain an independent negative force, as *e.g.* the French *rien* by itself

signifies "nothing," and the Old High German *nih-ein*, "*nullus*," has, in our *kein*, lost precisely that which is the element of negation; so we may suppose that, in the Old Northern expressions with the enclitic *ki* or *gi* (Grimm III. 33), a particle of negation originally existed. In the present state of the language, however, the said particle is of itself negative; *e. g. eingi*, "*nullus*," *einskis*, "*nullius*," *mangi*, "*nemo*," *manskis*, "*neminis*," *vaetki*, "*nihil*." I consider this particle to be a derivative of the old and widely-diffused interrogative base *ki*, which, by its being always subjoined to some other word, has been protected from the usual alteration of sound; so that, in the sense of §. 99., the old tenuis has been left unchanged after *s*, but the medial has been introduced after vowels and *r*.

400. With regard to what has been observed of the Old Sclavonic, §. 388., that its interrogative base *ko* occurs only in combination with the definite and originally relative pronoun, it must, however, be understood that *KO*, after the *o* is dropped, is combined also with the demonstrative base *TO*, since *kto* signifies "*quis*," though *to* by itself is only neuter; and in the masculine nominative and accusative, as in all bases in *o*, this vowel is suppressed. In the oblique cases* *kto* abandons the demonstrative element, and appears as the simple base *KO*. Compare the genitive *ko-go* and dative *ko-mû* with the Sanscrit *ka-sya* (§. 269.), *ka-smât*. The instrumental *kym* follows the declension of the definite adjective (§. 284.), and is, therefore, not simple. The neuter is attached to the Sanscrit-Zend softened interrogative base *chi*, and is, in the nominative, *chto*, with the vowel of the base suppressed, as in the masculine *kto*. The oblique cases likewise drop the demonstrative element: the genitive is *che-go*

* With the exception of the accusative, which is the same as the nominative. This pronoun does not appear to be used in the plural, and the feminine, also, is wanting. Compare Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 59.

and *che-so*,* dative *che-mû*, locative *che-m*, instrumental *chi-m*. These forms may be explained in two ways: either the *e* of *che-go*, &c., is a corruption of the *i* of the Sanscrit-Zend base *chi*, as the bases *gosti* and *kosti* (§. 280.) form, in the dative and locative plural, *goste-m*, *goste-kh*, *koste-m*, *koste-kh*; or the original base *chi* has assumed, in Sclavonic, a second unorganic affix, and been lengthened to *CHYO* (compare §. 259.), from which, according to §. 255. *n*., must be formed *chye* or *che*, and then, by rejecting the final vowel, *chi*, as, §. 282., we have seen the base *yo* in several cases contracted to *i*. Compare, also, §. 280., the declension of the bases *KNYAZYO* and *MORYO*.

401. There remains to be mentioned the Greek interrogative τίς, τίνος, and the indefinite τίς, τινός. The origin of both is, I have no doubt, similar, and they are derived from the bases *ki* and *chi*, which, in Sanscrit and Zend, have not only an interrogative signification, but, under certain circumstances, an indefinite one also. In Greek the old theme in ι has been lengthened by the affix of a ν; but in regard to its τ, TIN has the same relation to *chi* and to the Latin *QVI* that τέσσαρες has to चत्वारस् *chatvâras* and *quatuor*, and that πέντE has to पञ्च *pancha* and *quinQVE*. Still I am not of opinion that the Greek τ in these forms has arisen from the ch of the cognate Asiatic languages, but that it has sprung directly from the original *k*, from which, at the time of the unity of language, *ch* had not as yet been developed, as this letter has, in the classical languages also, no existence, but was first formed in Italian from the Latin *c* (always = *k*) before *e* and *i*. But if *k* has been frequently changed into the labial tenuis, and thus ΠO has been formed from *KO*, πέμπε

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* This form, which formerly escaped me, is important, as testifying that the *g* of the common pronominal termination *go* has sprung from the *s*, and not from the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit termination *sya* (see §. 269.).

from the to-be-supposed πέγκε, we may also see no difficulty in its occasional transition into the lingual tenuis, particularly as *t* is the primary element of the Indian *ch*. But if τίς comes from κίς, and is akin to the Latin *quis* and Sanscrit *ki-s* and *chi-t*, then perhaps, also, the particle τε is connected with *que* and the corresponding च *cha* (§. 398.), and has therefore sprung from κε, and is alien to the base of the article, which would be at variance with my former conjecture.*

402. Here may be mentioned, also, the Old Sclavonic enclitic particle *she* (же), which signifies "but," and has the effect of restoring to the pronoun *i*, "he," its original relative signification (§. 282.), for *i-she* signifies "which." On the other hand, when combined with interrogatives, it removes, like the Latin *que*, their interrogative meaning; hence, *ni chesoshe*, "*nihil*," "not of any thing."† I consider this particle as identical with the Sanscrit च *cha*, "and," "but," "for," and with the Latin *que*, and therefore as a derivative from the interrogative base, the tenuis of which appears in this particle, as in the Greek γε and γαρ (§. 391.), to have descended to a medial. *G* in Sclavonic, however, is regularly changed, in several parts of grammar, into *sh*; as in the vocative singular, where, in bases in *o*, this vowel is weakened, as in Greek, to *e* (е); but by the influence of this *e* the *g* preceding becomes *sh*, hence, *boshe*, "God," from the base *BOGO*, nominative *bog*, whence, also, *boshii*, "godlike." I intentionally select this word as an example, since it is important to me to be able to compare it with an Indian appellation of the highest divinities: I think, that is to say, that the Sclavonic base *BOGO* is identical with the Sanscrit भगवत् *bhagavat*, "the exalted, worthy of veneration," lite-

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* Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 6.

† Kopitar's Glossary, p. 86. Regarding *chso* see above, p. 563.

rally "gifted with happiness, power, splendour." This *bhagavat*, nominative *bhagavân*, occurs principally as an appellation of Vishnu, *e. g.* in the episode of Sunda and Upasunda (III. 23), and in the title of an episode of the Mahâbhârata, *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, i. e. "Song of the exalted," because it refers to Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu. Referring to Brahmâ and Vishnu, *bhagavat* is only used adjectively; thus Sunda and Upasunda III. 24, and IV. 23: it comes from *bhaga*, with the suffix *vat*, in the strong cases *vant*; but *bhaga* comes from the root *bhaj*, "to venerate." The Sclavonic base *BOGO* has dropped the derivative suffix of the Sanscrit *bhagavat*; but this appears in an abbreviated form, and with an unorganic affix in *bogat* (theme *bogato*), "rich," which might be the meaning of भगवत् *bhagavat*, as "gifted with fortune."

403. The same relation that, in an etymological respect, the Sclavonic *sh* has to *g*, *ch* has to *k*, and springs from the latter according to the same rule by which *g* becomes *sh*, viz. before *e*; hence, *tekû*, "I run," in the second and third persons forms *techeshi*, *techet*, on the same principle by which *moshehi* and *moshet* come from *mogû*, "I can." Although, then, above at §. 400., we have seen the Sanscrit-Zend interrogative *chi* in the same form in Sclavonic, or in that of *che* —*che-go*, "of whom?" *chim*, "by which?" *chto*, "what?" for *che-to* or *chi-to*—it is not requisite to assume that these forms brought the sound *ch* with them from the East, because there exists an interrogative *chi* there also; but in the Sclavonic and its Asiatic cognate idioms the weakened *ch* might have arisen independently from the old guttural, which, perhaps, alone existed at the time of their identity; and in the Sclavonic, according to a phonetic law which has been given, an interrogative form *che* would have proceeeded from *ki* or *kya*, though in Sanscrit and Zend a base *chi* never existed.

DERIVATIVE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

404. By the suffix *ka* are formed, in Sanscrit, *mâma* "*meus*," and *tâvaka*, "*tuus*," from the genitives of personal pronouns, *mama*, *tava*, with the vowel of the fi syllable lengthened. To these the Vêda plural possessi are analogous; *asmâka*, "our," *yushmâka* "your," fr which we have seen the plural genitives of the perso pronouns *asmâkam*, *yushmâkam*, formed. Perhaps, as Ros conjectured,* these forms spring from the personal ab tives *asmat*, *yushmat*, so that the suppression of the *t* made up by lengthening the preceding vowel. It m here be observed, that, as has been already repeate remarked, the *t* of the nominative and accusative singu neuter of pronouns of the third person, as also that of t ablative singular and plural of pronouns of the first a second persons, is so far used as a theme by the langua that it is retained at the beginning of compounds, whe otherwise we find the mere base (compare §. 357.); and th several derivative words have proceeded from the form *t*, whether the *T* sound has been actually retained them, or replaced by lengthening the vowel precedi On the Vêda *asmâka* is based the Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬨𐬁𐬐𐬀 *ahmâ* whence V. S. p. 30, the Instrumental 𐬀𐬵𐬨𐬁𐬐𐬁𐬌𐬱 *ahmâk* I am unable to cite the possessive of the singular, and the second person, as the use of possessives in Zend, in Sanscrit, is very rare, because they are generally su plied by the genitives of the personal pronouns.

405. In Sanscrit, possessives are formed from t ablative singular and plural of pronouns of the first a second person, and from the neuter *tat* of the third perso also from सर्व *sarva*, "each," the *a* of which is reject before the suffix *îya*, while *t* is changed before it into

* In the place quoted at p. 473.

hence *madîya*, "mine," from *mat*; *tvadîya*, "thine," from *tvat*; *asmadîya*, "our," from *asmat*; *yushmadîya*, "your," from *yushmat*; *tadîya*, "belonging to him," "to this man," or "to her," "to this woman," from *tat*.* An analogous formation is, I think, to be found in the Greek ἴδιος, whether it belongs to the demonstrative base *i*,† and the ιδ preceding the ιος be identical with the Sanscrit (before sonant letters *id*) *it*, contained in नेत् *nêt* and चेत् *chêt*; or whether —and this conjecture I prefer—the breathing has been softened, and ἴδιος for ἴδιος belong to the reflective (§. 364.); with regard to which it may be remarked, that the cognate Sanscrit स्व *sva*, "his," signifies, also, "own," and can be applied to all three persons. There does not, indeed, exist, in Sanscrit, a pronoun of the third person devoid of gender, with a perfect declension, but only the remains of one, स्वयम् *svayam*, "self," and, in Prakrit, से *sê* (for *svê*) "*sui*" (§. 341.). There is, however, every reason for supposing that स *sva*, as a personal pronominal base, did possess a complete declension analogous to the pronouns of the first and second person. Its ablative must, therefore, be स्वत् *svat*; and thence might have arisen *svadîya*, "*suus*," analogous to *madîya*, *tvadîya*, and a cognate form to ἴδιος for ἴδιος, from σϝίδιος; like ἴδρως, from σϝιδρώς, corresponding to the Sanscrit स्वेद *svêda*, and our *Schweiss*, "sweat"; and ἁδύς, ἡδύς, from σϝᾱδύ-ς = Sanscrit स्वादुस् *svâdus*. In regard to form, the correlatives ποῖος, τοῖος, οἷος, which appear to have lost a middle δ, agree with the possessives in ईय *îya*: in other respects, τοῖος answers tolerably well to *tadîya-s*, which has not only a possessive, but also a clear demonstrative meaning.

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* *Tadîya* occurs, also, in the sense of its primitive; so Raghuvansa, according to Stenzler I. 81., and Brockhaus's Pâtiliputra, Sl. 2. The possessive signification occurs at Rhaghuvansa II. 28.

† Compare Hartung On the Cases, p. 117.

406. The Sclavonic possessives are based on the Sanscrit in *îya*, but have dropped the *î* of this suffix, and the *T* sound of the primitive pronoun. According to §. 257. य *ya* must become *yo*, and according to §. 255. *n.*, *yo* becomes *ye* or *e*: the latter is the form assumed; and in those cases which are uninflected, and at the same time deprived of the final vowel of the base, the *y* has become *ĭ*, as always takes place after vowels: hence *moĭ*, "*meus*," *moya*, "*mea*," *moe*, "*meum*," corresponding to the Sanscrit *madîya-s*, *madîyâ*, *madîya-m*. And in the second person, *tvoĭ*, *tvoya*, *tvoe* bears the same relation to *tvadîya-s*, *tvadîyâ*, *tvadîya-m*; and the possessive third person, *svoĭ*, *svoya*, *svoe* pre-supposes, like the Greek ἴδιος—if this is to be taken for ϝίδιος—a Sanscrit *svadîya*. It appears that these possessives have been transmitted to the Sclavonic from the ancient period of the language, and are, as it were, the continuance of the Sanscrit forms; for if they were originally Sclavonic we should then find in them the same corruption of the base of the primitive pronouns that we have before remarked in those pronouns. The possessives would then most probably be, in the nominative masculine, *meny* or *mny*, *teby*, *seby* or *toby*, *soby*; but no case of the personal pronouns would lead us to expect *moĭ*, still less *tvoĭ*, *svoĭ*. In Lithuanian, on the contrary, the possessive *mâna-s*, *táva-s*, *sáwa-s*, are comparatively of quite recent date, for they agree with the particular modification of personal bases in the oblique cases singular (see §§. 340. 342.): thus, in Latin, *meus*, *tuus*, *suus*, probably from *mei*, *tui*, *sui*; and in Greek, ἐμός, σός, ὅς, are, in their theme, identical with that from which proceed ἐμοῦ, ἐμοί, σοῦ, σοί, οὗ, οἵ. On the other hand, σφός, σφή, σφόν, is the exact countertype of the Sanscrit *sva-s*, *svâ*, *sva-m*, which affords the oldest example of possessives without any affix expressing the possession; for *sva* is purely personal in its form, and, as has been already observed, the theme of स्वयम् *svayam*, "self" (§. 341.). The

formation of possessives in the plural numbers by the comparativè suffix is peculiar to the Greek and Latin; but this suffix is not extraordinary in possessives, which prominently contrast the person or persons possessing with those not possessing, and thus contain a duality, which the comparative suffix in pronouns is adapted to express.

407. The Lithuanian plural possessives are *musiszkis*, "our," *yusiszkis*, "your," the theme of which terminates in *kin* (§. 135.), and reminds us of the Sanscrit possessives in *ka*; viz. *asmâka*, *yushmâka*. It is certain that the syllable *si* in *muSIszkis*, *yuSIszkis*, is connected with the appended pronoun स *sma* (compare §. 335.); but we shall leave undecided the origin of the *sz* (=*sh*) which precedes the *k*. The Old Sclavonic forms the plural possessives *nas*, *vas*, from the genitives of the personal pronouns, by the same suffix, which we have noted in *moĭ* *tvoĭ*, *svoĭ*, only with the necessary phonetic difference; hence, *nashy*, "our," *vashy*, "your,"* genitive *nashego*, *vashego*. With this suffix, the interrogative forms, in Sclavonic, also a possessive, viz. *chiĭ*, "belonging to whom?" feminine *chiya*, neuter *chie*. It belongs to the Sanscrit weaker base *ki*, which we have already noticed in *chego*, *chim*, &c. (§. 400.). As to the weakening of the *k* to *ch*, we must observe what has been said on this subject at §. 403.

408. The Germanic possessives are most intimately connected with the genitives of the personal pronouns, and are identical with them in their theme (p. 474). If it be assumed that, in the genitive plural, the forms *unsara*, *izwara*, like the Latin *nostri*, *vestri*, *nostrum*, *vestrum*, and the Sanscrit *asmâkam*, *yushmâkam*, are of possessive origin, the *r* may then be very satisfactorily explained as the

* Written also without *y*, *nash*, *vash*. The change of the *s* to *sh* is the consequence of the euphonic influence of the *y*, or, in the oblique cases, of the *e* (Dobrowsky, pp. 39, 41).

weakening of the *d* of the Sanscrit *asmadîya*, "our," *yushmadîya*, "your." Observe what has been remarked at p. 441 regarding an original *d* becoming *r* in a similar case, and, moreover, the circumstance that, in Hindústáni also, the *d* of the possessives under discussion has become *r*; hence, *mêra*,* *mêri*, "*meus*," "*mea*," for मदीय *madîya*, मदीया *madîyâ*. The dual genitives, *ugkara*, *igqvara*, and the dual possessive bases of the same sound, the singular nominative masculine of which are *ugkar*, *igqvar*, are, according to what has been remarked at §. 169., originally only different modifications of plural forms, and their *r*, therefore, is founded on the same principle with that of the plural number. If we are to suppose that the singular genitives *meina*, *theina*, *seina*, have proceeded from possessive bases of the same sound, we should then have to assume a weakening of the medial to the nasal of the same organ, as, in general, an interchange between medials and nasals of the same organ is not unusual. But as to the formation, in New High German, of an unorganic possessive, foreign to the old dialect—viz. *ihr*, "*ejus* (*feminæ*) *proprius*," and "*eorum* or *earum proprius*," from the feminine genitive singular and the genitive plural of the pronoun of the third person, which is common to all the genders—this circumstance affords no proof that the genuine and original possessives also have sprung from the genitive of the personal pronouns; but only shews that it is agreeable to the use of language to form possessive adjectives from the personal genitives.

409. The forms corresponding in sense to the Greek correlatives πό-σος, τό-σος, ὅ-σος, are, in Sanscrit and Zend, those with the derivative suffix *vant*, in the weak cases *vat* (§. 129.), before which an *a* final of the primitive base is

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* Thus in Bohemian *miro*, "mine," *miri*, "mine" (fem.); see Berl. Jahrb. Feb. 1836. p. 310.

lengthened,* perhaps as compensation for the dropping of the *T* sound of the neuter, which probably forms the foundation and theme of these forms (compare §. 404.); hence तावन्त् *tâvant*, nominative masculine तावान् *tâvân*, τόσος· यावन्त् *yâvant*, nominative masculine यावान् *yâvân*, ὅσος. From the interrogative base *ka*, or the lost neuter *kat*, we might expect *kâvant*, which would serve as prototype to the Latin *quantus*, and would bear that relation to it, which तावन्त् *tâvant* does to *tantus*. In the Latin *tantus*, *quantus*, therefore, a whole syllable is rejected, as in *malo*, from *mavolo*; but externally the theme is lengthened in analogy with the Pali participial forms mentioned at pp. 300, 301; thus *tantus* for *tâvantus*, and the latter for *tâvans*. The quantity of the *a* of *quantus*, *tantus*, on account of its position, cannot be discovered: the *a*, however, appears to spring from an originally long *â*, inasmuch as from a short अ *a* would be evolved *ĕ* or *ŏ*, as in *tot*, *quot*, answering to तति *tati*, कति *kati*, of which hereafter. In Gothic, the suffix वन्त् *vant* is corrupted in three ways; first in consequence of the easy mutation and interchange of the semi-vowels;† secondly through the no-less-frequent vocalization of the nasal to *u*;‡ and lastly by extending the theme with *a*,

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* In Zend the long has relapsed into the short vowel, as very frequently occurs in the antepenultimate.

† §. 20. Compare, also, the Gothic *slêpa*, "I sleep," with the Sanscrit स्वपिमि *svapimi*; the Latin *laudo* with वन्द् *vand*, "to praise"; and the Lithuanian *saldù-s*, Old Sclavonic *saldok* (p. 412, Rem. *), "sweet," with the Sanscrit स्वादुस् *svâdu-s*. With respect to the interchange of *v* and *r*, in which the Old High German *birumês*, as contrasted with the Sanscrit भवामस् *bhavâmas*, "we are," affords us a very interesting comparison, and one which has been since established by Graff (II. 325), we will here remind the reader of the relation of the Gothic *razn*, "house" (theme *razna*, with *z* euphonic for *s*, according to §. 86. 5.), to the Sanscrit root वस् *vas*, "to inhabit," whence वास *vâsra*, "house," which Pictet recognises in the Irish *fosra* (Journ. As. III. T. II. p. 443).

‡ See §§. 236. 255. *g*. and 307.

which, however, in accordance with §. 135., is suppressed in the nominative. In the first and last respect *LAUDA* coincides very remarkably with the form which, in Latin, the suffix वन् *vant* assumes, or may assume, where it does not form pronominal correlatives, but possessive adjectives, as *opulentus* (with the more organic *opulens*), *virulentus*,* &c. The long vowel required in Sanscrit before the suffix *vant*, where it forms correlatives, is retained in the Gothic *hvêlauds*, "*quantus*," the old *â* (§. 69.) being supplied by *ê*; whence it appears that in *hvê-lauds* the instrumental *hvê* is contained. We should expect a demonstrative *thêlauds*, τόσος, as corresponding to *hvêlauds*, πόσος, analogous to the Sanscrit तावन् *tâvant* and Latin *tantus*: this *thêlauds*, however, is rendered superfluous by a *svalauds*, formed from the original base of the genderless pronoun of the third person (comp. §. 341.), which, however, has not preserved the original long vowel.

410. The derivative *kâvât*, from the Sanscrit interrogative base *ka*, which is wanting, is supplied by *kiyant*, from the base *ki*; analogous to which is इयन् *iyant*, "so much," from the demonstrative base *i*. I conjecture कियन् *kiyant* and इयन् *iyant* to be abbreviations of *kîvant* and *îvant*, formed by suppressing the *v*; after which, in accordance with a universal phonetic law,† the preceding *î* must become *iy*. This conjecture is supported by the Zend, in so far as the interrogative form under discussion has retained the full suffix *vant*: instead of this, however, an abbreviation has taken place in the base, by suppressing the *i* and weakening the *k* to च *ch*, hence, in the nominative

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* We must avoid referring the *u* to the suffix: it is clearly the final vowel of the primitive word, which, however, through the influence of the liquid, appears in the form of *u* (compare Vocalismus, p. 162, Rem.*).

† Gramm. Crit. §. 51.

masculine 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬱 *chvaṅs*, accusative 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱 *chvaṇtĕm*,* neuter 𐬵𐬀𐬱 *chvaṭ*.† To the Sanscrit relative *yâvant* corresponds 𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱 *yavaṇt*, of which, however, I am unable to quote any case in the masculine, and only the neuter *yavaṭ* and the feminine *yavaiti*. The former occurs tolerably often; the latter I am acquainted with only through a passage given by Burnouf,‡ where, in the lithographed codex (V. S. p. 83), *avaiti* occurs, through an error, for *yavaiti*.§ The *tâvant* which answers to the above interrogative and relative expressions, appears to be wanting in Zend, as in Gothic, and is supplied by analogous derivatives from other demonstrative bases; viz. by 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱 *avavaṇt* from *ava*, and 𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱 *avaṇt* from *a*. The latter forms, in the masculine nominative, not *avaṅs*, according to the analogy of *chvaṅs*, "how much?" and *thwâvaṅs*, "as thou," but 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱 *avaŏ*, which I agree with Burnouf‖ in explaining by supposing that the *nt* has given place before

* 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬁 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬉𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬐𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱 *chvaṇtĕm paṡ-chaéta zrvânĕm*, "after how much time?" (Vend. S. p. 229). The nominative *chvaṅs* occurs Vend. S. p. 86. From the primitive base *chi* I have still to mention here the neuter 𐬵𐬌𐬱 *chiṭ*, of which only the enclitic and anti-interrogative use has been mentioned before. But as representing the more common *kat* it occurs l. c. p. 80, 𐬵𐬌𐬱 𐬀𐬱 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱 *chiṭ avaṭ vachô*, "what (is) that word?"

† Often occurs adverbially, *e. g.* 𐬵𐬀𐬱 𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬁 𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬵𐬁 *chvaṭ antarĕ nareus*, "among how many men?" (Vend. S. p. 30).

‡ Yaçna, Note A., p. 12.

§ We should notice also here the expression 𐬐𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬴 *fratho* (with 𐬵𐬌𐬱 *chiṭ*, 𐬐𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬴𐬡𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬱 *frathaṡ-chiṭ*), since it shews that the *ṛi*, which is retained full in the Sanscrit *pṛithu*, is an abbreviation of the syllable *ra* which appears, also, in the Greek πλατύς. I think I have sufficiently proved, in my Vocalismus (Rem. 1. p. 156, &c.), that the Sanscrit vowel *ṛi* is, in all places, an abbreviation of a syllable, which contains the consonant *r* before or after a vowel.

‖ Yaçna, Note A., p. 11.

the nominative sign ŝ, and has been supplied by the lengthening of the *a* to *â*; which latter, with the final sibilant, must produce the diphthong *âo* (§. 56.[b].).

411. The Lithuanian *idant*, which signifies "that" and "thoroughly," is most probably a remnant of the forms which terminate, in Sanscrit and Zend, in *vant*, and in Latin in *ntu-s*; and, indeed, in the *d* of *iDant*, the neuter case-termination appears to be retained, which is replaced in the cognate Asiatic languages by lengthening the preceding vowel: the syllable *ya* of the relative base has, then, been contracted to *i*. The pronominal origin of this *idant* is shewn by its signification "that," and also particularly by the circumstance that other terms also for this conjunction have sprung, both in Lithuanian itself and in the cognate languages, from the relative base under discussion; viz. *yeib* (§. 383.), in the sense of *ut*, Sanscrit *ya-thâ*, Greek ὡς, Gothic *ei* (§. 365.), and *yóg*, in the sense of *quod*, Sanscrit *yat*, Greek ὅτι. The secondary idea of multitude, expressed in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, by the formations in *vant*, is represented in *idant* by the signification "thoroughly." From the particular case of the Lithuanian language, however, we could scarcely argue the possibility of a connection between the suffix *ant* of *id-ant*, and that of *kieli*, "how many?" *Kieli* is a masculine plural nominative, according to the analogy of *geri* from *GERA*: the theme, therefore, is *KIELA*, and, for a few cases, *KIELIA* (see p. 251, Rem. †); and *la* the derivative suffix, which admits of being regarded as an abbreviation of *va-nt*, with a similar exchange of *v* and *l*, as we have seen above in the Gothic *hvêlauds*. This conjecture is strongly supported by *kiélets*, which likewise means "how much?" but is so limited in its use that it can only be applied to living beings. Every letter of the Sanscrit suffix *vat* (the theme of the weak cases) is represented in this *kiéLETs*, and we even find an interrogative expression, in which the *n* also of the strong form वन् *vant* is contained;—I mean

kolinta-s, "*der wie vielste?*" "the how manyeth?"* with *ta* as ordinal suffix (§. 321.), probably, therefore, for *kolint-tas*; so that *kolint*, "how many?" by adding *ta-s*, becomes the "how manyeth?" But to return to *id-ant*, its suffix *ant* has lost only the *v* of the original *vant*; but *la*, the suffix of *kieli*, has retained the *v* in the form of *l*, and lost, in place of it, the final *nt*. There is, however, no demonstrative *tieli* corresponding to *kieli*, but "so many" is expressed by *tiek* or *tiekas*,† which has also a corresponding interrogative *kiek*. The suffix of these forms appears connected with that of *tokis* or *toks* (theme *tokia*), "such," and *kôks*, "what kind of one?"

412. Though at §. 409. we commenced with the comparison of the Greek correlatives *πόσος*, *τόσος*, *ὅσος*, we must not, therefore, suppose that the Greek suffix ΣO is identical with the Sanscrit *vant*, and those related to it in the cognate languages. The transition of T into Σ, as also the increment of an O, would not be extraordinary; but as the vowel of the pronominal base is originally long in this derivative, the retention of this long vowel would be to be expected in Greek; and the rather, as most probably the dropping of the initial sound of the suffix *vant* would have found a compensation in the preceding syllable, even if this had not been naturally long from the first. A form like *τοῦσος* might be regarded as identical with the Sanscrit *tâvant*; but *τόσος* appears to me, with reference to its final element, as of a different origin, and I would rather recognise in it the Zend *shva*, which forms words like *thrishva* "a third," *chathrushva*, "a quarter," and is identical with the Sanscrit *sva-s*, "*suus*." From स्वस् *sva-s*, which, when uncompounded, has become *ὅς* or *σφός*, in the preceding com-

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* It seems surprising that there should be no word in English for *wievielste*. "Who of the number?" expresses quite a different idea. I have been obliged, therefore, to coin a word.— *Translator's Note.*

† *Tiek*, substantive and indeclinable *tieka-s* adjective, feminine *tieka*

pounds, could hardly come any thing but σός; and πό-σος would, according to this view, originally signify "what part?" or, as possessive compound, "having what part?" from which the meaning "how much?" is not far removed.* Nevertheless, if what has been before said (§. 352.) regarding the origin of τῆμος, ἦμος, is well founded, there are not wanting in Greek points of comparison with the pronominal formations in *vant* or *vat*. In Sanscrit the adverbial neuter accusative तावत् *tâvat* signifies, amongst other things, also "now," "at this time"; and the relative adverb यावत् *yâvat*, also, which serves as prototype to the Greek ἦμος, is used principally with reference to time, and signifies "how long?" "while," "how often?" "how far?" "up to," and "that." It may be cited in the first sense from a passage in the Nalus (V. 23.):—

yâvachcha mê dharishyanti prâṇâ dêhê, śuchismitê,
tâvat tvayi bhavishyâmi; satyam êtad bravîmi tê

"*quam diuque mei constabunt spiritus in corpore, sereno-risu prædita! tam diu tecum ero; veritatem hanc dico tibi.*"

As it frequently happens that one and the same word is divided into several forms, of which each represents one of the meanings which formerly co-existed in the one original form, so may also τέως and ἕως be identical with *tâvat* and *yâvat*; so that the digamma, which has been hardened above to μ, has been here, as usually happens, entirely dropped, but the quantities have been transposed; thus ἕως

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* To these formations belongs, also, most probably ἴσος, which originally must have signified "so great," whence the meaning "like" might easily arise. I formerly thought it might be assigned to the demonstrative base *i* (Demonstrative Bases, p. 8): as, however (which was there overlooked), it has a digamma, it would be better referred to the reflective base, and compared with the Sanscrit *svi* (§. 364.; and see Pott's Etymol. Forsch. p. 272).

for ἥ(F)ος, τέως for τῆ(F)ος. But it is probable that the first syllable has been shortened through the influence of the vowel following; and this reduction, and the abbreviation caused by dropping the digamma, have been compensated by lengthening the syllable following. The common adverbs in ως, also, of which an account has been given at §. 183., have operated by their example on ἕως, τέως. For the rest there exists a form τεῖος, as well as τέως, τείως.

413. Perhaps the Sclavonic pronominal adverbs in *mo* may also be classed here, which express direction to a place (Dobr. p. 430): *ka-mo*, "whither?" *ta-mo*, "thither." The relative *yamo* is wanting, which would coincide with the Sanscrit यावत् *yâvat*, "how far?" in the signification "therein," since the former word likewise expresses the direction to which movement is made. As to the relation in form of the suffix *mo* to वत् *vat*, the *t* in Sclavonic, like all original final consonants, must necessarily disappear (§. 255. *l*.), and *a* in Sclavonic becomes *o* or *e* almost universally; but to the long *â*, which, in Sanscrit, precedes the derivative suffix, the Sclavonic *a* corresponds according to rule (§. 255. *a*.): thus, *ta-mo* answers to the Indian *tâ-vat*, with *m* for *v*, as in the Greek adverbs of time ἦμος, τῆμος, above mentioned. If an origin for the Sclavonic suffix *mo*, different from that here assigned, be sought for, the appended pronoun स्म *sma* might be next adduced, which drops the *s* in Sclavonic. But to take the demonstrative as an example, to the Sanscrit dative *ta-smâi*, and locative *ta-smin*, correspond, in Sclavonic, *to-mû*, *to-m*; and all that is left to find is an analogous form in Sclavonic to the ablative तस्मात् *ta-smât*. But the ablative is most opposed in meaning to the adverbs in *mo*, expressing direction to a place; and, as regards the form for तस्मात् *ta-smât*, could only be expected a form *toma* or *tomo*, and not *ta-mo*. For as the Sanscrit short *a*, at the end of old Sclavonic bases always becomes *o* (§. 257.), an unweakened

a, in this sole case, cannot but appear surprising; and there appears no reason why *ta-mo* should differ from the analogy of *to-mû* and *to-m*. There only remains one other possible means of deriving adverbs in *mo*, viz. by supposing *mo* to be a more full form of the plural dative termination; so that, of the Sanscrit termination भ्यस् *bhyas*, Latin *vus*, Lithuanian *mus* or *ms* (see §. 215.), which elsewhere, in Sclavonic, has become mere *m*, in the case before us a vowel also is retained. If this opinion be the true one, *kamo*, "whither?" *tamo*, "thither," *inamo*, "to somewhere else," *onamo*, "to that quarter," and similar forms, must be assigned to the feminine gender. *Tamo*, therefore, would correspond to the Sanscrit *tâbhyas*; while *tyem*, which is identical with the masculine and neuter, belongs to the compound base त्य *tya* (p. 499). This last derivation appears particularly supported by the consideration, that, in all probability, the adverbs of quantity in *ma* or *mi* (Dobr. p. 430) contain plural case-terminations, and those in *mi* the instrumental; those in *ma* an unusual and more full form of the dative termination, in which the old *a* of the *bhyas* above mentioned is retained, by which it becomes similar to the dual-termination given at §. 273. It appears to me, however, inadmissible to look for a real dual inflexion in the adverbs under discussion. Examples are: *kolyma* or *kolymi*, "how much?" *tolyma* or *tolymi*,* "so much." All these adverbs, however, have the syllable *ly* (from *li*) in the middle; and this, in my opinion, expresses the secondary idea of multitude, and is an abbreviation of the suffix *liko*, nominative masculine *lik*, e. g. *kolik*, "*quantus*," of which more hereafter. From this *KOLIKO* come, I imagine, the adverbs *kolyma* and *kolymi*, as, in Sanscrit, the plural instrumental शनैस् *śanâis* expresses

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* See Kopitar's Glossary to the Glagolita. Dobrowsky gives merely *tolyma*.

erb "slowly," but does not occur in its own pro-
gnification, *i.e.* "through the slow." There are
dverbs of quantity in Sclavonic which end in *ly*,
t the case-terminations *ma* or *mi*; thus, *koly*, "how
" *toly*, "so much." With these are also probably
ted the adverbs of time in *lye*, which prefix to the
n the preposition *do* or *ot*, e.g. *do-kolye*, "how long?"
, "so long."

By the suffix ति *ti* is formed, in Sanscrit, कति *kati*,
much?" from *ka*; तति *tati*, "so much," from *ta*; and
lative यति *yati*, "as much," from *ya*. The first two
sions are easily recognised in the Latin *quot* and *tot*,
like the personal terminations of verbs, have lost
al *i*. The full form is preserved, however, in com-
s with *dem*, *die*, *dianus*; thus, *totĭ-dem* (not from *tot-*
, *quoti-die*, *quoti-dianus*. The length of the *i* of
ie, and of its derivative *quotidianus*, is unorganic,
erhaps occasioned by *quoti* appearing, by a misap-
sion, as an ablative. But to return to the Sanscrit
ati, *yati*, these expressions, in a certain measure,
e the way for the indeclinable cognate forms in
as in the nominative and accusative they have no
rmination, but a singular neuter form, while in the
ases they exhibit the regular plural inflexions. In
spect they agree with the numerals from "Five" to
' which have become quite indeclinable in Greek and
ikewise, as is, in the latter language, the number "Four"
uatuor (§. 313.). In Zend, *kati* frequently occurs after
asculine relative plural, and with a regular plural
ation, viz. [illegible] *yôi katayô*, which signifies
que.

Nearly all pronouns are combined in Sanscrit with
jectives दृश् *dṛiś*, दृश *dṛiśa*, दृक्ष *dṛiksha*, which spring
the root *dṛiś*, "to see," and signify "appearing,"
; but, as they do not occur either isolated or in combi-

nation, have completely assumed the character of deriv suffixes. The final vowels of the pronominal bases, a the compound plural themes *asma* and *yushma*, are le ened before them, probably to make up for the loss o sound of the neuter of pronouns of the third person a the ablative of the first and second person singular an ral (comp. §. 404.); hence, *tâ-dṛiś* (nominative *tâdṛi tâ-dṛiśa*, or *tâ-dṛiksha*, "like to this," "such," "*talis*, *tad-dṛiś*, &c.; *kî-dṛiś*, *kî-dṛiśa*, *kî-dṛiksha*, "*qualis*"; *kid-dṛiś*, &c.; *yâ-dṛiś*, *yâ-dṛiśa*, *yâ-dṛiksha*, "*qualis*" tive); *mâ-dṛiś*, *mâ-dṛiśa*, *mâ-dṛiksha*, "like to me," equal"; *asmâdṛiś*, &c., "like to us"; *yushmâdṛiś*, &c., to you." From the demonstrative base *i*, or rather the neuter *it*, which is not used uncompounded, *idṛiśa*, &c., "*talis*": from the subjective demonst base *sa* comes *sadṛiś*, &c., which, according to its o signifies "resembling this," "appearing like this," used to express in general what is "similar." But th son that there is no form *sâdṛiś*, according to the an of *tâdṛiś*, &c., is clearly this—that this form springs the real base *sa*, and a neuter *sat* was not used. It i therefore, requisite to assume, with the Indian gramma that *sadṛiś* is an abbreviation of *samâ-dṛiś*, though, pe from *sama* a form *sama-dṛiś* might proceed, as from form *sadṛiś*. The European cognate languages ha remarkable agreement with one another, exchanged t *d* for *l* in these combinations; independently, howe each other, and simply because the interchange of *d* a *r* is much used,* and weakened sounds in forms encum

* See §. 17., where, amongst others, the Gothic *leik* is compare the Sanscrit *dêha*. If the Gothic expression also means "flesh," be observed here, that a word which, in Sanscrit, means simply " appears in Old High German as a term for the body; while in Lith and Sclavonic the "flesh" has become "blood." In form the ap

sition are readily introduced. In this way -λίκος
ne so far estranged from the verb δέρκω, that we
ve failed to perceive their common origin without
is of comparison afforded by the cognate Sanscrit.
here again notice a similar fate which has befallen
of the number "Ten" in several Asiatic and Euro-
scrit languages at the end of compounds (p. 442).
he preceding case we meet with a concurrent phe-
in the East; for in Prakrit, in the compound under
n, we frequently find *r*—which, according to §. 20.,
the precursor of *l*—instead of the Sanscrit *d*; *e. g.*
isa, together with तादिस *tâdisa*, for ताद्दिस *tâdṛiśa*.*
ric τᾱλίκος closely resembles *târisa*. The *i* of both
es, however, springs, not from the Sanscrit *ṛi*, for this
obreviation of *ar*,† the *a* of which, in Prakrit and
as been weakened to *i*, but the *r* is dislodged en-
While λίκος is based on the Sanscrit दृश *dṛiśa*, nomi-
nasculine *dṛiśa-s*, the pure radical दृश् *dṛiś*, nomina-
culine, feminine, and neuter *dṛik*, is also represented
ς, viz. by ἡλιξ and ὁμῆλιξ. The Prakrit *kêrisa* re-
the interrogative πηλίκος very closely; but it must

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to the Sanscrit *kravya-m*, "flesh," is the Lithuanian *krauya-s*,
krovy, "blood"; next comes the Old High German base
, nominative *hrêo*, "body," which preserves the original form
y than the Greek κρέας and Latin *caro*.

y first discussion on this subject I was unacquainted with the
ce of the Prakrit to its cognate European languages (see Influ-
onouns in the Formation of Words, pp. 8 and 27). Since then
midt, also (De Pron. Gr. et Lat. p. 72), has shewn the agreement
scrit formations in *dṛiśa-s* with the Greek, Gothic, and Latin,
ik-s, and *li-s*. But he overlooks, in the Sanscrit forms, the long
he pronominal base, on which is based the Greek η, more an-
and Latin *ā*, whence it is not requisite to make the adverbs ᾗ,
e basis of the said formations.

and Vocalismus, Rem. 1.

not be overlooked, that the Prakrit *ê* is a corruption of *î*,* while *πηλίκος* stands for *πᾱλίκος*, and is based, not on the Sanscrit *kîdṛiśa-s*, but on a *kâdṛiśa-s* to be expected from the base *ka*, and which probably originally existed, to which, also, the Gothic *hvêleiks* belongs.

416. In the *hvêleiks* (theme *hvêleika*) just mentioned, with which our *welcher*, "which," is connected, as also in *hvêlauds* (§. 409.), the Gothic has retained the vowel length, which is thousands of years old, with this difference only, that *â* is replaced by *ê*, a circumstance of rare occurrence (§. 69.). There is no demonstrative *thêleiks* corresponding to *hvêleika*, but instead of it *svaleiks*, our *solcher*, "such," like *svalauds* for *thêlauds* (§. 409.); but the Anglo Saxon and Old Northern employ *thylic*, *thîlîkr*, corresponding to the Greek *τηλίκος* and Sanscrit *tâdṛiśa-s* (Grimm III. 40). The Gothic *leika*, "similar," however, occurs also in combinations other than the ancient pronominal ones; never, however, by itself, but instead of it is used *ga-leiks*, our *gleich*, from *ge-leich*, which may be looked upon as the continuation of the Sanscrit *sadṛiśa-s* mentioned above: for as the inseparable preposition स *sa*, सम् *sam*, has, in Gothic, become *ga* (Grimm II. 1018), so may also the pronominal base, from which those prepositions have sprung, be expected as prefix in the form of *ga*. In *analeiks*,† our *ähnlich*, "like," *ana*, in my opinion, stands, in like manner, as a pronoun, not as a preposition, and answers to the Sanscrit-Lithuanian demonstrative base *ana* (§. 372.): *analeiks* therefore signifies "like to this." In the other compounds, also, of this kind, with the exception of *manleika* (theme *-leikan*), "likeness," literally "man-resembling," the first member of the word corresponds more or less to a pronominal idea. These compounds are, *antharleikei*, "variety," which pre-supposes an adjective, *antharleiks*, as

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* Hoefer De Pracrita Dialecto, p. 29.

† To be deduced from the adverb *analeikó*,

connected in sense with the Sanscrit *anyá-dṛiśa-s*, "like to another," "of a different kind," whence *alyaleiks*, deducing it from *alyaleikôs*, *ἑτέρως*, is the countertype in form: *samaleikô*, *ἴσως*, which pre-supposes an adjective *samaleik(a)s*, "like to the same," analogous to the Greek *ὁμῆλιξ* and Latin *similis*:* *ibnaleiks*, "equal," like the simple *ibn(a)-s*; according to its origin, the former signifies "seeming equal": *missaleiks*, "various." I cannot avoid expressing here the conjecture that the Gothic prefix *missa*, our *miss*, may be of pronominal origin, and connected with the Lithuanian base *WISSA*, nominative *wissa-s*, "all," and therefore also with the Sanscrit विश्व *viśva*, by the very common exchange of *v* for *m* (§. 63.). According to the explanation given above (§. 392.) of विश्व *viśva*, this word, through the signification of the preposition वि *vi*, would be very well adapted to express the idea of variety. And the Gothic *missa* (the bare theme) might originally have signified *alius*, and still be identical with the Sanscrit-Lithuanian term for "all"; at least its influence in composition is similar to our *aber*, which is akin to the Sanscrit *apara*, "*alius*" (see §. 350.), in compounds like *aberwitz*, "delirium," *aberglaube*, "superstition." Our *missethat*, therefore, Gothic *missadêds*, "misdeed," would be =*Aber-That*, "a deed different from the right"; and *Missgunst*, "ill-will," would be *Aber-gunst*, "wrong-will"; and the *missaleiks* given above would originally signify "like to another." This conjecture is powerfully supported, and confirmed almost beyond doubt, by the adverb *missô*, which springs from the theme *MISSA* (compare p. 384), which signifies "one another": *gôleith izvis missô*, *ἀσπάσασθε*

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* The simple *sama* (theme *saman*) means "the same," and corresponds to the Sanscrit *sama-ś*, "equal," "similar," and Greek *ὅμο-ς*, the theme being lengthened by an *n*. To this head, also, must be referred *sums* (theme *suma*), "any one," which has introduced a *u* on account of the liquid, but to make up for this has dropped the *n*.

ἀλλήλους (1 Cor. xvi. 20). The original meaning "all" is still perceptible in this, as *missô*, in one word, expresses "the one and the other." In German, the *lich*, which is based on the Gothic *leiks*, and which in *welcher* and *solcher* has dropped the *i*, and in *gleich* gives *ei* as answering to the old *î*, is much more extensively diffused, and has completely assumed the character of a derivative suffix in words like *jährlich*, "yearly," *jämmerlich*, "lamentable," *glücklich*, "fortunate," *schmerzlich*, "painful," &c.* The occurrence of the simple word in Northern, Anglo-Saxon, and English, may be explained by its being formed by abbreviating the Gothic *galeiks*, our *gleich*, by removing the entire prefix.

417. An objection against the identity of the Gothic suffix *leika* and Greek λικος could hardly be raised from the non-mutation of sound in the middle tenuis. I refer the reader, on this head, to §. 89., for example to the connection of the Gothic *slêpa* and Old High German *insuepiu* with the Sanscrit *svapimi*, Latin *sopio*, and Greek ὕπνος, in spite of the retention of the old tenuis. The long *î* (in Gothic written *ei*) in the Germanic formation, answering to the short in the Greek λίκος, and Prakrit *risa* or *disa*, will still less be a ground for rejecting the identity of the suffix under discussion in the three languages; for as the original form is *darka* (see p. 598), the rejection of the *r* may well have been compensated by lengthening the preceding vowel; and the Germanic, therefore, in this respect, approaches the original form one degree closer than the cognate Hellenic and Prakrit idiom.

418. The Old Sclavonic exhibits our suffix exactly in the same form as the Greek, in the masculine and neuter *liko*, nominative masculine *lik* (according to §. 257.), neuter *liko*; hence *tolik*, *toliko*, "*talis*," "*tale*," or "*tantus*," "*tantum*,"= Greek τηλίκος, τηλίκον, and Prakrit *tâîrisô*, *tâîris-aṅ*, Sanscrit

* See the Old High German compounds of this kind in Graff II. 105.

ṛiśas, tâdṛiśam : kolik, koliko, "qualis," "quale," "quantus," quantum?" = Greek *πηλίκος, πηλίκον*, Prakrit *kêrisô, kêrisaṅ*, Sanscrit *kîdṛiśas, kîdṛiśam : yelik, yeliko*, relative = Greek λίκος, *ἡλίκον*, Prakrit *yârisô, yârisaṅ*, Sanscrit *yâdṛiśas, yâdṛiśam*. With respect to the relative expression, it is important to remark, that, in this derivative, the base *ye* (euphonic for *yo*), which commonly signifies "he" (§. 282.), has preserved the original relative signification without the elsewhere necessary enclitic *she*. Dobrowsky, however (p. 344), in assuming *ik* alone in this derivative as suffix "*interposito tamen l*," appears not to have noticed the surprising similarity of the Greek forms in λίκος, otherwise he would have assigned to the *l* a more important share in the work of derivation. The Sclavonic forms differ from those of the cognate languages in this, that they do not lengthen the final vowel of the primitive pronoun, or replace *o* by *a*: for, according to §. 255. *a*., the Sclavonic *o* corresponds to the Sanscrit short *a*, and *a* to the long *â*. We should therefore look for *talik* as answering to the Sanscrit *tâdṛiśa-s*, and Prakrit *târisô*. It cannot, however, be matter of surprise, that, in the course of thousands of years, which separate the Sclavonic from identity with its cognate idioms, a weakening of the vowel should have taken place in the preceding case; as shortenings, weakenings, and abrasions of sounds, are the most common alterations which time introduces into the original form of a language. There are, however, in Sclavonic, other formations of cognate meaning, in which the base syllable has retained the old weight of the vowels, but the suffix has been abbreviated by dropping the syllable *li*, and appears in combination with the affix of the definite declension: hence *takyĭ*, "*talis*," *kakyĭ*, "*qualis?*" *yakyĭ*, "*qualis*" (relative).* The simple neuters, that is, those

* Dobrowsky (p. 343) incorrectly regards *ak* as derivative, since in respect

divested of the definite affix *tako, kako,* occur as adverbs, the former with the signification "so," the latter with that of "how?" By the rejection of the syllable *li, takyĭ* and its correlatives, in respect to their last element, become identical with the interrogative *kyĭ,* "*quis?*" which is likewise declined definitely; and therefore we cannot entirely set aside the objection, that *takyĭ* is a compound of the demonstrative with the interrogative. The explanation given above is to be preferred, because by it the *a* of the first member of the compound, as also the signification of the whole, is shewn to have a very ancient foundation; while by the second mode we should not be able to see why *tokyĭ, yekyĭ, kokyĭ,* should not be used, or *tkyĭ,** *ikyĭ;* and why the mere accusative of the interrogative to the pronoun preceding should have the same effect as the suffix under discussion has in the cognate languages.

419. But if the Old Sclavonic correlatives *takyĭ, kakyĭ, yakyĭ,* are abbreviations of *talikyĭ,* &c., then the analogous and æqui-significant Lithuanian forms *toks,* "*talis,*" *koks,* "*qualis*" (theme *tokia, kokia,* see §. 411.), must also be viewed in this light, and the agreement of the former with the *tockin* (Grimm. III. 40.), which exists in Old Swedish, together with *tolik* and *tolkin,* would consequently not be fortuitous. The Latin suffix *li* in *tālis, quālis, æquālis,*† exhibits a contrary abbreviation, since it has retained the full extent of the original adjective of simi-

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respect to the primitive pronoun he proceeds from the abbreviated nominative masculine *t'*, *k'*, *i*, and, in general, is very obscure regarding the theme of the base words, and the historical relation of the *o* to *u*, which, in §. 255. *a*., is developed through the Sanscrit, as also its length.

* According to the analogy of *kto, chto,* §. 400.

† *Æqualis* is, probably, with regard to its last element, identical with *qualis,* inasmuch as *æquus* is most probably connected with the Sanscrit एकस् *éka-s,* "*unus,*" and the latter is, in its final syllable, identical with the interrogative base *ka* (§. 308.).

arity, as also the long vowel of the pronominal base, but has lost the last syllable, or the guttural only, of तादृक् *tâdṛik*, कीदृक् *kîdṛik* (§. 415.), ἡλικ-ς, ὁμῆλικ-ς. The identity of the formation lies beyond all doubt, and Voss has already shewn that *tālis* is identical with τᾱλίκος. To the constant occurrence of a long *ā* in these ancient forms may be ascribed the fact, that, in more modern formations of this sort, particularly belonging to the Latin, an *ā* is inserted before the suffix, or added to the primitive base, in case it terminates with a consonant; hence, *regālis*, *legālis*, *conjugālis*, *hiemālis*, *carnālis*, *augurālis*, &c. On the other hand, in bases with a short final vowel this is merely lengthened, and the *u* (*o*) of the second declension is changed into a long *i* instead of the short *i*, which is elsewhere introduced before suffixes; hence, *civī-lis*, *hostī-lis*, *juvenī-lis*, from *civi*, *hosti*, *juveni*;* and so, also, *virī-lis* from *viru*, *puerī-lis* from *pueru*, *servī-lis* from *servu*, &c.: *ami-lis*, also, from the organic *a* of the fourth declension, which is no less subject to be weakened to *i*, as is proved by the dative ablatives in *i-bus*. Here, perhaps, may be classed, also, though with a short *i*, words in *ti-lis* or *si-lis*, which spring either from lost abstracts in *ti-s*, *si-s*,† or passive participles, the *u* of which must be weakened before the new suffix to *i*; thus, *ficti-lis*, *missi-lis*, either from the obsolete abstracts *ficti-s*, *missi-s*—whence the secondary forms *fictio*, *missio*—or from *fictus* (weakened from *factus*, §. 6.), *missus*. So, also, *simi-lis*, with short *i*, from the lost primitive *simu-s* = Sanscrit *sama-s*, "similar," Gothic *sama* (theme *saman*), and Greek ὅμο-ς; and *humi-lis*,

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* From the primitive base *juven* = Sanscrit *yuvan*, comes *juvenālis*; *gentilis* comes from a base *genti* (compare Lithuanian *gentis*, "kinsman"), the *i* of which, and consequently the *t* also, are suppressed in the nominative *gens*.

† Compare Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 24.

from *humu-s*. The *a* of the first declension, which is originally long (§. 118.), has preserved its length before this suffix; hence, *vitālis*, *bestiālis*, *amphorālis*. As the *u* of the second declension, according to its derivation, represents a short *a* (§. 116.), and, in the feminine, passes into *a*, it is not extraordinary that, in this class of words also, adjectives in *ā-lis* occur, instead of *ī-lis*, as *fatā-lis*, *infernā-lis*, *liberā-lis*. So, also, *esuriā-lis*, from *esurie-s*, where it is to be observed that the *ē* of the fifth declension springs from *ā* (§§. 151. and 137.): on the other hand, in *fidē-lis*, the *ē* is retained. *Famē-licus* stands alone, and is remarkable, as it has preserved our suffix entire, and its *licus* corresponds exactly to the Greek λίκος. If, as I readily assume with M. Schmidt (l. c. p. 73), *fēlic-s*, also, should be classed here, as analogous to ἦ-λιξ, ὁμῆ-λιξ,* still I do not look for its primitive element in the root *fe*, from which come *fe-tus*, *fe-tura*, *fe-mina*, &c., but in a lost substantive base, which is, in Sanscrit, भाज् *bhâj*, and signifies "fortune."† *Felix*, therefore, would have lost a guttural, as *ful-men* for *fulg-men*, *lu-men* for *luc-men*; and in respect to its last element, and the signification of its first member, it would agree excellently with our *glück-lich*, "fortunate." Here it is to be observed, that the suffix under discussion does not form, in the cognate languages, any primitive words direct from the root, but only derivatives or compounds. Contrary, therefore, to my former conjecture, I can no longer class words like *agilis*, *fragilis*, *docilis*, in respect to their suffix, with words like the abovementioned, *civīlis*, *virīlis*. *servīlis*. In the former, the *l* is, perhaps, primitive, and not, as in the latter, a corruption of *d*. In this case, a suffix *la* or *ila*, in Sanscrit, presents itself for comparison, as in

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* But with long *i* like the Gothic *leiks* (§. 417).

† Compare *manda-bhâj*, "having bad fortune," "unfortunate." The cognate *bhâga* is more used.

an-ila-s, "wind," from *an*, "to blow," to which we shall return when treating of the formation of words. I am unable to cite, in Zend, an adjective in combination with pronominal bases, corresponding to the Sanscrit *dṛiś*, *dṛiśa*, or *dṛiksha*; but I find, V. S. p. 39, the expression *hvarĕdarĕsa*, "like the sun"; and by it the opinion is confirmed, that the *ṛ* of the Sanscrit forms is an abbreviation of *ar*.

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

420. Locative adverbs are formed, in Sanscrit, by the suffix *tra*, which is attached directly to the true theme; hence, *a-tra*, "here," *ta-tra*, "there," *amu-tra*, "yonder," *ku-tra*, "where?" *ya-tra*, "where" (relative). This *tra*, which is, in Zend, according to §. 47., 𐬞𐬀 *thra* (*ithra*, "here," *avathra*, "there," *yathra*, "where") is probably a contraction of the comparative suffix *tara*, and, with regard to its termination, perhaps an instrumental (see p. 381). The Latin pronominal adverbs *ci-tra* and *ul-tra*, therefore, are of the same class, excluding the difference of the case-forms, and also the Gothic ablative adverbs in *thrô*, mentioned at p. 384; compare, *tha-thrô*, "thence," with तत्र *ta-tra*, "there"; *hvathrô*, "whence?" with कुत्र *kutra*, "where?" and *alyathrô* "*aliunde*," with अन्यत्र *anyatra*, "*alibi*." Locative pronominal adverbs are also formed in Zend by the suffix 𐬛𐬀 *dha* (see p. 386, &c.), which, in Sanscrit, is abbreviated to *ha*, but is found only in *i-ha*, "here," and *sa-ha*, "with" (Vêda *sa-dha*). In Greek corresponds, as has been remarked, the suffix θα of ἔνθα, ἐνταῦθα;* and probably, also, χο in πανταχό-θεν, &c., as well as σε (p. 388), which expresses direction to a place, unless the latter has been

* Page 387. With respect to the conjecture there expressed regarding a possible thematic identity between ἔνθα, 𐬌𐬀𐬛 *idha*, and इह *iha*, refer to §. 373.

abbreviated from त्र *tra*, by rejecting the *r* and weakening the *t* to *s*. In Gothic, the suffix *th* or *d* most certainly corresponds, in forms like *hva-th* or *hva-d*, "whither," *alya-th*, ἄλλοσε, *yain-d* (for *yaina-d*), ἐκεῖσε. The conjunction *ith*, "but," "if," "for," is completely identical with इध *idha*, इह *iha*.* The *s* of *c-is* and *ul-s* in Latin has been already compared with θι (§. 395. Note).

421. In Sanscrit, adverbs are formed by the suffix तस् *tas*, not only from pronominal bases, but also from substantives and adjectives, which express removal from, and frequently supply the place of the ablative. The suffix *tas*, as has been before remarked (p. 471, Rem. 5.), is connected also in form with the ablative character, and appears only a continuation of it, or an abbreviation. In Latin, the suffix *tus* corresponds regularly; compare *cæliTUS* with *svargaTAS*, "from heaven." The syllable *tur* of *igitur*, may also be related to it, the *s* being exchanged for *r*. The preceding *igi* would then, as has been elsewhere remarked (Demonstrative Bases, p. 8), admit of comparison with इह *iha*, "here"; to which, with regard to the *g*, it bears the same relation that *ego* does to अहम् *aham*. *Igitur*, therefore, would originally signify "hence," or "from this" (ground). In Sanscrit there is a modification of the suffix under discussion, formed by changing the tenuis to the sonant aspirate in अधस् *a-dhas*, "beneath," and on this is based the Greek θεν and Sclavonic *dû* (see pp. 379, 380).† Compare,

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* Pp. 386, 388. The Sanscrit ध *dh* requires the Greek θ; but, according to the rules for the permutation of sounds, the Gothic *d* corresponds to the Greek θ: at the end of a word, however, *th* is preferred to *d* (§. 91.)

† I wish to limit what has been said at §. 293. Rem. in this particular, that though *onoûdû* and *ovoûdû* are compounds of *ûdû*, the *û* of *onûdye* and *tûdye* has been developed from the *o* of the bases *ONO*, *TO*, precisely as the *û* of *ûdû*, or *yûdû*, and *ûdye* (for *yûdye*) from *YO*. I therefore consider the forms

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	OLD HIGH GERMAN.
*ku-tas,**	*πο-θεν,*	*ot-kû-dû.*
ta-tas,	*τό-θεν,*	*ot-tû-dû.*
yatas,	*ὅ-θεν,*	*yû-dû-she.*

The Latin offers for comparison *unde*, for *cunde* (*ali-cunde*) and *inde*, the *de* of which I have no doubt is connected with the Sanscrit suffix *tas* or *dhas*, the Greek *θεν*, and Sclavonic *dû*. *Unde* has, in addition, received a nasal, which is not to be explained by transposition from the Greek *θεν*, as the blending of nasal sounds, which are governed by the organ of the consonant following, is very common. Remark the frequently-mentioned relation of *ambo*, *ἄμφω*, to the Sanscrit उभौ *ubhâu*, and Sclavonic *oba*. *Aliunde*, answering to the Sanscrit *anyatas*, "elsewhere," need not be regarded as a compound of *unde*; but it is probable that the *u* of *aliu-nde* belongs to the theme of *aliu-s*, and corresponds, therefore, to the Indian *a* of *anya-tus*. So, also, *ali-bi* and *aliu-bi* are scarcely compounds of *ibi* and *ubi*, but combinations of the dative termination *bi*, which is contained in *ti-bi*, *si-bi*, *i-bi*, and *u-bi*, with the base *ALIU*, either suppressing the final vowel—whence *ali-bi*—or retaining it as in *aliu-bi*. Whether, however, a nasal has been inserted in *inde*, depends upon whether it springs from the base *i*—whence *is*, *ibi*, &c.—or from *in* = Sanscrit *ana* (§. 273.). The very isolated preposition *de*, in Latin, is, perhaps, an abbreviation of the Sanscrit अधस् *adhas*, "below," and therefore, in origin, identical with the æqui-sonant suffix of *inde*, *unde*, and *aliunde*. A form *hi-nde* or *hu-nde*, *isti-nde* or *istu-nde*, and *illi-nde* or *illu-nde*, might also be expected. But instead of these we

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forms *tûdû*, "thence," and *kûdû*, "whence?" which occur only in combination with the preposition *ot*, as simple.

* From the weakened base *ku* (§. 389.), for *katas*, to be expected from *KA*, on which are based the Greek *πόθεν*, from *κόθεν*, and Sclavonic *kûdû*.

find *hinc*, *istinc*, *illinc*, regarding which it is unknown whence comes their meaning of separation from a place, unless the syllable *de*, as exponent of this direction, has been removed from them, and the enclitic *c* has assumed its place, which would surprise us least in *hinc*. *Hinc* may, perhaps, be an abbreviation of *hinde*, as the neuter *hoc* of *hode* (§. 395). The locative adverbs *hic*, *illic*, *istic*, I regard as datives, of which the character, according to §. 200., has been taken from the Sanscrit locative; and which, in *ruri*, also has retained the original meaning. *Istic* and *illic* are, for the use of language, sufficiently distinguished from the forms *isti* and *illi*, which are used for the dative relation; while for *hic* a distinction from the proper dative must be differently sought in the dropping the euphonic *u* (from *v*).* *Hîc*, therefore, is, in this respect, distinguished from *huic*, as the nominative *hic*, for which *huic* might be expected, from *qI'i*.

422. Adverbs of time are formed in Sanscrit by the suffix दा *dâ*, hence *kadâ*, "when?" *tadâ*, "then"; *yadâ*, "when?" "at which time"; *êkadâ*, "once"; *sadâ*, "always": the latter springs from the energetic demonstrative base *sa* (§. 345.), whence also *sarva*, "every" (§. 381.). Perhaps the Greek τε is, in an anomalous manner, connected with this *dâ*, by a permutation of sound, which has become a principle in Germanic, since nearly all old medials, as far as they have not experienced a second modification in High German, become tenues. In Sclavonic corresponds the suffix *gda*, which I think must be divided into *g-da*, since I regard it as a derivative of the interrogative base, which has ceased to be used alone, and which may have signified "when," or "once on a time"; and the guttural tenuis has given place to a medial, on account of the *d* following, according to the analogy of *gdye*, "where?" (§. 293. Rem.). This *gda*, unconscious of its derivation, is combined with the interrogative itself; hence

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* See p. 549 and §§. 394. 395.

kogde, "when?" and *togda*, "then." But in MSS. is found for *inogda*, "at another time," also the simple *inda*, as a more exact countertype of the Sanscrit *anya-dâ*, but with the *o* of the base *INO* suppressed, which is retained in *inogda* and similar forms, to avoid the great accumulation of consonants. Together with *yegda*, ὅτε, occurs, also, the simple *yeda*, but with a change of signification, viz. as an interrogative particle (Dobr. p 432). In Lithuanian the simple suffix appears both in the unweakened interrogative base, and in other pronouns and words, the nature of which borders on that of pronouns, and which, in Sanscrit, are declined like pronouns. Thus, *niekadà*, "never," after withdrawing the negative element, corresponds to the Sanscrit *êkadâ*, "once"; *kadà*, "when," and *tadà*, "then," are identical with the Sanscrit expressions of the same sound and signification; *wissadà* means "always," and *anday* (for *anadà*), "at that time." It may be allowed here to mention two other Lithuanian adverbs of time, which are not, indeed, connected with the suffix *dâ*, but required previous mention on other accounts;—I mean *dabàr*, "now," and *kómet*, "when?" In the first part of *da-bàr* I believe may be seen a weakened form of the demonstrative base *ta*; in the latter, a remnant of the term for "time," mentioned at p 425; viz. वार *vâra*, Bengalí *bâr*, and therefore a word akin to the syllable *-ber* in the Latin name for months. As regards, however, the final portion of *kómet*, it recalls, on account of the frequent interchange of *v* and *m*, the suffix *vat* in the Sanscrit adverbs of time, *tâvat*, "now," *yâvat*, "at which time" (§. 412), with which we have endeavoured to compare the Greek τῆμος, ἦμος. We return to the suffix *dà*, in order to remark, that, by a perversion of the language, it is so regarded as though the adverbs formed with it were substantives or adjectives capable of declension. Thus arise the forms in *dós*, *dai*, and *dais*; the two first with feminine genitive and dative termination, the last with the masculine plural instrumental ter-

mination. For the *niekadà* mentioned above occurs, therefore, also *niekadôs*, *niekadai*, and *niekadais*. For *dai* is also written *day*; hence *taday* as well as *tadà*; and the form *tad* occurs with *à* suppressed, and *taddà*, *tadday*, with *d* doubled, just as *kad*, *kaddà*, *kadday*, for *kadà*. To the latter, and to the Sanscrit कदा *kadâ*, corresponds, perhaps, the Latin *quando*; so that a nasal would have been inserted before the *T* sound, as above in *unde* (p. 591). The correlative *tando*, however, is wanting. The following table may serve as a general view of the points of comparison obtained:

SANSCRIT.	LITH.	OLD SCL.	GREEK.	LATIN.
kadâ,	*kadà*,	*koyda*,	πότε,	*quando*.
tadâ,	*tadà*,	*togda*,	τότε,	. . .
yadâ,	. .	*yegda*,	ὅτε,	. . .
anyadâ,	. .	*inda*,	ἄλλοτε,	. . .

423. The suffix *dâ* is combined in Sanscrit with *nîm*, which appears to me to be an accusative form of a feminine pronominal base *nî*, that the masculine and neuter *na* (p. 335) might easily form in the feminine, as well as *nâ* (see §. 172.). Thus arise *tadânîm*, "then," and *idânîm*, "now." As, however, the simple form *idâ* has become obsolete, the Indian grammarians assume a suffix *dânîm*. As regards the origin of the time-defining *dâ*, it appears to be an abbreviation of दिवा *divâ*, "by day," by the rejection of *iv*; as, in Latin, *ev* is rejected *nolo* (from *nevolo*). I recognise a different kind of abbreviation of this *divâ* in अद्य *a-dya*, "to-day," "now," where the *v* only of *divâ* is removed, and the final *â* shortened, and the *i*, according to a universal phonetic law, changed into य्.

424. There is nothing similar in the cognate languages to the Greek correlatives in *νίκα—πηνίκα*, *τηνίκα*, *ἡνίκα*—besides the Latin *donec*, *donicum*, before mentioned, unless it be the Sanscrit adverb अनिशम् *aniśam*, "eternal," "perpetual."

which the first member does not contain a case-
n, but the bare theme. We may regard, therefore,
ıd *ή*, as feminine bases, or, as above, in *τῆμος*,
hened forms of the masculine and neuter.* The
ld be more agreeable to the original principle of
tion of compounds; according to which, pronouns
tives, at the beginning of compounds, express no
ı of sex, and therefore never appear in the form of
:, which is peculiar to the feminine, but in that
:ommon to the masculine and neuter, in which, pro-
re is no sex expressed, and from which the femi-
ıe is a derivative. In the preceding case, however,
substantive is really feminine, if, as I conjecture,
n to the Sanscrit निश् *niś*, nominative निक् *nik*,
the accusative of which, *niśam*, is contained in
ementioned *aniśam*, "eternal," literally "without
It is certain that the Sanscrit accusative *niśam*
Greek, take no other form than *νίκα*, as क् *ś* pro-
m क् *k*, and, in Greek, always appears as *κ* (§. 21.).
:k base *νυκτ*, the Latin *noct*, and the Gothic *nahti*
ive *nahts*), are, in Sanscrit, represented by *nakt*, of
ly the accusative *naktam* = *noctem*, *νύκτα*, remains

left in the accusative just mentioned, the reverse case canno be surprising, that the Greek should have retained of *ni* *nik*, which is most probably akin to *nakt*, only the accusativ in the compounds under discussion. As, then, in तदा *tadâ* and similar formations, if the explanation of the suffix give above be well founded (§. 423.), there is only a formal ex pression of "day," and yet time in general is understood i it; so, according to the view here proposed, in *τηνίκα*, "night would be selected as the representative of time in general, o of a particular point of time, which might easily take plac through the dimming of the primary meaning of the co cluding element. So the Sanscrit *adya*, "to-day," "on thi day"—its original meaning being lost sight of—is not unfr quently used in the sense of "now," "in this moment." *αὐτίκα* is based on the same principle of formation as *τηνίκ* &c., it is then an abbreviation of *αὐτη-νίκα*, which is als Buttmann's conjecture, since he derives it from *τὴν αὐτ ἵκα*, and the omission of the *ην* would resemble that of th Latin *ev* in *nolo*, and that of *iv* in the Sanscrit suffix *dâ*, fro *divâ*. But if we follow C. G. Schmidt (Quæst. Gramm. d Præp. Gr. p. 49) in taking *αὐτίκα* as an unabbreviated for we might then, by the same analogy, derive *τηνίκα* from *τῆνο* which we would not, however, do, as there is no form *πῆνο* whence we might derive *πηνίκα*, nor *ἦνος*, whence *ἡνίκα*.

425. Adverbs of kind and manner are formed in Sanscr by addition of the suffixes थम् *tham* and था *thâ*. The form occurs only in कथम् *katham*, "how?" and इत्थम् *ittham*, "so and it has been before compared with the Latin *tem* i *i-tem* and *au-tem* (§. 378.). To *thâ* answers the Latin *ta* i *ita* and *aliuta*, which latter corresponds to the Sanscr अन्यथा *anyathâ*, "in another manner." Besides these a formed, in Sanscrit, by this suffix, *tathâ*, "so," *yathâ*, "how? (relative) and *sarvathâ*, "in every way." A suffix *ti*, the same signification, forms with the demonstrative ba *i* the adverb *iti*, "so," the only analogous form to which

› one another as accusative and instrumental; the
ccording to the principle of the Zend language
and which, contrary to a conjecture given at §. 378.,
believe must be taken in this sense. The Zend,
generally shortens the long *á* at the end of poly-
words, uses the suffix under discussion like the
vith a short final vowel; hence 𐬀𐬙𐬀 *itha* like *ita*.
not met with the suffix *tham* in Zend, for 𐬀𐬙𐬌
used for कथम् *katham*, and for इत्थम् *ittham* the 𐬀𐬙𐬀
t mentioned.

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* Berlin Jahrb. Nov. 1830, p. 702.

THE VERB.

426. The Sanscrit has two forms for the ac which the one is appointed for the transitive a wardly-operating direction of its powers, and i by the Indian grammarians *parasmâi-padam*, equiva "stranger form";* the other, which is called *átman i.e.* "self form,"† serves, when it stands in its pı signification, for reflective or intransitive purposes, o that the action is to be placed to the credit of the or stands in some near relation thereto. For i *dâ*, "give," in the *átmanêpadam*, in conjunction with 1 position *â*, has the force of "take," *i.e.* "give o the causative *darśayâmi*, "to make to see," "to acquires, through the terminations of the átmanêpad signification "shew itself"; *śi*, "lie" (*śêtê* = κεῖτ "*sit*" (*Astê* = ἧσται, p. 118), *mud*, "to be pleased," oneself," *ruch*, "to shine," "please," "please onese only used in the *átmanêpadam*; *yâch*, "to require," "pr both forms, but the reflective prevails, as we most g require or pray for our own advantage. In gener ever, the language, as it at present exists, disposes forms in rather an arbitrary manner. But few ver retained the two; and where this happens, the primi tention of both seldom shews itself distinctly. Of the languages, only the Zend, the Greek, and the Goth retained this primitive form; for that the Gothic pa

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* परस्मै *parasmâi* is the dative of *para*, "the other."

† आत्मन् *âtman*, "soul," of which the dative, *âtmanê*, is used the oblique cases often fills the place of a pronoun of the thir generally with a reflective signification.

identical in construction with the Indo-Greek middle has been already shewn in my Conjugation-system.* Grimm has since directed attention to two expressions which have remained unnoticed in former Grammars, and which are of the greatest importance, as having preserved the old medial form also in a medial signification. Ulfilas, namely, twice (Matt. xxvii. 43. and Mark xv. 32.) translates *καταβάτω* by "*atsteigadau*," and once (Matt. xxvii. 43.) *ῥυσάσθω* by "*lausyadau*." Lately, also, v. Gabelentz and Löbe, in their valuable edition of Ulfilas (pp. 187 and 225), have justly assigned the following forms to one lately brought to light, by Castiglione's edition of St. Paul's Epistles, to the middle: *ufkunnanda, γνώσονται* (John xiii. 35.); *faianda*, "*vituperant*" (Rom. ix. 19.); *gavasyada undivanein, ἐνδύσηται ἀφθαρίαν* (1 Cor. xv. 54.); *vaurkyada, ἐργάζεται* (2 Cor. iv. 17.); *ustiuhada, κατεργάζεται* (2 Cor. vii. 10.); and *liugandau, γαμησάτωσαν* (1 Cor. vii. 9.). Grimm, in the first edition of his Grammar (p. 444), gives the forms *atsteigadau* and *lausyadau*, as I doubt not, justly, as imperatives, but considers them as erroneous transferences of the Greek expressions into the passive form. What, however, could induce Ulfilas to translate the middle *ῥυσάσθω*, not to mention the active *καταβάτω*, by a passive, having so many other opportunities for exchanging Greek middles for passives? In the second edition (I. 855) Grimm asks, "Have we here the third conjugation of a Gothic middle?" Were they, however, conjunctiva media, they must then have retained the characteristic *i* of this word, and, in this respect, have answered to the Indo-Greek media, such as *bharêta* (from *bharaita*), *φέροιτο*. The middle and passive could not be distinguished by the insertion or suppression of the exponent of the conjunctive relation. I explain, therefore, *atsteigadau* and *lausyadau*, as well as the later *liugandau* (*γαμησάτωσαν*), without hesitation, as

* P. 122. Compare Vocalismus, p. 79, and Grimm I. 1050.

imperatives of the middle voice; as they answer excellently well to the Sanscrit medial imperatives, as *bhar-a-tâm*, "he should bear or receive"; *bhar-a-ntâm*, "they should bear or receive." The Gothic *au* has the same relation here to the Sanscrit *âm*, as, in the first conjunctive person active, where, for instance *siyau*, "*ich sei*," "I may be," answers to the Sanscrit *syâm*. The old *m* has merged into *u*, and formed a diphthong with the preceding *a* (compare §. 255. *g*.). In respect to form, however, *atsteigadau*, *lausyadau*, and *lisgandau* are passive; and Ulfilas would probably have also rendered "he should be freed" by *lausyadau*. In the translation of the Bible, however, an occasion for the use of the passive imperative rarely occurs.

427. While the Greek and Gothic have carried over the medial form into the passive, so that the passive and middle, with the exception of the Greek aorist and future, are perfectly identical; in the Sanscrit and Zend the passive, indeed, exhibits the more important terminations of the middle, through which the symbolical retro-operation of the action on the subject is expressed, but a practical distinction occurs in the special tenses (§. 109[a].), in that the syllable *ya*—of which more hereafter—is appended to the root, but the characteristic additions and other peculiarities, by which the different classes are distinguished in the two active forms, are resumed. In Greek, *δείκ-νυ-ται* is as well passive as medial, but in Sanscrit चिनुते *chi-nu-tê*, from चि *chi*, "collect," is only medial, and the passive is *chi-ya-tê*: in Greek, *δίδοται*, *ἵστανται*, are as well passive as medial; in Sanscrit the kindred forms ददते *dat-tê*, anomalous for *dada-tê*, तिष्ठते *tishṭha-tê* only medial, and their passive becomes *dî-yatê*, *sthî-yatê*.* As the Sanscrit and Zend passive, except that with the omission of the class peculiarities

* Some of the roots in *â* weaken that vowel to *i* before the passive characteristic *ya*.

ıly by the extension of the personal terminations.

The moods in Sanscrit are five, if we include the
ve, in which, in fact, no mood, but only mere re-
of time, are expressed. The absence of modal
ry notions is its characteristic. The other moods
e potential, imperative, precative, and conditional.
these, we find in the Vêdas fragments of a mood,
in the principle of its formation, corresponds to the
subjunctive, and by the grammarians is called *lêṭ*.*
ne moods, even to the conjunctive, or *lêṭ*, exist in
ınly I am not able to lay down the conditional,
tands in nearest connection with the future, and
ı Sanscrit, also, is very rare. The infinitive and par-
elong to the noun. The indicative has six tenses,
present, three preterites, and two futures. The pre-
in form, correspond to the Greek imperfect, aorist,
fect. With their use, however, the language, in its
condition, deals very capriciously; for which reason,
grammar, I have named them only with reference
form: the first, single-formed augmented preterite;
nd, multiform augmented preterite; and the third,
ated preterite. Both futures are likewise indis-

and Lithuanian future, and is most used, the auxili
future; the other, the participial future, as its first
ment is a participle which answers to the Latin in *tu*
In the Zend I have not yet detected this tense, but
the other Sanscrit tenses I have, and have given proof
this in the reviews mentioned in the preface (p.
The moods which stand opposed to the indicative have
Sanscrit and Zend, only one tense; yet the potential
precative have, in fact, such a relation to each ot
as, in Greek, the present and second aorist of the optat
and Pânini embraces both of these modal forms u
the name *lin*. The same relation between wishing
praying may also be expressed by the potential, whic
in far more general use, though the latter be strictly
presented by the precative. In the Vêdas traces
apparent of a further elaboration of the moods into va
tenses, and it may hence be inferred, that what the
ropean languages, in their developement of the m
have in excess over the Sanscrit and Zend, dates, at
in its origin, from the period of the unity of the langu

429. The numbers of the verb are three in most o
languages here treated of. The Latin verb has, lik
noun, lost the dual; but the German has preserved
verbal dual in its oldest dialect, the Gothic, in prefe
to that of the noun; the Old Sclavonic retains it in
and so has the Lithuanian to the present day. The
and Prakrit, otherwise so near to the Sanscrit, have,
the Latin, parted with both the dual and the m
mood of the active. In opposition to the Semitic,
is no distinction of gender in the personal signs of
Sanscrit family; which is not surprising, as the two
persons, even in their simple condition, are without
distinction, while the Semitic dispenses with it only in
first person, as well simple as in the verb, but, in
second and third, in both conditions distinguishes

from the feminine. The Old Sclavonic has gained
ıe in an inorganic fashion, and by a divergence
primary type of its class, as well in its simple
of the first person, as in the three persons of the
s, namely, *va*, "we two," has the force of a mas-
ıstantive dual, to which the feminine in ѣ *ye* corre-
273.); so, by the power of analogy, out of that ва
ен developed a feminine вѣ *vye*, and, in accordance
in the verb also; for instance, кѣва *yesva*, "we two
ıculine), кѣвѣ *yesvye* (feminine), as opposed to the
vas (contracted from *asvas*), and the Lithuanian
the same manner, in the second and third dual
which, in the masculine, are both *yesta*, answering
ınscrit (*a*)*sthas*, (*a*)*stas*, and the Greek εστον, a
stye кѣтѣ has been formed; for as, in virtue of the
ıich the terminating sibilant of the Sanscrit form
ırily rejected (see §. 255. *l.*), the verbal dual ending
lentical with that of the noun, and as, moreover,
nation *ta* has precisely the same sound with the in-
t *ta*, "these two" (men): the way was thus opened
mation of a feminine personal termination тѣ *tye*,
also identical with the independent *tye*, "these
ımen). These feminine verbal terminations are in
worthy of observation, as they rest on the feeling
ammatical identity of the verb with the noun,
that the spirit of the language was vitally im-
ı the principle of close connection, which had of
ı between the simple pronoun and that which is
th the verbal bases.

With respect to the personal signs, the tenses and
ll most evidently in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, into
es. The one is fuller, the other more contracted
mination. To the first class belong those tenses
n Greek, we are accustomed to call the chief,
the present, future, and perfect or reduplicated

preterite, whose terminations, however, have undergone serious mutilations in the three sister languages, which clearly have their foundation in the incumbrance of the commencement by the reduplication syllable. To the second class belong the augmented preterites, and, in Sanscrit and Zend, all the moods not indicative, with the exception of the present of the *lêt* or conjunctive, and of those terminations of the imperative which are peculiar to this mood, and are rather full than contracted. In Greek, the conjunctive has the full, but the optative, which answers to the Sanscrit potential, the contracted. The termination *μι* of *τύπτοιμι* is, as we have elsewhere observed,* inorganic, as appears from a comparison with the *τυπτοίμην* which has sprung from the original form *τύπτοιν* and the conjugation in *μι* (*διδοίην*).

431. In Latin, this double form of the personal termination, although in an inverted relation, makes itself observable in this, that where the fuller form *mi* stood, the termination, excepting in the cases of *sum* and *inquam*, has vanished altogether. On the other hand, the original termination *m*, by itself, has everywhere maintained itself. Hence, *amo*, *amabo*; but *amabam*, *eram*, *sim*, *amem* as, in Sanscrit, *a-bhavam* and *âsam*, "I was," *syâm*, "I may be," *kâmayêyam*, "I might love." In the other persons an uniformity of terminations has crept in by the abrasion of the *i* of the primary forms; thus, *legis*(*i*), *legit*(*i*), *legunt*(*i*), as *legas*, *legat*, *legant*.

432. In the Gothic, the aboriginal separation into the full and mutilated terminations makes itself principally conspicuous in that the terminations *ti* and *nti* of the primary forms have retained the *T* sound, because it was protected by a following vowel, but have lost the *i*: on the other hand, the concluding *t* of the secondary form

* Berlin Jahrb. Feb. 1827, p. 279, or Vocalismus, p. 44.

s in the Greek, has vanished: hence, for example, *bair-i-th*, *bair-a-nd*, answering to भरति *bhar-a-ti*, भरन्ति *bhar-anti* (φέρ-ο-ντι), but *bair-ai*, like φέροι, answering to भरेत् *bhar-ê-t*, (from *bharait*) *fer-a-t*. In the first person singular, the full termination *mi* has, in remarkable accordance with the Latin, quite disappeared: on the other hand, the concluding *m* of the secondary forms has not, indeed, as in the Latin, been retained unaltered, but yet has kept its place in the solution into *u* (compare §. 246.): thus *bair-a*, answering to भरामि *bhar-â-mi*, but *bair-a-u* (from *bairam* for *bairaim*),* answering to भरेयम् *bhar-êy-am*, *fer-a-m*. In the second person singular, as in the Latin, an identity between the primary and secondary forms has introduced itself, since the first have lost the concluding *i*, and the latter have not brought one from the Asiatic seat of their class; hence *bair-i-s*, answering to भरसि *bhar-a-si*, and also *bair-ai-s* to भरेस् *bhar-ê-s*, *fer-â-s*, φέρ-οι-σ.

433. In the Old Sclavonic, the secondary forms have, in the singular, been compelled entirely to abandon the personal consonant (see §. 255. *l.*), on account of its being final; hence, in the imperative, which is identical with the Sanscrit potential, the Greek optative, and Roman-German conjunctive, the second person singular ends with the modal-vowel *i*, and, in the preterite, answering to the Sanscrit-Greek aorist, the second and third persons have the same sound, because the concluding *s*, like *t*, was necessarily dropped. Compare, in the preterite iterative, the termination ше *she*, ше *she*, with the Sanscrit सीस् *sîs*, सीत् *sît*. On the other hand, the primary forms give the expression of the second person singular with wonderful accuracy, as ши *shi*, or си, *si*; and out of the ти *ti* of the third we have т, and, in the plural ят from *anti*. We now proceed to a closer consideration of the personal signs.

* Compare Vocalismus, p. 203.

FIRST PERSON.

434. The character of the first person is, in the sin as well as plural, in its original shape *m*; but in the the languages which possess a first dual person ir transitive active form have softened the *m* to *v*, as we also found वयम् *vayam* for मयम् *mayam*, in the simple noun "we," and similar phenomena in several co languages. The full characteristic of the first p singular is, in the primary form of the transitive a *mi*, and spreads itself, in Sanscrit and Zend, over all without exception: in Greek, however—peculiariti dialect excepted—only over such as answer to the s chief Sanscrit conjugation, which embraces the classes three, five, seven, eight, and nine (§. 109.), but altog comprises but a small proportion of the verbs (about The other Greek verbs have quite suppressed the per termination, and their ω (omega), like the Latin *o*, answ the Sanscrit *â*, which, in forms like *bôdh-â-mi*, "I k *tud-â-mi*, "I wound," belongs neither to the root no personal termination, but is the character of the class, v when it consists of a short *a*, or of syllables ended lengthens that letter before *m* and *v* followed by a v hence, *bôdh-â-mi*, *bôdh-â-vas*, *bôdh-â-mas*, in contr *bôdh-a-si*, *bôdh-a-ti*; *bôdh-a-thas*, *bôdh-a-tas*; *bôdl bôdh-a-nti*. The Greek has no participation in this le ening, and makes *τέρπ-ο-μεν* answer to the Sanscrit *t mas*. It is possible, however, that, in the singular, *τέρ* may have once stood; and if so, we might conjectur this ω may have been shortened in the plural an (medial) by the influence of the increased weight of th minations, of which more hereafter; thus, also, in the r passive. The supposed *τέρπ-ω-μι* has, in effect, the relation to *τέρπ-ο-μεν* and *τέρπ-ο-μαι*, as *δίδω-μι* to *δί* and *δίδ-ο-μαι*. If, however, we prefer, which I should

assume τέρπ-ο-μι as the primitive form, the length of τέρπω may then be considered as a compensation for the loss of the termination. In any case the medial passive μαι, which spreads itself over all classes of verbs, proves that they all have had a μι in the active; for μαι has sprung from μι, as σαι, ται, νται, from σι, τι, ντι; and without the presence either of a τέρπωμι or a τέρπομι we could have had no τέρπομαι. With regard to the all-prevalent conservation of the character of the first person in the medio-passives, the Greek maintains a conspicuous advantage over its Asiatic cognates, which, in the singular of the middle, as well in the primary as in the secondary forms, has suffered the *m* to vanish without leaving a trace. If τέρπω be, as it were, amended from the Sanscrit form *tarp-â-mi*, the mutilated Sanscrit form *tarpê** may be, in like manner, brought back from the Greek τέρπ-ο-μαι to its original form *tarp-â-mê*, or *tarp-a-mê*.

435. We find, in what has been said above, a very remarkable confirmation of the maxim, that the various members of the great family of language now under discussion must of necessity mutually illustrate and explain each other, since the most perfect among them have been handed down to us uncorrupted in every part of their rich organism. For while the ending μαι is still extant in all its splendour in the Modern-Greek passive, the corresponding Sanscrit form lay in ruins at that period when the oldest existing sample of Indian literature, the Vêdas, was composed, the antiquated language of which has conveyed to us so many other remnants of the primæval type of the family. On the other hand, Homer, in all the variety of his present and future forms, was compelled to forego the terminating μι, which was the mother of his μαι, which is the only existing termination in the Sanscrit, and

* Such would be the form of *tarpâmi* in the middle voice, in which, however, it is not used.

which to this day the Lithuanian utters in the following verbs.

LITHUANIAN.	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
esmi, "I am,"	= *asmi*,	ἐμμί, ἐσ-μέν,
eimi, "I go,"	= *êmi*,	εἶμι.
dûmi, "I give,"	= *dadâmi*,	δίδωμι.
dêmi, "I lay,"	= *dadhâmi*,	τίθημι.
stowmi, "I stand,"	= *tishṭhâmi*,	ἵστημι.
edmi, "I eat,"	= *admi*,	....
sêdmi, "I sit,"	= *ni-shîdâmi*, "I sit down,"	....
giêdmi, "I sing,"	= *gadâmi*, "I say,"	....
gêlbmi, "I help,"*	= *kalpayâmi*, "make, prepare?"*	....
sêrgmi, "I guard,"	.....	....
sáugmi, "I preserve,"	.....	....
miêgmi, "I sleep,"	.....	....
tiekmi, "I leave,"	= *rahâmi*, "forsake?"†	....

436. We must take into account that in all these verbs the termination *μι*, as in the Sanscrit second class (§. 109a. 3.) and in the verbs which answer to it, such as *φημί*, *εἶμι*, is combined directly with the root. The Old Sclavonic also has rescued, in some verbs of this kind, which we would name the Archaic conjugation, the termination *mi*, not, indeed, in its original purity, but under the shape of *my*. Before this *my*, however, as also in the first person plural before *my*, and before the sibilant of the second person singular, a radical *d* is suppressed, which *d*, before terminations beginning with *t*, in analogy with the Zend and Greek (§. 102.), passes into *s*.† Compare,

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* *Kalpayâmi*, on which the Gothic root *halp*, "to help" (present *hilpa*, preterite *halp*), is probably based, is, in all likelihood, akin to the root *kar* (*kṛi*), "to make."

† Compare p. 441.

‡ *Jad* alone forms an exception, that, in the second and third person dual

OLD SCLAVONIC.	SANSCRIT.
ѥсмь *yesmy*, "I am,"	अस्मि *asmi*.
вѣмь *vyemy*, "I know,"	वेद्मि *vêdmi*.
вѣдатъ *vyedyaty*, "they know,"	विदन्ति *vidanti*.
дамь *damy*, "I give,"*	ददामि *dadâmi*.
дадатъ *dadyaty*, "they give,"	ददति *dadati*.
ямь *yamy*, "I eat,"	अद्मि *admi*.
ядатъ *yadaty*, "they eat,"	अदन्ति *adanti*.

Thus also the compound сѫмѣмь *sn-yemy* for *sn-yamy*, "*comedo*," "*manduco*,"* and имамь *imamy*, "I have." The Krainisch deserves special attention in respect of the first person singular, as, without exception, it has preserved the personal *m*, although with entire renunciation of the *i*; for instance, *délam*, "I labour": thus, in Polish, in the first conjugation, as Bandtke has it, *czytam*, "I read." In Old Sclavonic, however, we find everywhere in the usual conjugation ѫ, and we have already remarked that we recognise, in the latter part of this diphthong, the melting of this personal sign *m* into a short *u* sound, which, with the preceding conjugation-vowel, has resolved itself into ѫ, as in Greek τύπτουσι from τύπτοντι (§. 255. *g*.). In the same light is to be regarded the Lithuanian *ù* in Mielcke's first and second conjugation; compare *sukù*, "I turn," and *penù*, "I feed," with the plural *suk-a-mè*, *pen-a-mè*. On the other hand, in verbs like *laikau*, "I hold," *yeszkau*, "I seek," *myliu*, "I love," the *u* only belongs to the personal sign. It is otherwise with the Old High German *u* in Grimm's strong and first weak conjugation: in these, *u* is a weakening of the Gothic *a* (Vocalismus, p. 227, ff.), and this is itself a shorten-

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dual it inserts an *e* as a connecting vowel; hence, *jad-e-ta* in contrast to *das-ta*, *vyes-ta*. See Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 93.

* Is generally used with a future signification.

† The Sanscrit preposition *sam*, Greek συν, has usually lost the nasal, but has preserved it in the above instances.

ing of theSanscrit *â* , and so far corresponding to the Gree ω and Latin *o* (see §. 434.). Compare the Gothic *bair-a-'*, O High German *bir-u-'* (*piru*), with भरामि *bhar-â-mi* φέρ-ω-(μι *fer-a.* The only verb which, in Gothic, has preserved remnant of the termination μι, is *im*, "I am," = अस्मि *asmi* &c. In High German, however, the remains of this old termination are more numerous: in our German *bin* it has to this day rescued itself from total suppression. The Old High German form is *bim*, or *pim*, a contraction of the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, the *v* of which reappears in the shape of *r* in the plural *birumês*. Besides these, the personal sign in Old High German fastens on some other isolated verbs, as on *gâm*, "I go," = जगामि *jagâmi*, βίβημ (p. 111); *stâm*, "I stand," = तिष्ठामि *tishṭhâmi*, Zend [illegible] *histâmi*, Greek ἵστημι (p. 111); *tuom*, "I do," = Sanscri दधामि *dadhâmi*, "I place," Greek τίθημι, विदधामि *vi-dadhâmi* "I make"; and, further, on those classes of verbs which exhibit the Sanscrit form *aya* in the shape of *ê* or *ô* (Grimm' second and third conjugations of the weak form, see §. 109ª. 6 Hence *habêm* (Gothic *haba*), *damnôm*, and *phlanzôm*, ar more perfect than the corresponding Latin forms *habe damno*, *planto*. Yet it is only the oldest monuments whic exhibit the *m* termination: the more modern substitute

437. In the secondary forms the expression of the fir person singular, in Sanscrit and Zend, is terminated by without a vowel; and this mutilated ending, which ha maintained itself in Latin in preference to the fuller *n* (§. 431.), has been forced in Greek, by a universal la of sound, to become ν; just as we have seen, in the O High German, the final *m* of the most ancient exampl degenerate into *n*. Compare ἔτερπ-ο-ν with *atarp-a-n* ἐδίδω-ν and ἔδω-ν with *adadâ-m* and *adâ-m*; and furthe διδο-ίην and δο-ίην with *dadh-yâm* and *dê-yâm*. In the fir Greek aorist the personal sign has vanished; hence, ἔδειξ contrasted with अदिक्षम् *adiksham*. The older ἔδειξαν, fro

a still older form ἔδειξαμ, presents itself, however, as out of the resulting medial form ἐδειξάμ-ην. With respect to the Gothic *u* for *m*, we refer the reader to §. 432.

"Remark.—If we have, in the above, dissected *atarp-a-m* after the fashion of the Greek ἕτερπ-ο-ν, we must yet observe, that, according to the Indian grammarians, the full termination of the first person singular of the secondary form is not a simple *m*, but *am:* it would stand, accordingly, *atarpam* for *atarpim*, from *atarp-a-am*, and we should have to assume an elision of the intermediate syllable *a*. In fact, we find the termination *am* in places where the *a* cannot, as in *atarp-a-m*, *avaś-ya-m*, *adarś-aya-m*, be assigned to the class characters (§. 109ª. 1. 2. 6.); for we form, for instance, out of *i*, "go," *iy-am*, not *âi-m*, "I went"; from *brû*, "speak,' *abrav-am* or *abruv-am*, not *abrô-m*, "I spoke"; and from the syllables *a* and *u*, which are appended to the roots of the fifth and eighth class (§. 109ª. 4.), in the special tenses spring, not *nô-m*, *ô-m*, as we might expect from the present *nô-mi*, *ô-mi*, but *navam*, *avam;* and thus, for instance, we find अस्तृणवम् *astṛiṇavam*, plural अस्तृणुम *astṛiṇuma*, answering to ἐστόρνῡν, ἐστόρνυμεν. As the second person in Sanscrit has a simple *s*, the third a simple *t* for its sign, and, for instance, *astṛi-nô-s*, *astṛi-nôt-*, answer to the Gr. ἐστόρ-νῡ-ς, ἐστόρ-νῡ(τ); from thence, as well as from the fact that the Greek also, in the first person, has a simple *ν*, we may deduce that the *a* of *astṛiṇavam* is inorganic, and imported from the first conjugation, just as, in Greek, we find for ἐστόρνῡ-ν also ἐστόρνυ-ο-ν; and so, in the third person, together with ἐστόρνῡ also ἐστόρνυ-ε, to which a Sanscrit *astṛiṇav-a-t* would correspond. The verbs which unite the personal terminations immediately with roots ending in consonants may have particularly favoured the introduction of an *a* into the first person; thus, for instance, to the present *vêdmi*, "I know," no *avêdm* could be opposed; the personal character must have vanished entirely—as in the second and third person, where, instead of

avêt-s, *avêt-t*, by §. 94. *avêt* (for *avêd*) is used*—or else the aid of an intermediate vowel must have been sought, as the nominal bases terminating in a consonant use *am* instead of simple *m*, from whence this termination has passed also over to monosyllabic bases terminating with a vowel; so that *nâv-am*, for *nâum*, and *bhruv-am* for *bhrûm*, have the same relation to the Greek *ναῦ-ν*, *ὀφρῦ-ν*, as we have seen *astṛiṇav-am* (for *astṛiṇôm*) bear to *ἐστόρνῦ-ν*. In any case, however, the *a* has acquired a firm establishment in the first person singular of the secondary forms; and we, perhaps, practically as well as theoretically, best lay down the rule, that where *a* or *â* does not precede the terminating *m* as the property either of a class, a mood, or a root, that letter is introduced: hence we find *atarp-a-m*, "*placabam*," *adadâ-m*, "*dabam*," *ayâ-m*, "*ibam*" (from the root *yâ*), *ayu-nâ-m*, "*ligabam*," (cl. 9. see §. 109ⁿ. 5.), *dadyâ-m*, "*dem*"; but also *astṛi-ṇav-am*, "*sternebam*," for *astṛi-ṇô-m*; *and tarp-êy-am*, "*placem*" (§. 43.), for *tarpêm*; *tishṭhê-y-am*, "*stem*," for *tishṭ'hêm*, which last would accord more closely with *tishṭhês*, "*stês*"; *tishṭhêt*, "*stet*"; *tishṭhêma*, "*stêmus*"; *tishṭhêta*, "*stêtis*."

438. In the Gothic, as we have before remarked (§. 432.), the *m* of the secondary forms has resolved itself into *u*. This termination, however, has entirely vanished from the Old High German, with the exception of a solitary example, which has preserved the original *m* in preference to the Gothic *u*; namely, *lirnem*, "*discam*," in *Kero*. In the Lithuanian, both the mutilated *m* and the fuller ending *mi* have degenerated into *u*, and therefore just as *laikau*, "I hold," is related to the to be presupposed *laikam* from *laikami*, so is *buvau* to the Sanscrit *a-bhavam*, "I was." With respect to the Sclavonic, I may refer the reader to what has been

* In the second person the form *avé-s* also holds good with the radical consonant suppressed and the termination retained, as in the Latin nominative *pe-s* for *ped-s*.

said generally on the singular secondary terminations, and to what will follow hereafter on the preterite in particular.

439. With regard to the origin of the termination of the first person, I consider *mi* to be a weakened form of the syllable *ma* (compare p. 102), which, in Sanscrit and Zend, lies at the foundation of the oblique case of the simple pronoun as its theme. In the word *dadâmi*, *mi* has the same relation to the *ma* in which it originates, as the Latin *i* bears in compounds like *tubiCIN*(*-cinis*), to the true radical form *CAN*. The secondary form rests on a further weakening of *mi* to *m*, which, if it be of most remote antiquity, as would appear from its striking accordance with the sister languages of Europe, still does not belong to those times when the organization of the language was yet flourishing in all its parts, and in full vigour. I do not, at least, believe, that in the youth of our family of languages there was already a double series of personal terminations; but I entertain the conjecture, that, in the course of time, the terminations underwent a polishing process in those places where an accession to the anterior part (in the augment preterites), or an insertion into the interior (in the potential or optative), had given greater occasion for such a process.* The gradual prevalence of the mutilated terminations is illustrated by the fact, that, in Latin, all the plurals end in *mus*, in Greek in μεν (μες), while in Sanscrit the corresponding form मस् *mas* only remains in the primary forms, and even in these shews itself not unfrequently in the mutilated form *ma*, which, in the secondary terminations, has become the rule: hence we have, indeed, *tarp-â-mas*, *sarp-â-mas*, and occasionally *tarp-â-ma*, &c., corresponding to *τέρπ-ο-μεσ*, *serp-i-mus* (§. 209². 1.); but constantly *atarp-â-ma*, *asarp-â-ma*, contrasted with *ἐτέρπ-ο-μες*, *serpebamus*; constantly *âs-ma* with

* Compare Vocalismus, Rem. 16.

ἦ(σ)-μες, *erâmus, dadyâ-ma* with διδοίη-μες, and *tishṭhê-ma* with *stêmus*. To pass, however, to the explanation of the termination *mas*, we might conjecture that it should be divided into *m-as*; that the *m* should stand as theme, but the *as* as a plural nominative termination; for *mas* ends like पदस् *padas*, μες like πόδες, and the personal endings always express a nominative relation. It is, however, also possible that the *s* of *mas* rests on the same principle as the *s* of the Zend [illegible] *yûs*, "you," for *yûsmê*, and the *s* of the Sanscrit *nas*, *vas*, and Latin *nos*, *vos*.* Then would अद्मस् *ad-mas* signify "I and they eat," as we have seen that अस्मे *a-smê* was considered a copulative compound with the sense of "I and they" (§. 333.). In this view the Vêda termination *masi*, on which rests the Zend *mahi*—for instance दद्मसि *dadmasi*, [illegible] *dadĕmahi*, "we give"—would appear to be a mutilation and weakening of the dependent pronoun *sma*, or the *i* of *masi* as a mutilation of *ê* (= *a* + *i*) and *masi* (for *masê*) would thus join itself to *asmê* for *masmê*. The independent *asmê* would have lost the first, and the termination *masi* the second *m*. If, however, the first supposition be the true one, the *i* of *masi* might be compared with the Greek demonstrative *í*, omitting reference to the difference of quantity.

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* §§. 335. 336. 337.

† As in the expression "we" other companions are more usually attributed to the *I* than the person or persons addressed, to whom, in fact, things are usually recounted in which they have had no share; and as, moreover, for the idea "we two," in its simple use, a special form is provided, which perhaps existed before other duals; it seems to me little likely that Pott's conjecture is correct, that the syllable *mas* of the first person plural properly expressed "I and thou"; and that thus, through the *s*, the pronoun of the second person was expressed, in the same form in which it appears in the singular of the verb, which in any case we are obliged to derive from the *t* of *tvam*, since, by the explanation above, the *s* is originally given.

ıe Old High German exhibits the first person the very full and perfect shape *mês*, as well in ry as in the secondary forms—*i. e.* in the indica- conjunctive—while the Gothic has in the one in the other *ma*. In the Lithuanian we find re *mé;* in the Carniolan *mo*, for instance, *délamo*, ur"; but the Old Sclavonic has a naked *m* or *my* er, however, only in a few verbs, which have, in lar, *my* (p. 609); for instance, ѧмы *ya-my*, "we ास् *ad-mas;* вѣмы *vye-my*, "we know," =विद्मस् This Sclavonic ы *y*, for ѣ *e* or о *o*, which, according *a*., we might expect would answer to the Sanscrit believe, produced by the euphonic influence of the ermination of the form *s* (compare §. 271.). It is cult to account for the long *e* in Old High Ger- ess Graff (I. 21) be right in his conjecture, that the on *mês* may rest upon the termination, peculiar to s, *masi*. We should then have to assume, either i which had been dropped from the termination ı replaced by the lengthening of the antecedent hus *mês* for *mâs*, as in Gothic *ê* =आ *â*, §. 69.), or : had fallen back into the preceding syllable; for we have, in Old High German, as in Sanscrit, *ê*. c, we may be surprised that the more mutilated ion *m* should answer to the fuller Sanscrit termi- स् *mas*, while the shorter *ma* of the secondary ıs remained unaltered; thus *bair-a-m*, "*ferimus*," d with भरामस् *bhar-â-mas* and *bair-ai-ma*, "*feramus*," ıg to भरेम *bhar-ê-ma*. Probably the diphthong *ai*, he preterite conjunctive, the long *î* (written *ei*, as *-ma*), was found better able to bear the weight of sonal termination, after the same principle by he reduplication syllable of the preterite, in the ıas only maintained itself in the long syllabic roots, perished in the short. We must consider that the

Sanscrit, in the reduplicated preterite has, in like manner, म *ma*, not मस् *mas;* but the Gothic, in this place, does not share the termination *ma* with the Sanscrit, but—as I believe, for the sake of the shortness of the antecedent vowel—has a simple *m*; hence, for instance, *bund-u-m*, "we bound," answering to बबन्धिम *babandh-i-ma*.

441. In the dual, the Sanscrit has *vas* in the primary forms, and *va* in the secondary, in analogy with the plural *mas, ma*. The difference between the dual and the plural is, however, so far an accidental one, in that, as we have before observed (§. 434.), the dual *v* is a corruption of *m*. This difference is, nevertheless, of remote antiquity, and existed before the individualization of the German, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic, which all participate in this peculiar dual form. The Lithuanian universally has *va*, the Old Sclavonic, together with ВА *va*, an inorganic ВѢ *ye* (p. 417): but the Gothic has three forms, and the most perfect in the conjunctive, where, for instance, *bair-ai-va* has the same relation to भरेव *bhar-ê-va*, as, in the plural, *bair-ai-ma* to भरेम *bhar-ê-ma*. The reason why the dual ending, in this position, has maintained itself most completely, plainly lies, as in the case of the plural, in the antecedent diphthong, which has felt itself strong enough to bear the syllable *va*. In the indicative present, however, the long *â* which, in the Sanscrit *bhar-â-vas*, precedes the personal termination, has, in the Gothic, shortened itself, in all probability, as, in the plural, *bair-a-m*, and, in the Greek, *φέρ-ο-μες*, contrasted with *bhar-â-mas:* then, however, *v* has permitted itself to be extinguished, and out of *baira(v)as*, by a union of both the vowels, *bairôs* has been generated, as *o*, in Gothic, is the long form of *a* (§. 69.); and hence, in the nominative plural masculine of the *a* class, in like manner *ôs* is produced out of *a* + *as*, so that, for instance, *vairôs*, "men," answers to the Sanscrit *vîrâs*, "heroes" (out of *vîra-as*.) In the indicative preterite we

ct to meet with *ôs*, as this tense has for its
owel not *a* but *u*; nor can we expect to meet
ince *va*, like the plural *ma*, can be borne only
gs or long vowels. The next in turn is *u-v*,
s to the plural *u-m*. At the end of a word,
is subject, where preceded by a short vowel,
ged into *u*. Hence, for instance, *thiu*, "*ser-thiv*), from the base *THIVA*; and thus, also,
irst *u-u*, and next long *û*, may have been gene-
e compression of the two short vowels into one
erefore hold the *u* of *magu*, "we two can," *siyu*,
e," the only evidence for the form under discus-
e long, and write *magû*, *siyû*, as contractions
siyu-u, from *mag-u-v*, *siy-u-v*. Should, however,
is termination be neither long nor the modern
of an originally long *u*, it would then be identical
which stands as a connecting vowel in *mag-u-ts*,
r it would be explainable as *magu* from *magva*,
siyva. Independently, however, of the phonetic
ty of the last mentioned form, the immediate
of the personal ending to the root is incredible,
e first dual person would thus present a con-
ly to be justified to the second, and to all those
ral, as well as to the most ancient practice
se. In Zend I know no example of the first
l.

the medial terminations I shall treat par-
ereafter. The following is a summary view of
of comparison we have obtained for the first
he transitive active form.

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is throughout inflected as a preterite, and also the verb sub-
oth plurals, Grimm has, certainly with justice, deduced the
first dual person of all the preterites from the foregoing in-

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.	LITH.	OLD SCL
tishṭhâmi,	*histâmi,*	ἵστημι,	*sto,*	**stâm,*	*stowemi,*	*stoyû.*[1]
dadâmi,	*dadhâmi,*[2]	δίδωμι,	*do,*	....	*dûmi,*	*damy.*
asmi,	*ahmi,*	ἐμμί,	*sum,*	*im,*	*esmi,*	*yesmy.*
bharâmi,	*barâmi,*	φέρω,	*fero,*	*baira,*	....	....
vahâmi,	*vazâmi,*	ἔχω,[3]	*veho,*	*viga,*[4]	*wezû,*[4]	*veẑû.*
tishṭhêyam,	....	ἱσταίην,	*stem,*	....	....	....
dadyâm,	*daidhyaṅm,*[5]	διδοίην,	*dem,*	....	....	....
(a)syâm,	*hyaṅm?*	ἐ(σ)ίην,	*siem,*	*siyau,*	....	....
bharêyam,	....	(φέροιν),[6]	*feram,*	*bairau,*	....	....
avaham,	*vazĕm,*	εἶχον,	*vehebam,*	....	*wezíau,*	....

DUAL.

tishṭhâvas,	....	....	....	....	*stowiwà,*	*stoĩva.*
dadvas,	....	....	....	....	*dûdawa,*[7]	*dadeva.*
bharâvas,	....	....	....	*bairôs,*	....	....
vahâvas,	....	....	....	*vigós,*	*wezáwà,*	*veẑeva.*
bharêva,	....	....	....	*bairaiva,*[8]	....	....
vahêva,	....	....	....	*wigaiva,*[8]	....	*veẑyeva.*[9]
avahâva,	....	....	....	....	*wezêwa,*[10]	....

PLURAL.

tishṭhâmas,	....	ἵσταμες,	*stamus,*	**stâmês,*	*stowimè,*	*stoĩm.*
tishṭhâmasi,[11]	*histâmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
dadmas,	....	δίδομες,	*damus,*	....	*dûdame,*[7]	*damy.*[12]
dadmasi,[11]	*dadĕmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
bharâmas,	....	φέρομες,	*ferimus,*	*bairam,*	....	....
bharâmasi,[11]	*barâmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
vahâmas,	....	ἔχομες,	*vehimus,*	*vigam,*	*wezámè,*	*veẑom.*
vahâmasi,[11]	*vazâmahi,*	....	....	....	....	....
tishṭhêma,	*histaêma,*	ἱσταίημες,	*stêmus,*	....	....	*stoĩm.*
dadyâma,	*daidhyâma,*	διδοίημες,	*dêmus,*	....	....	*daschdyi*
bharêma,	*baraêma,*	φέροιμες,	*ferâmus,*	*bairaima,*[14]	....	....
vahêma,	*vazaêma,*	ἔχοιμες,	*vehâmus,*	*vigaima,*[14]	....	*veẑyem.*[9]
avahâma,	*vazâma?*	εἶχομες,	*vehebamus,*	....	*wezême,*[10]	....

[1] See §. 255. *g.* [2] See §. 39. [3] If ὄχος, for *F*όχος, be relat to ἔχω, then ἔχω also stands for *F*έχω, and belongs to *vahâmi* and *ve* The signification, also, of movement in the compounds ἀνέχω, διέχ ἐνέχω, &c., is plainly perceivable; then the Sanscrit root *vah* signifi

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* *Stâm* and *etâmês* belong to the Old High German, the other forr to the Gothic.

also, "to bear," "*tragen*," from which we easily arrive at the idea of "having." In the Greek, however, it seems that, in this verb, two roots of distinct origin have intermixed themselves, namely, ΈΧ = वह् *vah*, and ΣΧΕ (ΣΧΗ) = सह् *sah*, "to bear," with transposition of the root vowel, as in βέβληκα, as related to ΒΑΛ. If, however, ἔχω and σχή-σω belong to one root, the first must then stand for σέχω, with the loss of the σ. We must not, however, consider the spiritus asper of ἕξω, and of similar forms, as a substitute for the σ, as it is very satisfactorily explained by §. 104. [4] In p. 213 of my Glossary I have made the Sanscrit *vah* correspond to the Gothic *vagyan*, "to set in motion"; but this *vagya* belongs, like the Lithuanian *vaż-ó-yu*, to the causal *vâhayâmi* (§. 109ª. 6.): the primitive of *vagya* has weakened in the present the root vowel to *i* (p. 106), and only appears in connection with the preposite *ga* (*ga-vi-ga*, *ga-eag*). In the Lithuanian, the *a* of *vaż́oyu*, "I ride in a carriage," rests on the long *â* of the Sanscrit *vâhayâmi*; the *e* of *wezû́* on the short *a* of *vahâmi*. [5] Though, at the beginning of the Vendidad, (Olshausen's edition,) the form *daidyaṅm* belong to the Sanscrit root *dhâ*, "to place"—which, if not by itself, at least in conjunction with वि *vi*, has the meaning "to make," "to create"—still we deduce this much from *dai-lyaṅm*, that it is also derivable from *dâ*, "to give": unless the *y* has exercised no aspirating power on the antecedent *d*, and thus would necessarily come *daidyaṅm*. On the roots 𐬛𐬀 *dâ* = दा *dâ*, "to give," and 𐬛𐬀 *dâ* = धा *dhâ*, "to place," compare Burnouf's pregnant Note 217 to the Yaçna (p. 336), and Fr. Windischman's excellent critique in the Jena Literar. Zeit. July 1834. p. 143. [6] See §. 430. [7] Or, without reduplication, *dûwa*, as the analogue of the singular *dûmi*, together with which, also, a redoubled form, but wanting the *mi* termination, is extant. [8] See §. 441. [9] See §. 255. *e*. [10] See Mielcke, p. 100. 18. [11] Vêda dialect, see §. 439. [12] See §. 440. [13] Euphonic for *dadymy*, see Dobrowsky, pp. 39 and 539. [14] See §§. 440, 441.

SECOND PERSON.

443. The Sanscrit pronominal base *tva* or *tvê* (§. 326.) has, in its connection with verbal themes, split itself into various forms, the *t* either remaining unaltered, or being modified to *th* or *dh*, or—as in Greek, σύ has degenerated into *s*—the *v* has either been maintained or removed, the *a* has either remained unaltered or been weakened to *i*, or altogether displaced. The complete

pronominal form shews itself in the middle voice, as this affects weightier terminations, and therefore has guarded more carefully against the mutilation of the pronoun, upon the same principle as that in which, in Sanscrit, the verbal forms which take Guna admit no irregular mutilations of the roots. For it is natural that a form which loves strengthening should at least, under circumstances which prevent that process, repudiate the contrary extreme of mutilation. Hence we say, for example, *asmi*, "I am," with the root undiminished, because the latter would accept Guna in the singular, if *a* would admit of Guna;* but we say, in the dual *svas*, in the plural *smas*, in the potential *syâm*, because the two plural numbers and the entire potential refuse all Guna exaltation, and hence, consistently, all radical mutilation. After the same principle, the pronoun of the second person shews itself in its most complete shape in the

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* Upon Guna and Vriddhi see §§. 26. 29. I may here append, in justification of §. 29., what I have already indicated in my Vocalismus (p ix), that I no longer seek the reason why *a* is incapable of Guna, although it may be compounded into long *â* with an antecedent *a*, in the supposition that Guna and Vriddhi were identical in the case of *a*—for *a*+*a*, as well as *â*+*a*, give *â*—but in this, that *a*, as the weightiest vowel, in most of the cases in which *i* and *u* receive Guna, is sufficient of itself, and hence receives no increment, according to the same principle by which the long vowels *î* and *û* in most places remain unaltered where an *a* precedes *i* or *u* (Gramm. Crit. §. 34.). It is, moreover, only an opinion of the grammarians, that *a* has no Guna: the fact is, that *a* in the Guna, as in the Vriddhi degree, becomes *â*, but on account of its weight seldom uses this capability. When, however, this happens, *i* and *u* for the most part, in the same situation, have only Guna; for instance, *bibhéda*, "he clave," from *bhid*, together with *jagâma*, "he went," from *gam*. It is, however, natural, that where so great an elevation is required as that *i* and *u* become, not *é*, *ó* (=*a*+*i*, *a*+*u*), but *âi*, *âu*, in such a case *a* should exert the only power of elevation of which it is capable: hence, for instance, we have *mânavu*, "descendant of Manu," from *manu*, as *śâiva* from *śiva*, and *kâuravya* from *kuru*.

middle voice, namely, in the plural, where the primary forms end in *dhvê*, and the secondary in *dhvam*, and, in the imperative singular, where the termination *sva* has indeed allowed the *T* sound to vanish into *s*, but has yet preserved the *v* of *tvam*, "thou." As we shall have hereafter to consider the medial forms in particular, we now turn to the transitive active form. This has nowhere completely preserved the semi-vowel of the base *tva*, yet I believe I recognise a remnant of it in the *th*, which stands in the primary forms, as well in the dual as in the plural, and, in the reduplicated preterite, also in the singular. On the other hand, the secondary forms, as they generally have blunter terminations, so also they have, in the two plurals, the pure tenuis; hence, for instance, *tishṭhê-ta*, ἵσταίτε, opposed to *tishṭha-tha*, ἵστατε; and, in the dual, *tishṭhêtam*, ἵσταίητον, opposed to *tishṭathas*, ἵστατον. We see from this, that, in Sanscrit, the aspirates are heavier than the tenues or the medials; for they are the union of the full tenuis or medial, with an audible *h* (§. 12.), and *tishṭhatha* must then be pronounced *tishṭ-hat-ha*; and I think that I recognise in the *h* of the termination the dying breath of the *v* of *tvam*.

444. The above examples shew that the full termination of the second person, in the dual present, is *thas*, and, in the plural, *tha*: we have, however, seen the dual, in the nominative, arise from the strengthening of the plural terminations (§. 206.). As, however, the personal terminations, being pronominal, stand in the closest connection with the noun, it might be assumed, that the second person plural in the verb was once *thas*, and that the dual termination *thâs* had developed itself from this; but that, in the lapse of time, the *s* had escaped from the *thas*, and the long vowel from the dual *thâs*. We must consider that even, in the first person, the *s* of *mas* has but a precarious tenure, as even in the primary forms, we often meet with *ma*. If,

however, in the second person plural, *thas* originally stoo the Latin *tis* corresponds well to it, and it would confir Thiersch's conjecture, derived from the hiatus, that i Homer, instead of τε the termination τεσ may have stood a analogous to μεσ (Third Edition, §. 163.). As to the origi of the *s* of the termination *thas*, it is without doubt iden tical with that of *mas* in the first person: it is thus eithe to be divided as *th-as*, and *as* to be explained as a plura nominative termination, or the *s* of *tha-s* is a remnant c the dependent pronoun *sma* (§. 439); as also, in a isolated situation, *yu-shmê*, "you," stands approximate t *a-smê*, "we." If the latter assumption be correct, po sibly in the *m* of the secondary dual termination *ta* we may recognise the second consonant of *sma*; so th this dependent pronoun has suffered a twofold mutilatio surrendering at one time its *m*, at another its *s*. In th respect we may recur to a similar relation in the Lith anian dual genitives *mumû*, *yumû*, opposed to the plur locatives *musûse*, *yusûse* (§. 176.). As, however, the seco dary forms, by rule, are deduced by mutilation from t primary, we might still—whether the first or the seco theory be the true one of the termination *thas*—deduce t duller *m* from the livelier concluding *s*; as also Greek, in the primary forms, we find τον, from यस् *tha* as, in the first person, μεν from *mas*, μες, and, in t Prakrit, हिं *hiṁ* from the Sanscrit भिस् *bhis* (§. 97.). Thu also, may the dual case-termination भ्याम् *bhyâm* have aris from the plural *bhyas* originally by a mere lengthen of the vowel (see §. 215.), but later the concluding *s* m have degenerated into *m*.

445. While the Greek already, in the primary form, h allowed the *s* of the dual ending *thas* to degenerate into in the Gothic the ancient *s* has spread itself over prima and secondary forms; and we are able to deduce fr this a new proof, that where, in Sanscrit, in the seco

person dual, a nasal shews itself, this did not arise out of *s* till after the separation of languages. The *a* which preceded the *s* has, however, escaped from the Gothic, and, in fact, in pursuance of an universal law, by which *a* before a terminating *s* of a polysyllable is either entirely extinguished, or weakened to *i*. The first of these alternatives has occurred; and thus *ts* answers to the Sanscrit *thas*, as, in the nominative singular of the bases in *a*, *vulfs* answers to the Sanscrit *vṛikas* and Lithuanian *wilkas*. Compare *bair-a-ts* with भरथस् *bar-a-thas*, *φέρ-ε-τον*, and further, *bair-ai-ts* with भरेतम् *bhar-ê-tam*, *φέρ-οι-τον*. The Sclavonian has been compelled, according to §. 225. *l*., to give up the terminating consonant of the termination in question; the Lithuanian has been inclined to do so: both, in fact, make *ta* correspond to the थस् *thas* of the Sanscrit primary forms, as well as to the तम् *tam* of the secondary. Comp. the Sclavonic ДАСТА *das-ta* (see §. 436.), the Lithuanian *dû̃-ta* or *dû̃da-ta*, "you two give," with दत्थस् *dat-thas*, δίδο-τον; ДАЖДЬТА *dashdy-ta*,* "you two should give;" दद्यातम् *dadyâ-tam*, διδοῖητον; and Lithuanian *dû̃do-ta*, "you two gave," with अदत्तम् *adat-tam*, ἐδίδο-τον.

446. In the Zend, I know no example of the second dual person; but that of the plural runs as in the Sanscrit primary forms, 𐬞𐬀 *tha*,† and in the secondary 𐬟𐬀 *ta*. The Greek, Latin, and Sclavonic have everywhere τε, ТЕ, *te*; the Latin has in the imperative alone weakened its *tis* to *te*

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* §. 442. [13]. Dobrowsky does not cite any dual: it is plain, however, from the plural *daschdyte*, that the dual, if it be used, cannot sound otherwise than as given in the text.

† In the Zend we might explain the aspiration, according to §. 47., as a remaining effect of the earlier *v*: as, however, in Sanscrit, the semi-vowel is entirely free from this influence, we prefer for both languages the conjecture put forward p. 612, that the *h* contained in *th* is the real representative of the *v*.

(§. 444.). The Gothic has everywhere *th*, with the terminating vowel polished away: this *th* is, however, in my opinion, neither to be identified with the Sanscrit-Zend *th* of the primary forms, nor to be explained by virtue of the usual law of displacement by which *th* is required for the older *t*; but very probably the Gothic personal termination, before it lost the end vowel, was *da*. The Gothic, in fact, affects, in grammatical terminations, or suffixes between two vowels, a *d* for the original *t*, but willingly converts this *d*, after the suppression of the concluding vowel, into *th* (see §. 91.). On the Gothic *d* here mentioned rests also the High German *t* (§. 87.), by a displacement which has thus brought back the original tenuis: hence we find, for instance, Old High German, *wëy-a-t*, answering to the Latin *veh-i-tis*, Greek ἔχ-ε-τε (p. 618.[3].). Lithuanian *wež-a-tè*, Old Sclavonic ВЕЗЕТЕ *veź-e-te*, Sanscrit वहथ *vah-a-tha*, Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬞𐬀 *vaz-a-tha*, and presupposing in Gothic an older *vigid* for *vigith*.

447. We now turn to the singular. The primary forms have here, in Sanscrit, the termination सि *si*, and the secondary only स् *s*. Out of *si*, however, under certain conditions, frequently comes *shi* (§. 21.), which has also been preserved in the Zend, which has changed the original *sí* to *hi*; as 𐬨𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬵𐬌 *bavahi* and 𐬨𐬀𐬫𐬌 *ahi*, "thou art," opposed to भवसि *bhavasi*, असि *asi* (for *as-si*); but 𐬴𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬵𐬌 *kĕrĕnûshĭ*, "thou makest," opposed to कृणोषि *kriṇôshi*, as *kṛi*, according to the fifth class (§. 109[a]. 4.), would form. In the secondary forms, according to §. 56[b]., the concluding sibilant, with a preceding 𐬀 *a*, has become 𐬹 *ô*, and, with 𐬀 *â*, 𐬁 *âô*, but after other vowels has remained; hence 𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬵𐬹 *fraŝrâvayô*, "thou spakest," opposed to प्राश्रावयस् *prâśrâvayas*; but 𐬫𐬁𐬹 *mraôs*,* "thou spakest," opposed to अब्रोस् *abros*,

* I write 𐬫𐬁𐬹 purposely, and render 𐬹 by *ô*, because I now find myself compelled to adopt the remarks of Burnouf, founded on the best

ch irregularly अब्रवीस् *abravîs* (Gramm. Crit. §. 352.). the European cognate languages, the Old Sclavonic lecided precedence for the fidelity and consistency hich it has preserved the primary termination *si* or so distributed them that the first has remained in haic conjugation, the latter in all the others. I

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t manuscripts (Yaçna, pp. lvii. lviii.), that 𐬋 as well as 𐬋 stands nscrit ओ; the first, however, only for the initial and medial, ys accompanied by the new Guna (§. 26.)—thus always 𐬀𐬋 tial and medial ओ,—and the latter only for a terminating ओ ut the appendage of 𐬀; as also before 𐬉 *é* at the end of a word inserted. As a medial letter, 𐬋 appears sometimes as the repre- of the Sanscrit अ *a*, and is then produced by the influence either cedent *v* or *b* (𐬎𐬀𐬋𐬎𐬀𐬋 *ubôyô* for उभयोस् *ubhayôs*, p. 277), or it in the diphthong 𐬋𐬌 *ôi*, the *a* element of the Sanscrit ए *é* As, however, 𐬋 in the purest texts prefers a penultimate posi- uld seem that, in point of origin, it is the solution of the syllable this terminating syllable, in Sanscrit, becomes *ô* only before ı Zend always (§. 56ᵇ.). Yet I do not believe that it has been ion of the Zend speech or writing to distinguish the Guna the *ô* which springs from उ *u* with *a* inserted before it, from h springs from अस् *as*, by vocalization of the *s* to *u*; for each of *a* + *u*, and upon the value and the pronunciation the question he *u* or the *o* element had precedence can have no influence, or n *a* was thrust before the *u* or a *u* after the *a*. The position of n a word may, however, well have an influence on its value; onceivable that the concluding *ô*, kept pure from the Guna *a*, more important than that which, at the beginning or middle of a ived the accession of an *a*. If the crude forms in *u*, in Zend as in ad Guna in the vocative (§. 205.), the concluding Guna ओ would believe, be represented in Zend by 𐬋 and not by 𐬀𐬋. I can, as it is, discover no reason why a concluding ओ in Sanscrit, pro- Guna out of *u*, should be represented in Zend in the one way or

subjoin the verbs of the archaic conjugation, with se examples of the more usual, for comparison with Sanscrit.

OLD SCLAVONIC.	SANSCRIT.
ѥсти *yesi*, "*es*,"	असि *asi*.
дасти *dasi*,[1] "*das*,"	ददासि *dadâsi*.
ꙗсти *yasi*,[1] "*edis*,"	अत्सि *atsi*.
вѣсти *vyesi*,[1] "*novisti*,"	वेत्सि *vêtsi*.
пїѥши *pieshi*, "*bibis*,"	पिवसि *pivasi*.[2]
чїѥши *chieshi*, "*quiescis*,"	शेषे *śêshê*.
смѣѥши *smyeyeshi*(*sja*), "*rides*,"	स्मयसे *smayasê*.[3]
вѣѥши *vyeyeshi*, "*flas*,"	वासि *vâsi*.
ѕнаѥши *ʒnayeshi*, "*novisti*,"	जानासि *jânâsi*.[4]
боиши *boïshi*(*sya*), "*times*,"	बिभेषि *bibhêshi*.
дѣѥши *dyeyeshi*, "*facis*,"	दधासि *dadhâsi*.[5]
живеши *schiveshi*, "*vivis*,"	जीवसि *jîvasi*.
падеши *padeshi*, "*cadis*,"	पतसि *patasi*.
везеши *veʒeshi*, "*vehis*,"	वहसि *vahasi*.
спиши *spishi*, "*dormis*,"	स्वपिषि *svapishi*.
речеши *recheshi*, "*dicis*,"	वचसि *vachasi*.[6]
тряслеши *tryaseshi*(*sja*), "*tremis*,"	त्रसति *trasasi*.
бѣдеши *byedeshi*, "*affligis*,"	विध्यसि *vidhyasi*.
неслеши *neseshi*, "*fers*,"	नयसि *nayasi*.[7]
зобеши *ʒobeshi*, "*vocas*,"[8]	ह्वयसि *hvayasi*.
дереши *dereshi*, "*excoris*,"	द्रणासि *dṛiṇâsi*, "*laceras*."[9]
прошиши *proshishi*, "*precaris*,"	पृच्छसि *pṛichchhasi*, "*inter*
гадиши *gadishi*, "*vituperas*,"	गदसि *gadasi*, "*loqueris*."
слышиши *slyshishi*, "*audis*,"	शृणोषि *śṛiṇôshi*.[11]
звениши *ʒvenishi*, "*sonas*,"	स्वनसि *svanasi*.
пѫдиши *pâ̂dishi*, "*pellis*,"	पादयसि *pâdayasi*.[12]
вартиши *vartishi*, "*vertis*,"	वर्तसि *vartasi*.
вѫдиши *bâ̂dishi*, "*expergefacis*,"	बोधयसि *bôdhayasi*.
смижиши *smischisi*, "*nictaris*,"	मिषसि *mishasi*.

[1] See §. 436. [2] Compare пиво *pivo*, "beer." [3] A

ch is replaced in Sclavonic by the appended reflective. [4] Ac-
› the ninth class (§. 109ᵃ. 5.), but with irregular suppression of
he root *jnâ*, which in the second class would form *jnâsi*, to which
›nic form approaches more closely. [5] *Dhâ*, "to place,"
hrough the preposition *vi*, the meaning "to make" (compare
ɛem. 5). Perhaps the Carniolan root *délam*, "I work," is based
›ot, so that it would stand for *dedam* (§. 17.), retaining the redu-
which is peculiar to the Sanscrit and Greek verb, as also the
an *dedu* and *démi*. [6] Observe the favourite interchange be-
and *r* or *l* (§. 20. and §. 409., Rem. †); on this perhaps rests
ion of the inseparable preposition ⰑⰀⰆ *raz*—which in several
ds corresponds in sense to the Latin *dis* (Dobr. p. 422, &c.)—to
crit वहिस् *vahis*, "outer," for ह् *h* is frequently represented by the
: Ⰶ *z*, as in Zend by ⰆⰟ *z*; *e.g.* in वहामि *vahâmi*, ⰅⰑⰅⰅⰑⰅⰑⰅ *vazâmi*,
ɛ*zû*. The Sanscrit *vahis*, however, is found in Sclavonic in
form besides this, viz. with the *v* hardened to *b*; hence ⰂⰔⰆ
hout"; in verbal combinations *bz* and *boz* (Dobr. p. 413, &c.)
no doubt of the identity of the Sclavonic root *nes* and the San-
which agree in the meaning "to bring"; and in many passages
pisode of the Deluge the Sanscrit *nî* may be very well rendered
arry." With reference to the sibilant which is added in Sclavonic
also, the relation of the root *slys*, "to hear," to the Sanscrit *śru*
k ΚΛΥ. [8] In the infinitive *zbati* and preterite *zbach* the
: form of the root resembles very strikingly the Zend ⰅⰑⰅⰅⰑⰅⰑⰅ
a complex but legitimate modification of the Sanscrit *hvayâmi*
57.). [9] The root is properly *dar*, according to the Gramma-
ṛi, and ण *ṇâ* (euphonic for *nâ*) the character of the ninth
109ᵃ. 5.). Compare Vocalismus, p. 179. [10] Remark the
m ⰅⰑⰅⰅⰑⰅⰑⰅⰔⰟ *pěrěsahi*. In Russian *s-prosity* means "to carry."
larly for *śruṇôshi*, from the root *śru*, with the character of the
s (§. 109ᵃ. 4.), and *ṇ* euphonic for *n* (comp. Rem. 7.). [12] The
rm of *pad*, "to go." The Sclavonic has *û* for *â*, according to
. The Latin *pello* appears to me to belong to this root, with ex-
f *d* for *l* (§. 17.), to which a following *y* may have assimilated
s, in Greek, ἄλλος from ἄλγος—as a remnant of the causal character
(§. 374.).

The Lithuanian has, in common with the Greek, pre-
the full termination *si* only in the verb substantive,
es-si and the Doric ἐσ-σι hold out a sisterly hand to

each other. In other cases the two languages appropriate the syllable in question so that the Lithuanian retains everywhere the *i*, the Greek, in concordance with the Latin and Gothic the *s*. Compare the Lithuanian *dûd-i* with the Sanscrit *dadâ-si*, Sclavonic *da-si*, Greek δίδω-ς, and Latin *da-s*. Just as *dûdh-i* has suppressed its radical vowel before that of the termination, so in Mielcke's first and second conjugation is the connecting vowel removed, while the third and fourth form a diphthong of it with *i*, as in the first person with the *u*; hence *weź-i* for *weźe-i*, opposed to the Sanscrit *vah-a-si*, Zend *vaz-a-hi*, Sclavonic *vez-e-si*, Latin *veh-is*, Gothic *vig-is* (§. 109ª. 1.), Greek ἔχ-εις, and its own plural *veź-e-te*, as *dûda-te* opposed to *dûdh-i*; but *yessk-a-i*, "thou seekest," analogous to the first person *yessk-a-u*. In the Greek, however, the *i* of the second person in the conjugation in ω has hardly been lost entirely, but has very probably retired back into the preceding syllable. As, for instance, γενέτειρα out of γενετερια = Sanscrit *janitrî*; μέλαινα out of μελανια (§. 119.). μείζων, χείρων, ἀμείνων, for μεζιων, &c. (§. 300.); so also τέρπ-ει-ς out of τερπ-ε-σι = Sanscrit *tarp-a-si*. Or are we to assume, that in Greek the *i* has exercised an attractive force similar to that in Zend (§. 41.), and accordingly the antecedent syllable has assimilated itself by the insertion of an *i*, so that τέρπεις is to be explained as arising from a older form τερπεισι? I think not, because of the *i* forms existant now in Greek, no one exhibits such a power of assimilation, and, for instance, we find γένεσις, τέρενι, μέλανι, not γένειστις, &c. The power which is not attached to the living *i* is hardly to be ascribed to the dead.

449. The Lithuanian carries over the *i* of the primary forms also to the secondary, at least to the preterite, or has brought it back by an inorganic path to this place, which it must have originally occupied; so that, for instance, *buw-ai* corresponds to the Sanscrit *a-bhav-as*, "thou wast." On the other hand, in the Sclavonic the secondary forms

are without any personal sign of distinction, since the terminating *s* of the cognate languages has been compelled to yield to the universal law of suppression of terminating consonants (§. 255. *l.*). Hence, for instance, the imperatives ДАЖДИ *dashdi*, "give," ВЕЗЬ *vezye*, "drive," answering to the Sanscrit *dadyâs*, *vahês*, Zend *daidyâo* (§. 442., observ. 5, and §. 56[b].), *razois*, Greek διδοίης, ἔχοις, Latin *dês*, *vehâs*, Gothic *vigais*.

450. There remain two isolated singular terminations which require our consideration, धि *dhi* and थ *tha*. The first is found in Sanscrit in the imperative of the second principal conjugation, which answers to the Greek conjugation in μι; the latter in the reduplicated preterite of verbs in general. The termination *dhi* has, however, split itself into two forms; inasmuch as, in ordinary language, consonants alone have the power to bear the full *dhi*, but behind vowels all that remains of the *dh* is the aspiration; hence, for instance, *bhâhi*, "shine," *pâ-hi*, "rule," in contrast to *ad-dhi*, "eat," *vid-dhi*, "know," *vag-dhi*, "speak," *yung-dhi*, "bind." That, however, *dhi* originally had universal prevalence, may be inferred from the fact, that in Greek the corresponding θι spreads itself over consonants and vowels, since we find not only ἴσ-θι, κέκραχθι, ἄνωχθι, πέπεισθι, but also φάθι, ἴθι, στῆθι, &c.: furthermore from this, that in Sanscrit, also, many other aspirates have so far undergone mutilation, that nothing but the breathing has remained; inasmuch as, for instance, the root *dha*, "to lay," forms *hita* in the participle passive; and the dative termination *bhyam* in the pronominal first person, although at an extremely remote period, has been mutilated to *hyam* (§. 215.): finally from this that in more modern dialects also, in many places, a mere *h* is found where the Sanscrit still retains the full aspirated consonant, as also the Latin opposes its *humus* to the Sanscrit *bhúmi*. The opinion I have founded on other grounds, that it is not the ending *hi* which, as the original, has strengthened itself to *dhi* after consonants, but, conversely, *dhi*, which, after vowels, has mu-

tilated itself to *hi** has been since confirmed by evidence drawn from the Vêda dialect, which I have brought to the aid of the discussion; inasmuch as in this it is true the mutilated form *hi* is already extant, but the older *dhi* has not retired so far to the rear as not to be permitted to connect itself also with vowels. Thus, in Rosen's Specimen of the Rig Vêda (p. 6) the form *shru-dhi*, "hear thou," answers remarkably to the Greek κλῦθι.† The Zend also gives express confirmation to my theory, in that it never, as far as is yet known, admits of the form *hi*, or its probable substitute 𐬵𐬌 *zi* (§. 97.), but proves that at the period of its identity with the Sanscrit the *T* sound had never escaped from the ending *dhi*. In Zend, in fact, we find, wherever the personal ending is not altogether vanished, either *dhi* or *dî*; for instance, 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬌

(compare *ad-ipiscor*). Where, however, the *u* is preceded only by a simple consonant, it is become incapable of bearing the *hi* ending; hence, for instance, *chinu*, "collect," from the root *chi*. In this mutilated form the Sanscrit goes along with the corresponding verbal class in the Greek, where δείκνῡ, according to appearance, is in like manner without personal ending. This coincidence is, however, fortuitous, as each of the languages has arrived independently at this mutilated form subsequently to their separation. Nor is the Greek δείκνῡ entirely without termination, but, as I conjecture, the ι of the ending θι lies concealed in the ῡ; for instance, δαινῦτο, (Il. xxiv. 665) from δαιννιτο. It is not requisite, therefore, to derive δεικνῡ from the ω conjugation, and to consider it as a contraction from δείκνυε; and thus, also, τίθει, not from τίθε but from τίθετι, the τ being rejected, as τύπτει from τύπτετι, followed out from τύπτεται, and as κέρᾳ, from κέρατι; thus, also, ἵστη (for ἵστῃ) from ἵστα(θ)ι, as Μούσῃ from Μούσαι, λόγῳ from λόγοι (compare οἴκοι). If, also, δίδου be the contraction of δίδοε, we find near it, in Pindar, the dialectic form of δίδοι, which admits very well a derivation from δίδο(θ)ι.*

452. As the ज *u* of the fifth class, where it is not preceded by two consonants, has lost the capacity for supporting the personal ending *dhi* or *hi*; thus, also, the short *a* of the first chief conjugation, both in Sanscrit and Zend, has proved too weak to serve as a support to *dhi* or *hi*, and has laid them aside, as would appear, from the remotest period, as the corresponding Greek conjugation, namely, that in ω, and the Latin and Germanic conjuga-

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* The relation of δίδοι to δίδου is essentially different from that which exists between τύπτοισι, τύπτοισα, and τύπτουσι, τύπτουσα; for here, as in μέλαις for μέλας, out of μέλανς, and analogous cases, the ι represents a nasal, which, in the ordinary language, has been melted down to υ, but also, in τιθείς for τιθέντς, has become ι. On the other hand, δίδου and δίδοι do not rest on different modifications of a nasal.

tions, collectively dispense with the personal termina
The Germanic simple (strong) conjugation also surrei
the connecting vowel; hęnce *vig* for *viga*, Sanscrit *v*
Zend *vaz-a*, Latin *veh-e*, Greek ἔχ-ε.

453. We now turn to the termination थ *tha*, of w
it has already been remarked, that it is, in the sing
peculiar to the reduplicated preterite. In the Ze
know no certain evidence of this termination; yet I d
not that there, also, its prevalence is pervading, and
in a passage of the Izeshne (V. S. p. 311), in which
expect a fuller explanation through Neriosengh's San
translation, the expression [illegible] *fra-dadhâtha*
mean nothing else than "thou gavest," as the represent
of the Sanscrit *pra-dadâta* (§. 47.); for in the second
son plural, after the analogy of the Sanscrit and the
first person *dadĕmahi* (§. 30.), the *â* of the root must
been extinguished, and I expect here [illegible] *daś-t*
[illegible] *daś-tha*, insomuch as in the root [illegible]
answering to the Sanscrit root स्था *sthâ* (compare p.
so universally, in Zend, the Sanscrit थ *th* has laid
its aspiration after [illegible] *ś*.* Among the European cog
languages the Gothic comes the nearest to the abori
grammatical condition, in so far that, in its simple (str
preterite, it places a *t* as a personal sign, without ex
tion, opposite to the Sanscrit *tha*, which *t* remains ex
from suppression, because it is always sustained b
antecedent consonant (compare §. 91.): we might othe
expect to find a Gothic *th* answering to the Sanscr
yet not as an unaltered continuation of the Sanscrit s
but because थ् *th* is a comparatively younger letter (
pare p. 621), to which the Greek τ corresponds, and to

* Burnouf, in his able collection of the groupes of consonants ascer
to exist in the Zend, has not admitted the composite [illegible] *śth* (*çth*), bu
[illegible] *śt* (*çt*) (Vend. S. p. cxxxviii).

latter the Gothic *th*. If, however, the Greek, in its termination θα, appears identical with the Sanscrit त *tha*, this appearance is delusive, for in an etymological point of view θ = द *dh* (§. 16.). While, however, this rule holds good elsewhere, in the case above, θ is generated by the antecedent *s*, on the same principle as that which, in the medio-passive, converts every τ of an active personal termination, after the pre-insertion of σ, into θ. As to the origin of the σ which constantly precedes the ending θα, I have now no hesitation, contrary to an earlier opinion,* in referring it to the root in ἧσθα and οἶσθα, and in dividing them ἧσ-θα, οἶσ-θα (for οἰδ-θα). The first answers to the Sanscrit *âs-i-tha*, for which we may expect *âs-tha*, without the connecting vowel, which has perhaps remained in the Vêda dialect. If this treatment and comparison, however, be unsound, then is ἧσ-θα also a remnant of the perfect, to which also belongs the first person ἧα for ἧσα = Sanscrit *âsa*, and the ending θα thus stands in ἧσθα in its true place: just so, also, in οἶσ-θα, answering to the Sanscrit *vêt-tha* (for *vêd-tha*), "thou knowest," Gothic *vais-t* for *vait-t* (§. 102.), and very probably to the Zend *vaêsh-ta* (see p. 94). The root विद् *vid* has the peculiarity, demonstrated by comparison with the cognate languages to be of extreme antiquity, of placing the terminations of the reduplicated preterites, but without reduplication, with a present signification: hence, in the first præterite, *véda* (not *vivéda*), answering to the Greek οἶδα for Ϝοἶδα, and Gothic *vait*. In ἤδεισθα or ἤδησθα, I recognise, as in all plusquam perfects, with Pott, a periphrastic construction, and consider, therefore, his εισθα or ησθα as identical with the simple ἧσθα. Ἤειστα is, as to form, a plusquam perfect: nevertheless, to the Sanscrit first augmented preterite *âyam*, *âyas*, correspond ἤϊον, ἤϊες. In ἔφησθα, however, and in dia-

* Annals of Oriental Literature, p. 41.

lectical forms like ἐθέλησθα, the termination θα appears me unconscious of its primitive destination, and, habituated ἦσθα and οἶσ-θα to an antecedent σ, to have fallen back up the personal sign Σ, which was ready to its hand.

454. In the Latin, *sti* corresponds to the Sanscrit term nation *tha*, with a weakening of the *a* to *i*, and the pre-i sertion of an *s*, which has even intruded itself into t plural, where the *s* is less appropriate. On which accou I consider it as a purely euphonic addition. Compa for example—

LATIN.	SANSCRIT.
dedi-sti,	*dadi-tha* or *dadâ-tha.*
steti-sti,	*tasthi-tha* or *tasthâ-tha.*
momord-i-sti,	*mamard-i-tha,* "thou crushedst."
tutud-i-sti,	*tutôd-i-tha,* "thou woundedst."
peped-i-sti,	*papard-i-tha.*
proposc-i-sti,	*paprachch-i-tha,** "thou askedst."

The Latin has preserved the ancient condition of the la guage more faithfully than the Greek in this respect, th it has not allowed the termination in question to overs the limits of the perfect. The Lithuanian and Sclavo have allowed the reduplicated preterite, and, with it, t termination, entirely to perish.

455. We give here a general summary of the points comparison which we have established for the sec person of the three numbers of the transitive act form.

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* Compare the Sclavonic *proshiti*, "*precari*" (§. 447. Table). The scrit root *prach*, whose terminating aspirate in the case above steps be its tenuis, has split itself into three forms in the Latin, giving up the one, whence *rogo*, *interrogo*, the *r* in another, whence *posco* (§. 14.), retaining both in *precor*.

SINGULAR.

T.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.*	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
	ahi,	*ἐσσί,*	*es,*	*ist,*	*essi,*	*yesi.*
ısi,	*histahi,*	*ἵστης,*	*stas,*	*‡stâs,*	*stowi,*[2]	*stoïshi.*
i,	*dadhâhi,*	*δίδως,*	*das,*	. . .	*dûdi,*[2]	*dasi.*
si,	*barahi,*	*φέρεις,*	*fers,*[3]	*bairis,*	....	....
i,	*vazahi,*	*ἔχεις,*[4]	*vehis,*	*vigis,*	*wezi,*[2]	*veẑeshi.*
ís,	*hyâo,*	*ἐ(σ)ίης,*	*siés,*	*siyais,*[5]	....	....
ćs,	*histôis,*	*ἱσταίης,*	*stés,*	....	*stowêki,*	*stoĭ.*[8]
is,	*daidhyâo,*	*διδοίης,*	*dés,*	....	*dûki,*[7]	*daschdy.*[9]
ís,	*bharôis,*	*φέροις,*	*ferâs,*	*bairais,*	....	....
ı,	*vazôis,*	*ἔχοις,*	*vehâs,*	*vigais,*	*weſzki,*[7]	*veẑi.*[10]
as,	*vazô,*	*εἶχες,*	*vehebas,*	....	*wezei,*[2]	....
ıı	*azdhi* ?[12]	*ἴσθι.*	....	....	....	....
ıi,	*vischdi* ?[13]	*ἴσθι,*	....	....	....	....
ıı	*dazdhi,*[15]	*δίδωθι,*	....	....	....	....
dhi,[16]	....	*κλῦθι,*	....	....	....	....
ı,	*vaza,*	*ἔχε,*	*vehe,*	*vig,*	....	....
a,	*âonhitha* ?[17]	*ἦσθα,*[18]	....	....	....	....
a,	*vaêshta* ?[19]	*οἶσθα,*[18]	*vidisti,*	*vaist,*	....	....
ıtha,	....	...	*tutudisti,*	*staistaust,*[20]	....	....
ditha,	....	...	*fidisti,*	*maimaist,*[20]	....	....

DUAL.

hathas,	*histathô* ?[21]	*ἵστατον,*	....	....	*stowita,*	*stoïta.*
athas,	*barathô* ?[21]	*φέρετον,*	....	*bairats,*	....	....
thas,	*vazathô* ?[21]	*ἔχετον,*	....	*vigats,*	*wezata,*	*veẑeta.*
ítam,	....	*φέροιτον*	....	*bairaits,*	....	....
tam,	....	*ἔχοιτον,*	....	*vigaits,*	*weſzkita,*	*veẑyeta.*
aiam,	....	*εἶχετον,*	....	....	*wezêta,*	....

PLURAL.

hatha,	*histatha,*	*ἵστατε,*	*statis,*	*‡stât,*	....	....
atha,	*baratha,*	*φέρετε,*	*fertis,*[22]	*bairith,*[22]	....	....
tha,	*vazatha,*	*ἔχετε,*	*vehitis,*	*vigith,*[22]	*wezatè,*	*veẑete.*
thêta,[6]	*histaêta,*	*ἱσταίητε,*	*stêtis,*	....	*stowêkite,*	*stoĭte.*
yâta,	*daidhyâta,*	*διδοίητε,*	*dêtis,*	....	*dûkite,*	*daschdite.*
rêta,	*baraêta,*	*φέροιτε,*	*ferâtis,*	*bairaith,*[22]	....	....
êta,	*vazaêta,*	*ἔχοιτε,*	*vehâtis.*	*vigaith,*[22]	*weſzkite,*	*veẑyete.*
hata,	*vazata,*	*εἶχετε,*	*vehebatis,*	....	*wezête,*	....

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* See §. 442., Rem. *.

[1] A mutilation from *as-si*. [2] See §. 448. [3] Correspo
regard to the immediate connection of the personal termination
root, to बिभर्षि *bibharshi* of the third class (§. 109ª. 3.).
§. 442. 3. [5] This form is grounded on *siy* as its root; *a* is t
connecting vowel (p. 105), and *i* the modal expression. Mor
hereafter. [6] *Tish!hâyâs*, or, with the *â* suppressed, *tish!thyâs* w
respond with the Greek ἱσταίης: but the root *sthâ* treats its radi
according to the analogy of the *a* of the first and sixth class (§.
and contracts it, therefore, with *i* or *î* into *é*, as in Latin *stes* ou
More of this hereafter. [7] The Lithuanian imperative, also,
Sclavonic, rests on the Sanscrit potential. The *i* is thus here n
sonal but a modal expression, but is generally suppressed in th
person singular; and Ruhig declares the form with *i* to be
[8] See Dobr. p. 530. [9] See Dobr. p. 539, and the further re
the imperative of the Archaic conjugation. [10] See §§. 255. *l.*
[11] Out of *ad-dhi*, and this euphonic for *as-dhi*, ἴσ-θι (Gramm. Crit.
so, below, *dê-hi* out of *dad-dhi*. That, however, the form *dê-hi*
preceded by an earlier *dâ-hi* or *dâ-dhi*, may be inferred from
form *dâi-di* (see §. 450), the first *i* of which has been brought
retro-active influence of the last (§. 41.). In Sanscrit, howe
longer, as I once did, ascribe to the *i* of *édhi*, *dêhi*, an assimilating
on the antecedent syllable, but I explain the *é* out of *â* thus,
latter element of *a*+*a* has weakened itself to *i*. I shall rec
hereafter, when I come to the reduplicated preterite. [12]
édhi has sprung from *ad-dhi* the latter leads us to expect a Z
az-dhi, by the same law which has generated
from *dad-dhi*. [13] The here supposed *vish-d*
vid-dhi, distinguishes itself from *daz-dhi*, out of *dad-dhi*
the influence of the antecedent vowel; for *sch* and *z* are,
(soft) sibilants, so related to each other as, in Sanscrit, श *s*
among the mute (hard), see §. 21., and compare Burnouf's Yaçn
[14] See §. 450., and above, Nos. 11 and 12. [15] See §. 450.
form, §. 450. [17] I have here, and also §. 632, given a shor
ending *tha*, although the lithographed Codex, p. 311, presents *fr*
with a long *â*; but in the passage cited of the Izeshne there
other instances of the short terminating *a* written long; for whi
I cannot draw from the fashion of writing this word the concl
the originally short ending *tha* in Zend has lengthened itself,
other words the converse has occurred: compare §. 335. As
concerns the supposed form *âonhitha* I have elsewhere already

third person 𐬁𐬉𐬥𐬵𐬀 *âoṇha* = आस *âsa*, and expect accordingly आसिथ *âsitha* to be answered by 𐬁𐬉𐬥𐬵𐬌𐬚𐬀 *âoṇhitha*. [18] See pp. 632, 633. [19] See §. 102. [20] The Gothic roots *staut* and *mait* have permanently substituted the Guna for the radical vowel, and thus saved the reduplication: their concluding *t* for *d* satisfies the law of substitution, but the first *t* of *staut* is retained on its original footing by the pre-insertion of the euphonic *s* (§. 91.). With regard to the *m* of *mait*, as corresponding to the *bh* of *bhid*, look to §§. 62. and 215., and to the phenomenon, often before mentioned, that one and the same root in one and the same language has often split itself into various forms of various signification; for which reason I do not hesitate to consider as well *bit*, "to bite" (*beita*, *bait*), as *mait*, "to cut off," with its petrified Guna, as corresponding to the Sanscrit *bhid*, "to split." [21] The dual ending *tô*, of which we have evidence for the third person, leaves scarcely room for doubt that *thô* is adapted to the second person of the primary forms. [22] Compare बिभृथ *bibhṛi-tha* of the third class, and above, No. 3. [23] Upon *th* for *d* see §. 446.

THIRD PERSON.

456. The pronominal base *ta* (§. 343.) has, after the analogy of the first and second person, weakened its vowel, in the singular primary forms, to *i*, and in the secondary laid it quite aside: the *t*, however, in Sanscrit and Zend, has, with the exception of the termination in *us*, nowhere suffered alteration, while, in the second person, we have seen the *t* of *tva* divide itself into the forms *t*, *th*, *dh*, and *s*. The Greek, on the other hand, has left the *t* of the third person in ordinary language unaltered only in ἐστί = अस्ति *asti*, 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *aśti*, but elsewhere substituted a σ; so that, for instance, δίδωσι more resembles the Sanscrit second person *dadâsi* than the third *dadâti*, and is only distinguished unorganically from its own second person δίδωσ, by the circumstance that the latter has dropped the *i*, which naturally belonged to it. That, however, originally τι prevailed everywhere, even in the conjugation in ω, is proved by the medio-passive ending ται; for as δίδοται is founded on δίδωσι, so also is τέρπεται on τέρπ-ε-τι = Sanscrit *tarp-a-ti*. The form τέρπει has, however, arisen from a

rejection of τ, as above (§. 451), τίθει from τίθετι, δίδ from δίδοθι, κέρᾳ from κέρατι;* as, also, in Prakrit, *bhaṇa* "*dicit*," is used together with *bhaṇadi*.† In the secondar forms the Greek, according to the universal law of soun has given up the concluding *T* sound, and goes hand i hand, in this respect, with the Prakrit, which, with exce tion of the Anuswâra (§. 10.), has repudiated all consonan at the end of words, as in the Gothic, §. 433., and t Sclavonic, §. 255. *l*; hence ἔχοι answers better to t Prakrit form *vahê*, and to the Gothic *vigai* and Sclavon вези *vezi*, than to the Sanscrit *vahêt*, Zend vazô and Latin *vehat*, *vehet*.

457. While the concluding *T* sound—which in the s condary forms in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, has surviv the injuries of time—has been abandoned by the *i* of the more complete termination of the primary form it has itself been preserved to the present day in Germ and in Russian. Nor has the Old Sclavonic allowed th to escape entirely, but exhibits it in the form of a ‡ Compare

OLD SCLAVONIC.	SANSCRIT.
ѥсть *yes-ty*, "*est*,"	अस्ति *as-ti*.
ѩсть *yas-ty*,* "*edit*,"	अत्ति *at-ti*.
вѣсть *vyes-ty*,* "*scit*,"	वेत्ति *vêt-ti*.
дасть *das-ty*,* "*dat*,"	ददाति *dadâ-ti*.
везеть *veʒ-e-ty*, "*vehit*,"	वहति *vaha-ti*.

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* Perhaps οἴκοι is also no antiquated dative form for οἴκῳ, but a mu lation of οἴκοθι.

† In the second imperative person, also, the Prakrit exhibits an int esting analogy to the Greek τίθε(τ)ι, δίδο(θ)ι, in the form *bhaṇai*, "*d* for *bhaṇahi* from *bhanadhi*.

‡ According to Dobrowsky, only in the Archaic conjugation; to Ko tar, also in the ordinary. He notices, namely (Glagolita, p. 62), "*Ter personæ* ть *tam sing. quam plur. veteres, ut nos hic, per* ть *scribeba Hodierni per* ть." § *S* euphonic for *d* (p. 608).

The Lithuanian has, in the ordinary conjugation, lost the sign of the third person in the three numbers; hence *wéz-a'* corresponding to the Sclavonic *veζ-e-ty* and Sanscrit *vah-a-ti*; the same, also, in the dual and plural. Those verbs only, which, in the first person, have preserved the ending *mi* (§. 435.), have, in the third also, partially preserved the full *ti*, or the *t*, and, indeed, at the same time, in full connection with the root; hence, *esti*, "he is," *dů̂sti*, or *dů̂st*,* "he gives," *êst*,* "he eats," *giest*,* "he sings," *dêst*,* "he places," *miegt*, "he sleeps," *sáugt'*, "he preserves," *gelbt'*, "he helps," *sérgt'*, "he protects," *liekt'*, "he lets." This singular ending is also carried over to the dual and plural. The Gothic has, with the exception of *ist*, where the ancient tenuis has maintained itself under the protection of the antecedent *s*, everywhere *th* in the third person of the primary forms. This *th*, however, is not the usual dislodgement of *t*, but stands, as in the second plural person (see §. 446.), euphonically for *d*, because *th* suits the ending better than *d* (§. 91.). In the medio-passive, on the other hand, the older medial has maintained itself in the ending *da*, which also agrees with the Prakrit ending *di*. On these medials rests, also, the Old High German *t*, by a displacement which has again brought back the original form.†

458. For the designation of plurality, *n* is inserted before the pronominal character which has been compared with the accusative plural (§. 236.). Behind this *n*, the Gothic, in contradistinction from the singular, has maintained the older medial, since *nd* is a favourite union. Compare *sind* with सन्ति *santi*, [illegible] *hĕnti*, "*sunt*," and

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* *S* euphonic for *d*, in harmony with §. 102. and with the Sclavonic.

† In this sense is to be corrected what we have remarked on this head in §. 90.

(σ)εντι. The Sanscrit observes before the same *n* the same principle, which we have noticed above (§. 437.), with respect to the vowel-less *m* of the first person of the secondary forms. It pre-inserts, namely, an *a* when that letter or *â* does not already precede the pluralizing *n* in the class or root syllable: hence, *tarp-a-nti*, like τέρπ-ο-ντι; *tishṭa-nti* like ἵστανται, *bhâ-nti*, "they shine," like φαντί; but *chi-nv-anti*, "they collect," not *chi-nu-nti* from *chi*; *y-anti* "they go," not *in-ti** from *i*. Thus the Greek âσι out of ανσι in δεικνυ-ᾱτι, ἴ-ᾱσι τιθέ-ᾱσι, διδό-ᾱσι, acquires a fair foundation; for it is scarcely to be admitted that so striking coincidence can be accidental. For even if the forms τιθεαντι διδοαντι, ἰαντι, δεικνυαντι, are not maintained in any dialect yet we cannot doubt that the length of the α in τιθέᾱσι, &c., as well as in ἵστᾱσι and τετύφᾱσι, is a compensation for an extinguished ν, and that σι, as everywhere in the third person stands for τι. With regard, however, to the interpolated ε δεικνυᾱσι and ἴᾱσι coincide the most closely with the aboriginal type of our family of language, as in τιθέᾱσι the ε and in διδόῶσι the *o*, stand for the Sanscrit *â* or *a*; for τίθημι = *dadhâmi* and δίδωμι = *dadâmi*. These two Sanscrit words must originally have formed, in the third plural person, *dadhâ-n-ti*, *dadâ-nti*, or, with a shortened *a*, *dadhan-ti*, *dada-nti*; and to this is related the Doric τιθέντι, διδόντι, ἐντί to सन्ति *santi*. The forms τιθέασι, διδοῶσι, however, have followed the analogy of δεικνύᾱσι and ἴᾱσι, inasmuch as the

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* The Indian grammarians adopt everywhere *anti*, and, in the secondary forms, *an*, as the full ending of the third person plural, and lay down as in the first person singular of the secondary forms, as a rule, that *a* the class syllable of the first chief conjugation is rejected before the *a* the ending; thus, *tarp'-anti*, for *tarpânti*, out of *tarp-a-anti*. The cognate languages, however, do not favour this view; for if the Greek ο of φέρ-ο is identical with that of φέρ-ο-μες, and the Gothic *a* of *bair-a-nd* with that of *bair-a-m*, the *a* also of the Sanscrit *bharanti* must be received in a like sense as the long *â* of *bhar-â-mas* and the short of *bhar-a-tha*.

treated their root vowel as though it had not sprung *a*. Thus the Ionicisms, ἱστέᾱσι, ἔᾱσι.

9. The Sanscrit verbs of the third class (§. 109ª. 3.), on ınt of the burthen occasioned by the reduplication, h they have to bear in the special tenses, strive after ılleviation of the weight of the terminations: they efore give up the *n* of the third person plural, shorten a long *â* of the root, whence ददति *dada-ti*, ey give," दधति *dadha-ti*, "they place," जहति *jaha-ti*, ey leave." There is, however, no room to doubt that, he earlier condition of the language, these forms were nded *dada-nti*, *dadha-nti*, *jaha-nti*, and that in this pect the Doricisms διδό-ντι, τιθέ-ντι, have been handed n more faithful to the original type. The Zend also tects, in reduplicated verbs, the nasal; for in V. S., 13, we find [illegible] *dadĕntê*, "they give," perhaps oneously for *dadĕnti*.* If, however, the reading be rect, it is a medial, and not the less bears witness to a ısitive *dadĕnti*. The Sanscrit, however, in the middle, only in reduplicated verbs, but in the entire second ef conjugation, which corresponds to the Greek in on account of the weight of the personal terminations, ndons the plural nasal; hence *chi-nv-atê* (for *chi-nv-antê*) trasted with the transitive *chi-nv-anti*. This also ves to be a disturbance of the original construction the language, which dates from an epoch subsequent its separation; for the Greek maintains in the medio-sive, still more firmly than in the active, the nasal as

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That, however, the suppression of the nasal is not foreign to the d is shewn in the form [illegible] *śeṇhaiti*, "they teach," =Sanscrit ति *śâsati* from the root शास् *śâs*, which, probably on account of the ble sibilant, follows the analogy of the reduplicated forms. In Zend, nasal placed before the *h* may have favoured the suppression of that the termination. Upon the [illegible] *e* for [illegible] *ĕ* see Burnouf's Yaçna, p. 480.

an expression of plurality, and opposes to the Sanscri *tarp-a-ntê* not only *τερπ-ο-νται*, but also to the Sanscri *dadatê, dadhatê, δίδο-νται, τίθε-νται*. Yet the Greek has through another channel, found a means of lightening th excessive weight of the medial termination, by substituting *νται* where *ανται* would naturally occur; hence *δέικνυ-νται*, not *δεικν-ανται*, which latter we might expect from *δεικνύ-ᾱσι* (out of *δεικνυ-αντι*). The Sanscrit form *stṛi-nv-atê*, and the Greek *στόρ-νυ-νται* keep their completeness respectively, since the one has preserved the *a*, the other the nasal. The extrusion of the *α* from *στορ-νυ(α)νται* resembles the *η* of the optative, inasmuch as, on account of the increasing weight of the personal terminations, in the medio passive, we form from *διδοίην* not *διδοιήμην*, but *διδοίμην*. The Ionicism has, however, in the third person plural, sacrificed the *α* to the *ν* and in this particular, therefore, harmonizes most strictly with the Sanscrit; in remarking which, we must not overlook that, both in their respective ways, but from the same motive have generated their *atê, αται*, out of *antê*; thus, *στορ-νύ-α(ν)ται* as compared with *στόρ-νυ-(α)νται*, the first being analogous to the Sanscrit *stṛi-ṇv-a(n)tê*. We do not, therefore, require, contrary to p. 255, to assume that *α* of *πεπαύαται*, and similar forms in the vowelization of the *ν* of *πέπαυνται*, but *πεπαυ-νται* and *πεπαύ-αται* are diverse mutilations of the lost aboriginal form *πεπαύ-ανται*.

460. The Old Sclavonic has dissolved the nasal in Dobrowsky's first and second conjugation into a short *u* sound, as in the first person singular the *m*, and contracted the latter with the antecedent connecting vowel, which elsewhere appears as *ε*, but here is to be assumed as *ô*, to *û*; so that ВЕЗȣТЬ *veζûty** from *veζonty* has a surprising resemblance to the Greek *ἔχουσι* from *ἔχονσι* for *ἔχοντι*. The Bohemian

* Dobrowsky writes ВЕЗȣТ *veζût*, and gives, as in the singular, the only in the Archaic conjugation (see p. 638. Rem. ‡).

has, on the other hand, preserved the old *a* of the t *vah-a-nti*, and the Gothic *vigand*, which, in the *ehunt*, by the influence of the liquids, has become *u*, :ast to the *i* of the other persons (*veh-i-s*, &c.). The : Bohemian *wezau*, however, like the last constituent iphthong *û* of вєзꙋть *veζûty*, is of nasal origin. In the : conjugation the Old Sclavonic has, with the excep- *sûty* = सन्ति *santi*, "*sunt*," [illegible] *hĕnti*, ἐντί, abandoned r the nasal of the termination, but, in its stead, has ined the *a* in its primary shape, yet with the pre-in- of an unorganic *y* (§. 225ᵃ.); otherwise *dadaty*, for дадѧть *dadyaty*, would be nearly identical with the it ददति *dadati*: as reduplicated verbs have, in Sanscrit ıst the nasal (§. 459.) вѣдѧть *vyedyaty*, "they know," s less with विदन्ति *vidanti*, and ꙗдѧть *yadyaty*, "they vith अदन्ति *adanti*. This analogy is followed, also, by verbs, which correspond to the Sanscrit tenth class '. 6.), namely, Dobrowsky's third conjugation, as ı-*ty*, "they make" = Sanscrit बोधयन्ति *bôdh-aya-nti*. however, as the division and recomposition shews, preceding the *y* is not inorganic, but belongs with to the character syllable of the conjugation, of which hereafter.

1. In the secondary forms the vowel has been ed from the plural ending *nti* or *anti*, as from the ar *ti*, *si*, *mi*, and with this in Sanscrit, after the law stablished itself so destructive to many terminations forbids the union of two consonants at the end of a (§. 94.), the personal character *t* was obliged to ı, which in Greek, where a simple *t* is also excluded termination, had been already withdrawn from the ar. If thus ἔτερπ-ε finds itself at a disadvantage ed to *atarp-a-t*—thus, in ἔτερπ-ο-ν, opposed to *atarp-a-n* *tarp-a-nt*)—the two languages, if not from the same es, stand on a similar footing of degeneracy. Ἦσ-αν

accords still better with *âs-an*, and aorists like ἔδειξαν with Sanscrit tenses like the equivalent *adikshan*, as it would seem that the sibilant of the verb substantive has protected the *a* of the ending *an* from degenerating to *o*; for the usual practice of the language would have given us to expect ἦσον like ἔτερπον, or ἦσεν like τέρποι-εν. The Zend goes along with the εν of the latter in forms like [illegible] *anhĕn*, "they were," and [illegible] *barayĕn*, "they might bear" = φέροιεν. We see from this that the Zend also cannot support the weight of the termination *nt*, although it condescends more than the Sanscrit to concluding sibilants sequent on *r*, *c*, *f*, and *ṅ*; and has handed down to us nominatives such as [illegible] *âtars*, "fire," [illegible] *druc-s*, "a demon," [illegible] *kerefs*, "body," [illegible] *baraṅs*, "bearing." From the Gothic have vanished all the *T* sounds which existed in the previous periods of the German language (see §. 294. Rem. 1.). Hence, if in the present indicative *bair-a-nd* answer to the Sanscrit *bar-an-ti* and Greek φερ-ο-ντι, we can nevertheless look for no *bairaind* or *bairaiand* in the conjunctive answering to φεροιεν(τ), Zend *barayen*(*t*); and we find instead *bai-rai-na*, as would seem by transposition out of *bairai-an*, so that *an* corresponds to the Greek and Zend εν, *ĕn*, out of *an*.* In the medio-passive the lost *T* sound of the active has preserved itself as in the Greek, because it did not stand at the end, but the vowel coming before, and, in Gothic, by transposition, after the *n*, is removed on account of the increscence of the ending; hence, *bairaindan*, as in Greek φέροιντο, not φεροιεντο (compare p. 642).

462. The ending *un* of the Gothic preterite, as in *haihaitun*, "they were named," may be compared with the

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* Or might we assume, that, as in the accusative (§. 149.), an inorganic *a* had been appended to the originally terminating nasal? The supposition of the text, however, accords better with the probabilities of the primitive grammar.

rine αν for αντι, āσι (ἐγνωκαν, εἰρηκαν, &c.) with the tion that the Sanscrit also, in its reduplicated e, although the primary endings accrue to it, yet, he pressure of the reduplication syllable, has been to maintain the original *anti* uncorrupted, but puts s stead. The *s* of this form is without doubt a ing of the original *t*: with respect, however, to the ay remain undecided whether it is a vowelization of al, and thus the latter element of the Greek *ου* of τι, or a weakening of the *a* of *anti*. The Sanscrit uses ding *us* also in the place of *an*: first, in the ial, corresponding to the Zend-Greek *ĕn*, εν, hence *harêyus* (with an euphonic *y*, §. 43.), *baray-ĕn*, ν; second, in the first augmented preterite of the redu- d roots, thus, *adadhus*, "they placed," *adadus*, "they for *adadhan* (comp. ἐτίθεν), *adudan*; from which it is that *us*, since *u* is lighter than *a* (Vocalismus, ff.), is more easily borne by the language than *an*; in the same tense, but at discretion together with roots of the second class in *â*, for instance, *ayus*, n, "they went," from *yâ*; fourth, in some forma- of the multiform preterite, for instance, अशोषुस् shus, "they heard."

. The Old Sclavonic could not, according to §. 255. *l*., ain unaltered either the *t* or the *n* of the secondary nt or *nt*: it sets in their place either a simple *a* or *û*, last is to be derived from *on*. These two endings owever, so dealt with by the practice of the language, appears only after *sh*, *s* only after *ch*; for instance, *byechû* or БѢША *byesha*, "they were" (§. 255. *m*.). The lary form of the Latin has been handed down in most t condition, and has everywhere retained the prono- *t* after the nasal which expresses plurality; thus *erant* s the abovementioned forms आसन् *âsan*, ἦσαν, and *anhĕn*; and *ferant*, in respect of the personal sign,

is more perfect than the Greek *φέροι-εν*, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 *barayĕn*, Gothic *bairai-na*, and Sanscrit भरेयुस् *bharĕy-us*

464. In the dual of the Sanscrit the primary form is *tas*, and the secondary *tâm*: to the first corresponds, in Greek, *τον* (§. 97.)—thus *τέρπ-ε-τον* = *tarp-a-tas*;—but the ending *tâm* has, according to the variety of the *â* representation (§. 4.) divided itself into the forms *την* and *των*, of which the former is the prevalent one, the latter limited to the imperative; hence *ἐτερπ-έ-την*, *τερπ-οί-την*, against *atarp-a-tâm*, *tarp-ê-tâm*; *ἐδεικ-σα-την* against *adik-sha-tâm*; but *τερπ-έ-των* against *tarp-a-tam*. From this remarkable coincidence with the Sanscrit, it is clear that the difference in Greek between *τον* on the one hand and *την*, *των* on the other has a foundation in remote antiquity, and was not, as Buttmann conjectures (Gr. §. 87. Obs. 2.), a later formation of the more modern prose, albeit in four places of Homer (three of which are occasioned by the metre) *τον* is found for *την*. The augment, however, cannot be considered as a recent formation merely because it is often suppressed in Homer, since it is common to the Greek and the Sanscrit. In Zend the primary form is regular, 𐬵𐬌 *tô*:* for the secondary, however, which will run 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙 *taṅm*, we have as yet no instance. The Gothic has lost the third dual person, but the Old Sclavonic has ТА *ta*, feminine ТѢ *tye*, as well for the primary

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* An instance is found in a passage of the Izeshné (p. 48), the sense of which has been much mistaken by Anquetil:—𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 *ástaómi maéghĕmcha vârĕmcha yâ té kĕhrpĕm vacsayató barĕsnus paiti gairinaṇm*, "I praise the clouds and the rain, which sustain thy body on the heights of the mountains." According to Anquetil, "*J'adresse ma priere à l'année, a la pluie, auxquelles vous avez donné un corps sur le sommet des montagnes.*" *Vacsayató* is either the future of *vaz*, with an inserted *a*—thus for *vacsyató* = Sanscrit *vakshyatas*—or a derivative from the root mentioned, in the present according to the tenth class; in either case, however, a third person dual.

तस् *tas* (τον) as for the secondary ताम् *tâm*, την, των
are §. 445.); hence ВЕЗЕТА *veζeta*, "they two travel,"
तस् *vahatas;* ВЕЗОСТА *veζosta*, "they two travelled,"
ाक्ताम् *avâktâm*, euphonic for *avâkshtâm*, p. 98; ЗВЕНѢСТА
esta, "they two sounded," = अस्वनिष्टाम् *asvanishṭâm*.
what concerns the origin of the last letters *s* and *m*
e personal expressions तस् *tas* and ताम् *tâm*, they rest,
ut doubt, on a similar principle to those of the second
n थस् *thas*, तम् *tam;* and if one of the explanations
, §. 444. be valid, we must then abandon the conjec-
elsewhere expressed, that *m* of *tâm* sprung indeed
nally from *s*, but through the previous intervention
v (for *u*), after the analogy of आवाम् *âvâm*, "we two,"
yuvâm, "you two" (see §. 340. Table, Dual, 1).

5. The following comparative table presents a summary
e third person in the three numbers:—

SINGULAR.

SCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.*	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
	ashti,	ἐστί,	*est*,	*ist*,	*esti*,	*yesty*.
ti,	*histati*,	ἵστᾱτι,	*stat*,	†*stat*,	*stow*,	*stoïty*.
i,	*dadhâiti*,	δίδωτι,	*dat*,	....	*dûsti*,	*dasty*.
	....	....	*est*,	*itith*,	*êsth*,	*yasty*.
,	*baraiti*,	φέρε(τ)ι,[1]	*fert*,[2]	*bairith*,	...	....
i,	*vazaiti*,	ἔχε(τ)ι,[1]	*vehit*,	*vigith*,	*weźa*,[3]	*veζety*.
it,	*hyaṭ*,	ἐ(σ)ίη,	*siet*,	*siyai*,[4]	...	....
ît,[5]	*histôit*,	ἱσταίη,	*stet*,	....	...	*stoï*.
it,	*daidhyâṭ*,	διδοίη,	*det*,	....	...	*daschdy*.
t,	*barôiṭ*,	φέροι,	*ferat*,	*bairai*,	...	..[1].
it,	*vazaṭ*,	εἶχε,	*vehebat*,	....	*weźê*,	....
ît,[6]	....	....	...	....	...	*ζvenye*.

DUAL.

as,	*shtô*?[7]	ἐστόν,	...	....	...	*yesta*.
atas,	*histatô*,[7]	ἵστατον,	...	....	..[8]	*stoïta*.
îm,	....	φεροίτην,	...	....	...	....
tâm,	....	φερέτων,	...	....	...	....
ishtâm,	....	....	...	....	...	*ζvenyesta*.

* See p. 618, Rem. *.

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GERMAN.	LITH.	
santi,	*hĕnti*,	(σ)εντί,	*sunt*,	*sind*,	. . [8]	s
tishṭhanti,	*histĕnti*,	ἵσταντι,	*stant*,	†*stânt*,	. . [5]	s
dadati,[10]	*dadĕnti*,[11]	διδόντι,	*dant*,	. . . .	. . [8]	d
bharanti,	*barĕnti*,	φέροντι,	*ferunt*,	*bairand*,	. . .	
vahanti,	*vazĕnti*,	ἔχοντι,	*vehunt*,	*vigand*,	. . .	v
tishṭhêyus,[12]	*histayĕn*,	ἱσταῖεν,	*stent*,	. . . .	. . .	
bharêyus,[12]	*barayĕn*,	φέροιεν,	*ferant*,	*bairaina*,[13]	. . .	
âsan,	*aṇhĕn*,	ἦσαν,	*erant*,	. . . .	. . .	
atarpishus,	. . . .	ἔτερψα-,	. . .	. . . .	[2] . .	t
asvanishus,	. . . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ζ
alikshan,	. . . .	ἔλειξαν,	. . .	. . . .	. . .	l

[1] See §. 456. [2] Agrees with बिभर्ति *bibharti*, third class
[3] Without personal sign: see §. 457. [4] See p. 636, 5.
[6] First person, *asvanisham*, "I sounded." [7] See §. 464.
in the singular: see §. 457. [9] See §. 225. *g*. [10] S
[11] See §. 459. [12] See p. 645. [13] See p. 644. [1]
is called "suffering," "bearing," so that the original significatic
to be inverted: compare the Gothic *thaurban*, "to need" (V
p. 170). The Sanscrit root *tarp* (*ṭrip*) means, according to the
ṭripyâmi, "to be content, satisfied"; according to the first (
tenth (*tarpayâmi*), and sixth (*ṭripâmi*), "to content," &c.

MEDIAL TERMINATIONS.

466. The medial terminations, in which the passiv
cipates, distinguish themselves throughout from thos
active form by a greater fulness of form, even thc
mode of formatiou be not always the same. Sanscr
and Greek accord together in this, that they extend
cluding *i*, in the primary forms, by the pre-inserti
hence, μαι from μι, σαι from the σι which remains
rupted only in ἐσσι of the second person (§. 488.), ται
and, in the plural, νται from ντι. The Sanscrit a
make their diphthong *ê* correspond to the Greek αι;
applies to the rare cases in which the *ê* produced by
represented in Greek by αι, as usually the first ele
the Indo-Zend diphthong appears, in Greek, in the s

ε or ο (see Vocalismus, p. 196). The weightier and original *a* seems, however, in the extant endings of the middle voice, where the expressive fullness of form of the language comes most into evidence, to have been purposely guarded. The Gothic has lost the *i* element of the diphthong *ai*; hence, in the third person, *da* for *dai*; in the second, *za* (euphonic for *sa*, §. 86. 5.) for *zai*; and in the third person plural, *nda* for *ndai*. The first person singular and the first and second of the plural have perished, and are replaced by the third, as our German *sind*, which pertains properly to the third person plural, has penetrated into the first. The *a* which precedes the personal ending, as in *hait-a-za*, "*vocaris*," *hait-a-da*, "*vocatur*," as opposed to the *i* of *haitis*, "*vocas*," *haitith*, "*vocat*," appeared formerly mysterious, but has since, to my mind, fully explained itself, by the assumption that all Gothic verbs of the strong form correspond to the Sanscrit first or fourth class (p. 105), and that the *i* of *haitis*, *haitith*, is a weakening of an older *a*, conformable to rule, and the result of a retro-active influence of the terminating *s* and *th* (§. 47.). The medio-passive, however, found no occasion for a necessary avoidance of the older *a* sound, and it therefore continues, in this particular, in the most beautiful harmony with the Asiatic sister idioms.

467. The Sanscrit and Zend have lost in the first person singular, as well of the primary as the secondary forms, the pronominal consonant, and with it, in the first chief conjugation, the *a* of the class syllable (see §. 435.); hence बोधे *bódhé*, "I know," for *bôdh-â-mê* or *bôdh-a-mê*, in the case that the weightier personal ending in §. 434. has impeded the lengthening of the class vowel there mentioned. Compare—

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK	GOTHIC.
bhar-ê,	*bair-ê*,[1]	φέρ-ο-μαι,	. . . .
bhar-a-sê,	*bar-a-hê*,	(φέρ-ε-σαι), φέρῃ,	*bair-a-za*,
bhar-a-tê,	*bar-ai-tê*,[1]	φέρ-ε-ται,	*bair-a-da*,
bhar-a-ntê,	*bar-ai-ntê*,[2]	φέρ-ο-νται,	*bair-a-nda*.

[1] See §. 42. [2] In the passive the third person plural often appear as 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *uśzayéinté* (Vend. S. p. 136), with *é* for *a*, through the influence of the antecedent *y* (§. 42.). For the middle I have no instance of this person; we might at best be in doubt whether we might use *barĕnté* after the analogy of the transitive *barĕnti* or *barainté*. Both are possibly admissible, but *barainté* appears to me the safest, as in the active transitive, also, *ainti* is extant as well as *ĕnti*, especially after *v*, where *ĕnti* would, perhaps, not be allowed; hence, 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *jvainti*, "they live," =Sanscrit जीवन्ति *jivanti*; 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *bavainti*, "they are," =भवन्ति *bhavanti*. We find, also, without *v* preceding, *yazainti* =*yajanti* in a passage cited from the Tashter-Yesht by Burnouf (Yaçna, Notes, p. 74). Or should we here read *yazainté*, as *yaz* is specially used in the middle.

468. In the secondary forms the terminating diphthong in Sanscrit and Zend weakens itself in the same manner as in Gothic already in the primary; the *i* element, namely, vanishes, but the *a* remaining appears, in Greek, as *o*; hence, ἐφέρ-ε-το, opposed to अभरत *abhar-a-ta*, 𐬠𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *bar-a-ta*; in the plural, ἐφέρ-ο-ντο, to अभरन्त *abhar-a-nta*, 𐬠𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *bar-a-nta*. The Sanscrit-Zend forms have a striking likeness to the Gothic *bair-a-da*, *bair-a-nda*. Yet I am not hence disposed, as formerly * to accommodate the Gothic primary to the Sanscrit secondary forms, and to make the comparison between *bair-a-da*, *bair-a-nda*, and *abhar-a-ta*, *abhar-a-nta*, instead of *bhar-a-tê*, *bhar-a-ntê*. The ending *au*, in the Gothic conjunctive, is puzzling; for instance, *bair-ai-dau*, opposed to the Sanscrit *bhar-ê-ta*, Zend *bar-aê-ta*, Greek φέρ-οι-το; and thus, in the plural, *bair-ai-ndau* opposed to φέρ-οι-ντο;† and, in the second person singular, *bair-ai-zau*

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* Conjugation System, p. 131.

† In Zend the active *bar-ay-ĕn* would lead us to expect a medial *bar-aé-nta* (compare §. 461.). The Sanscrit, departing from the sister languages, has the ending *ran*, thus *bhar-é-ran*, which seems to me a mutilation of *bhar-é-ranta*. The root *śí*, "sleep," "lie," inserts anomalously such an *r*, as here precedes the proper personal ending, in the third person of all special tenses (§. 109*.), suppressing, however, in the present impe

to φέρ-οι-(σο). It is not probable that this *au* has arisen out of *a* by the inorganic addition of a *u*, as the degenerations of a language usually proceed rather by a wearing off than an extending process. I think, therefore, that the ending *au* of the imperative, where it has already attained a legal foundation (p. 597), has insinuated itself into the conjunctive; that thus the speakers, seduced by the analogy of *bair-a-dau*, *bair-a-ndau*, have used *bair-ai-dau*, *bair-ai-ndau*, also in the conjunctive; and that thence the *au* has made its way into the second person singular, thus *bair-ai-zau* for *bair-ai-za*. This ought not to surprise, as the medio-passive in the Gothic has got into confusion in this respect, that the first person, and, in the plural, the second also, has been entirely displaced by the third.

469. In the second person singular of the secondary forms the Sanscrit diverges from the principle of the third and first. Just as *ta* stands opposite to the primary *tê* and the secondary *t* of the transitive active, we should expect *sâ* as a counterpart to *sê* and *s*. In its place, however, we find *thâs*; thus, for instance, *abhôdh-a-thâs*, "thou knewest," *bhôdh-ê-thâs*, "thou mightest know." That, however, originally there was a form *sa* co-existent with this *thâs* is indicated, not only by the Greek, in which ἐδίδο-σο, δίδοι-σο accord exactly with ἐδίδο-το, δίδοι-το, but also by the Zend, which exhibits 𐬵𐬎 *ha* in places where, in Sanscrit, स *sa* is to be expected, the *h* being a regular correspondent to *s* (§. 53.),

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imperative and first augment preterite, according to §. 459., the nasal of plurality; hence, *śé-ra(n)tê* = κεῖ-νται; potential *śay-î-ran*, imperative *îê-ra(n)tâm*, preterite *aśê-ra(n)ta* = ἔκειντο. We shall hereafter recognise such an *r* in the middle of the reduplicated preterite. As to its origin, however, I conjecture it to be the radical consonant of the verb substantive, with an anomalous exchange of *s* for *r* (comp. §. 22.), so that, for instance, *dad-î-ran*, for *dad-î-ranta*, would run parallel with the Greek active διδοίησαν, to which would pertain a medio-passive διδοίησαντο or διδοίσαντο.

and [illegible] *sha* after such vowels as, in Sanscrit, requir the conversion of the *s* into *sh* (p. 20). The ending *h* has, according to §. 56ᵃ., an *ṇ* prefixed, and thus it occur in my first Zend attempt (Berlin Annual. March 1831 p. 374), in the passive form, hitherto unique, *uṡayaṇha*, "thou wast born" (Vend. S. p. 42). Anquetil translates the passage, which cannot admit two interpretations, [illegible] *hê tûm uṡazayaṇha*, "to him thou wast born," by "*lui qui a eu un fils célebre comme vous*," and thus conceals the true grammatical value of this remarkable expression, which was perhaps not intelligible even to Anquetil's Parsi instructors. I have since been unable to find a second instance of this form; but Burnouf (Yaçna Notes, p. 33) has brought to light a middle aorist form of no less importance, namely, [illegible] *urûrudhusha*, "thou grewest," to which we shall recur hereafter. At present we are concerned only with the substantiation of the ending *sha*, the *s* of which stands under the euphonic influence of an antecedent *u*.

470. We return to the Sanscrit ending *thás*. This stands in obvious connection with the active ending *tha*, described §. 453., which probably had, in its origin, an extension in the singular, and from which the form *thás* arose, by elongation of the vowel and the addition of *s*; which *s*, as observed Gramm. Crit. §. 301. *d*., probably stands also to designate the second person. If this be so, then either the first or the second personal expression would designate the person, which sustains the operation of the action or its interest, which in all middle forms is forthcoming at least in the spirit if not in the body. Thus in *ádat-tâs*, "thou gavest to thee" (tookest), either "thou" is designated by *tâ*, and "to thee" by *s*, or the converse. If this be so, and if in the Greek first person the *ν* of the ending *μην* (Doric *μᾱν*) be organic, *i. e.* not a later nugatory addition, but intentional, and a legacy of the primeval period of our race of languages, then *ἐδιδόμην* also signifies "I gave to me," whether it be that *με* (*μᾱ*) or, a

seems to me more probable, the *ν* expresses the subjective relation: in either case, however, *μῆ-ν* (*μᾱ-ν*) stands, even with respect to the length of the vowel, in perfect analogy to the Sanscrit *thâs*. To this we must add, as an analogy for the third person, the ending तात् *tât* of the Vêda dialect, where the expression of the third person stands doubled. I therefore hold this remarkable ending for a middle, although Pânini (VII. 1. 35.) gives it out as a substitute for the transitive imperative endings *tu* and *hi** which precede blessings; for instance, *bhavân jîvatât*, "May your honour live!" (respectful for "mayest thou live!"). It is true the root *jiv*, and perhaps many others with the ending *tât*, is not used in the ordinary language in the middle voice, but the ending may be a remnant of a period in which all verbs had still a middle voice. The middle is, moreover, in its place in blessings, in which some good or advantage is always imprecated for some one. Finally, *tât*, in a formal respect, is much nearer to the usual medial imperative ending *tâm* than the transitive *tu*; yet I do not believe that *tât* has arisen out of *tâm*, but rather that the converse has taken place, perhaps by the intervention of an intermediate *tâs* (compare §. 444.). However this may be, the ending *tât*, which Burnouf's acuteness has detected also in Zend,† is of importance, because it affords an ancient foundation for the Oscan imperative in

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* Possibly the representation of the ending *hi* by *tât* may be so understood, as that in sentences like *bhavân jivatât*, "May your honour live!" the person addressed is always meant. Examples are not adduced in which the actual second person is expressed by *tât*. Should such exist, we should be obliged here to bring back the two *t*'s to the base *tva* of the second person, while in the *tât* of the third person both belong to the demonstrative base *ta* (§. 343.).

† Only in one instance of value, [illegible] *uz-varstâṭ*. (Yaçna, p. 503, Note).

*tud,** preserved to us in the table of Bantia, as *licitu-d* fo *liceto, estu-d* for *esto*, ἔστω.† To the Greek imperative end ing τω a middle origin is otherwise ascribable; for in th plural, τερπ-ό-ντων accords perfectly with the Sanscrit middl *tarp-a-ntâm*, and is related to it as τερπ-έ-των to the purel active dual *tarp-a-tâm*. Should, however, τερπ-ό-ντων b identical with the transitive *tarp-a-ntu*, this would be a soli tary instance in the entire grammar of the Greek language in which ω corresponded to a Sanscrit *u*, with, moreover, a inorganic accession of a nasal. We should be more incline in τερπέτω—if we accommodate it to the medial *tarp-a-tâm*— to admit the abrasion of a nasal sound, as in ἔδειξα, opposed to अदिक्षम् *adiksham*. I now, however, prefer to identify τερπέτω with the Vêda word *tarpatât*, for the abandonment of the τ were compulsory, that of the nasal an accidental caprice. The relation of τερπ-έ-τω to *tarp-a-tât* would b similar to that of ἐδίδω, ἔδω, to *adadât, adât*. If, however τερπέτω be identical with *tarpatât* and Oscan forms lik *licitud, estud*, the view we have mentioned above, that th Vêda ending *tât* belongs properly to the middle, acquires new support; for if τερπόντων supports itself on *tarpantâm* and so far is of middle origin, then its singular counter part, also, can belong to no other verbal genus, and ha asserted to itself a similar origin to that of its Asiatic pro totype *tarpatât*.

471. The first person singular of the secondary forms ough

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* Compare the ablative in *ud* to the Sanscrit-Zend in *ât, âṭ*, and t Old Latin in *o-d*.

† It deserves remark, that Dr. Kuhn, in his work "Conjugatio in linguæ Sans. ratione habita" (p. 26, obs.), has ascribed to this Oscan for without recognising its Vêda analogue, a passive origin. The Osc affects a concluding *d* for *t*, but has maintained the old tenuis under t protection of a preceding *s*; hence the conjunctive forms such as *fust*, o posed to *fuid* (see Müller's Etrusker, p. 37). Compare, in this particul the Gothic *ist* (§. 45.) with *bairith, bairada*.

Sanscrit, after the analogy of the third in *ta*, to be *ma*, that *bharêma* would be the counterpart of the Greek ροίμᾱν (-μην). This form must also, if not the oldest, ve been of long standing in Sanscrit. In the condition, wever, of the language as preserved, the *m*, as everyıere in the singular of the middle, has given way, and · *bharê(m)a* we find *bharê-y-a*, with an euphonic *y*, which inserted before all personal endings beginning with wels, in both active forms of the potential (compare 13.). In the forms burthened with an augment, the ding *a*, already much mutilated, has experienced a further akening by the transition of *a* to *i*; hence *astṛi-ṇv-i*, *ternebam*," for *astṛi-ṇv-a*, and this from *astṛiṇu-ma*, or a ill older *astṛi-ṇu-mam*, which would answer to the Doric ιτορ-νύ-μᾱν.

472. We return to the primary forms, in order to mark, that, in Sanscrit, not merely those forms end in *ê* hich, in the transitive active, end in *i*, and above have en classed opposite the Greek middle forms in αι; but also ose which, in the transitive active, exhibit no *i*, and, in e Greek middle, no αι. The collective primary forms run—

SING.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
(m)ê = μαι,	*vahê*,	*mahê* = μεθα.
sê = σαι,	*âthê*,	*dhvê*.
tê, = ται,	*âtê*,	*ntê* or *atê* = νται, αται (§. 459.)

he Zend follows, as far as evidence exists, the analogy the Sanscrit, yet the first person plural is not 𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬆 *mazê*, as would be expected from महे *mahê*, but 𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬙𐬆 *maidhê* (§. 41.);* from which it is clear, that as, fore I studied Zend, I had inferred from the Greek εθα, the Sanscrit *mahê* is a mutilation of मधे *madhê*. The reek μεθα, however, has on its side lost the terminating

* *Maidê*, also, occurs with the aspiration dropped.

i, and thus ranks with the Gothic forms, mentioned §. 467. In the secondary forms, महे *mahê* weakens itself by the loss of the initial element of the diphthong *ê* to *mahi*; on the other hand it extends itself, in a manner which argues a propensity to the greatest fullness of form, in the first person imperative to आमहै *âmahâi*; and analogous to this the dual exhibits together with वहे *vahê* the forms *vahi* and *âvahâi*. The Zend contains, also, in the special forms, the full ending *maidhê*; at least there is evidence of this last in the potential [illegible] *bûidhyôimaidhê*, "we might see," (Vend. S., p. 45) repeatedly.

473. If, in Sanscrit, all the endings of the middle primary forms resolve themselves into *ê*, I am not of opinion, therefore, that all these rest on the same principle: as to those to which, in the transitive active, *i*, and, in the Greek middle, *αι*, corresponds, I am much inclined to assume the dropping of a pronominal consonant between the two elements of the diphthong,* and, indeed, to explain (*m*)*ê*, *μαι*, out of *mami*; *sê*, *σαι*, out of *sasi*; *tê*, *ται*, out of *tati*; as we have before seen *τύπτει* arise out of *τύπτετι*, and, in the Prakrit, *bhaṇai* out of *bhanadi*; and as, also, in the Greek, the medial *τύπτεσαι* has mutilated itself further into *τύπτῃ*, and, in Sanscrit, *mê* into *ê*. In this *ê* the expression of the first person is thus contained in a twofold manner, once out of *a* for *ma*, and then out of *i* for *mi*; and thus, also, the reduplicated preterite in the third person exhibits *ê* opposite the Greek *ται* for *τατι*, and the Vêda dialect gives us, even in the third person for *shê-tê* = *κειται* of the ordinary language, the form *shay-ê* (euphonic for *shê-ê*,) and other similar mutilations of the endings of the middle voice, as *aduh*, "they milked," for *aduh-ata*; *duham*, "he should milk," for *dug-dhâm*, and this last euphonic for *duh-tâm* (Pânini VII. 1. 41.) If we now refer (*m*)*ê* = *μαι*, *sê* = *σαι*, and *tê* = *ται*, to

* So, also, Kuhn in his Tract (p. 25), mentioned at p. 654.

e probably pre-existing forms *mami*, *sasi*, *tati*, perhaps, so, *mâmi*, *sâti*, *tâti*,* the question arises which of the two pronouns expressed the subjective, and which the objective lation. Does *dat-sa(s)i*, *δίδο-σα(σ)ι* signify "give thee ou," or "give thou thee"? If we assume the former, we tain the same order as in *δίδοσθε*, *δίδοσθον*, &c., of which ore hereafter; and the remarkable case would occur, that, ter the suppression of the second pronominal consonant, e first, which, with its vowel, expressed the pronoun anding in the relation of the oblique case, has obtained the ppearance of designating the subjective, or of belonging the proper personal ending; for, in *δίδο-μα(μ)ι*, the feeling the language would better dispense with the expression f the "to me" or "me" (accusative) than with that of "I." I believe, whichever of the two explanations be e true, that we recognise in *δίδο-μαι* the same *μ*, as in *δίδωμι*. That this should so appear is, however, no proof of the real state of the case; for if, as much resembles the case in question, and as has often occurred in the history of language, reduplicated forms undergo interior mutilation, by extrusion of the consonant of the second syllable, the first syllable then acquires the appearance of belonging to the root itself. No one misses, from the point of sight of our current language, from preterites like *hielt* the initial consonant of the root: every one holds the *h* of *hielt* as identical with that of *halte*; and yet, as Grimm's acuteness has discovered (I. 103, 104.), the syllable *hi* of *hielt* has gained this place by reduplication. The Old High German form is *hialt*, *hi(h)alt*, and the Gothic *haihald*, whose second, and thus radical *h*, has escaped from the younger dialects. I now hold, contrary to my earlier opinion, the initial consonants of Sanscrit forms like

* Compare §. 470. *thâ-s*, *tâ-t*, *μᾱ-ν*.

têpima, "we expiated," for reduplicative, and I assume a extrusion of the base letter *t* of *tatapima*, producin *tâpima* = *taapima*, and hence, by weakening of the (= *a* + *a*) to *ê* (= *a* + *i*), *têpima*. In the Sclavonic *dam* "I give," also, and in the Lithuanian *dûmi*, the first syl lable has sprung from a reduplication, and the radica syllable has entirely vanished. More of this hereafter.

474. Let us now turn to those middle endings in *ê*, t which, in Greek, no *αι* corresponds, and we believe, that w recognise in the plural *dhvê* a pronominal nominativ form in the sense of §. 228.; thus *dhvê* out of *dhva-i*, of th base *dhva* for *tva*. The dual endings *âthê*, *âtê*, accor on the other hand, with neutral dual forms; such, fo instance, as *tê*, "these two." In the secondary forms *dhvam*, distributed into *dhu-am*, may, in regard of it ending, be compared with *yû-y-am*, "you," *vay-am*, "we;" but the dual expressions *âthâm*, *âtâm*, are related, in regard of their finals, to *dhvam*, as, by §. 206., *âu* (out of *âs*) is to *as*, and accord with *âvâm*, "we two," *yûvam*, "ye two." For the rest, आथे *âthê*, आते *âtê*, आथाम् *âthâm*, आताम् *âtâm*, appear to me mutilations of *tâthê*, &c. (see Kuhn, l. c., p. 31); just as we have found above in the Vêda dialect, in the third person singular imperative *âm* for *tâm* (p. 681). The syllables (*t*)*hâ*, (*t*)*â*, which express the pronoun residing in the relations of the objective cases, are represented in Greek by the σ in δίδο-σ-θον, ἐδίδο-σ-θον, ἐδιδο-σ-θην, which σ, after §. 99., explains itself very satisfactorily as out of τ, as θ with a preceding aspirate, or σ, is a very favourite union. If we oppose δίδο-σ-θον, &c., to the Sanscrit *dadh*-(*th*)*â*-*thê*, we perceive that the two languages, in dealing with their aboriginal form, so divide themselves, that the one has preserved only the consonant, the other only the vowel of the pronominal expression of the oblique case relation. In the second person plural the Sanscrit has dropped the vowel as well as the consonantal element of the inter-

pronoun; but I believe that *dhvê*, *dhvam*, in the
ı of the language immediately anterior, were
d-dhvam; thus *bhar-a-d-dhvê*, *abhar-a-d-dhvam* =
)ε, ἐφέρ-ε-σ-θε; for *T* sounds are easily suppressed
: and *dhv*: hence we find in the gerund for *dat-*
:er giving," *bhit-tvâ*, "after clearing," more com-
'*a-tvâ*, *bhi-tvâ*; and in the second aorist form the
)erson plural of the middle exhibits both *id-dhvam*
s-dhvam) and *i-dhvam*; finally, before the ending
he second person imperative singular, a radical *s*
erted into *d*: this *d* may, however, also be sup-
; hence *śâ-dhi*, as well as *śâd-dhi*, "reign thou," for
The root *as* forms merely *ê-dhi** for *ad-dhi*, out
As, then, this *é-di* is to the Greek ἴσ-θι, so is
vé for *bharaddhvê* to φέρεσθε, only that in the latter
.e Greek θ represents, not the Sanscrit *dh* (§. 16.), but
:ek τ, through the influence of the antecedent *s*.
also, in the imperative, φερέσθω, as a medial after

For after φερέτω, a medial itself by origin, had
)plied in practice with a purely active signification,
essity arose of forming from it a new medio-passive
old principle. Even the infinitives in σθαι appear
by a misdirected feeling, to have proceeded out of
inciple; for after the true signification of the
t in speech was extinguished, the spirit of the lan-
ound it adapted, everywhere by its insertion before a
the conversion of the latter into θ, to call forth a
passive signification. If, however, we disrobe the
δοσθαι of its *s*, and bring back the θ to τ, we arrive
'αι, which admits of comparison with the Sclavonic-
nian infinitive in *ti*, just as this last may itself be
t back by other channels to abstract substantives in *ti*

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think, immediately from *â-dhi*, with a weakening of the *â* to *é*.

in Sanscrit. The Vêda dialect also supplies us with infinitives in ध्यै *dhyâi*, as dative feminine abstractions in ध्यै *dhyai*, in which I can only recognise a transposition of the ordinary suffix ति *ti* (Gramm. Crit. §. 640. Obs. 3.).

475. If we cast a glance back over the attempts we have made to explain the origin of the endings of the middle voice, the theory, that they depend on the doubling of each personal designation as it occurs, will be found to rest principally on the fact, that, in the Greek ἐφερόμην, the Sanscrit *abharatâs*, and Vêda dialect *bharatât*, one and the same personal expression is doubled, as also on the principle that it is most natural so to express ideas like "I give to me," "I rejoice me"; in such a manner that the "I," as well as the "me," or "to me"—the subjective as well as the objective case relation—should find a formal representative in one and the same pronominal base. Apart, however, from ἐφερόμην, forms like φέρεστε, and the supposed Sanscrit *bharaddhvê* for the existing *bharadhvê*, would admit yet another exposition, namely, that the Greek σ did not stand euphonically for τ, but on its own account, and as the base consonant of the reflective (§. 341.); which, although belonging to the third person, yet willingly undertook the functions of both the others. In Sanscrit, the *s* of the reflective base before the personal endings *dhvê* and *dhvam*, by the universal laws of sound, would either become *d*, or be dropped; and so far in this way, also, the Greek φέρεσθε, ἐφέρεσθε, would go along with a Sanscrit *bhara(d)dhvê*, *abhara(d)dhvam*; for the above supposed forms, such as *bharatâthê*, opposed to φέρεσθον, we should have to assume *bharasâthê*, out of *bharasvathê*. Were this assumption founded, as probably a similar principle would have prevailed in all the medial products, the finals (*m*)ê, *tê*, μαι, ται, would have to be explained as not from *mami*, *tati*, but from *masi*, *tasi*, or *masvi*, *tasvi*. The

† Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words.

second person would remain *sasi*, but the second *s* would pertain, not to the second person, but to the reflective, and we should then refer, also, the *s* of *abharathâs* to the reflective, and necessarily suffer the *μην* of *ἐφερόμην* to stand totally isolated, without sympathy with the old principle.

476. With respect to the Latin, it was in the "Annals of Oriental Literature" (London, 1820. p. 62), that it was first observed that the passive *r* might owe its origin to the reflective. I am now the more decided in giving a preference to this hypothesis over that which resorts to the verb substantive that I have since recognised in the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, which I had not then drawn within the circle of my inquiries into comparative language, a similar, and, in truth, universally recognised procedure; not, however, necessarily that aboriginal one which, in the remotest æra of the formation of the language, must have governed those medial forms which are common to the Greek and Asiatic sisterhood, but I rather assume a gradual inroad of the reflective of the third person into the second and first, as a substitute for some older and more decided expression of each person, on whom the action works retro-actively. The Old Sclavonic appends the accusative of the reflective to the transitive verb, in order to give it a reflective or passive signification; for instance, ꙗ҂тѫ *chtû*, "*lego*," becomes *chtûsya*, "*legor*"; and thus in the second and third person ꙗ҂тѣшисѧ *chteshisya*, ꙗ҂тѣтысѧ *chtetysya*, plural ꙗ҂тѣмсѧ *chtemsya*, &c. (Dobrowsky, p. 544. Kopitar's Glag. p. 69. xvii.) In the Bohemian, *se* is not so much as graphically connected with the verb, and may stand as well before as after it, but is used by preference for the expression of the passive only in the third person (Dobr. Böhm. Lehrg. p. 182), which may also be the case with the Old Sclavonic. In the Lithuanian such verbal expressions have merely a reflective signification, but bear more the appearance of a

grammatical unity, and therefore more resemble th Latin passive, because it is not a positive case of th reflective pronoun, whose accusative is *sawen* (p. 477),* bu only its initial consonant, which is appended to the ver either immediately, or with an *e* prefixed. The latte occurs in the persons which end in *e* or *i*, the former which, before the appended *es*, becomes *i*. Compare, i this respect, the Old Latin *amari-er* from *amare-er*, wit forms like *wadinnati-es* for *wadinnate-es*. The dual ending *wa* and *ta* convert their *a* into *o*, and a simple *u* of the first person becomes *û*. I annex here the present o *wadinnûs*, "I name myself,"† opposite the simple transitive.

SINGULAR.

1. *wadinnu*,	*wadinnûs*.
2. *wadinni*,	*wadinnies*.
3. *wadinna*,	*wadinnas*.

DUAL.

1. *wadinnawa*,	*wadinnawos*.
2. *wadinnata*,	*wadinnatos*.
3. like sing.	like sing.

PLURAL.

1. *wadinname*,	*wadinnamies*.
2. *wadinnate*,	*wadinnaties*.
3. like sing.	like sing.

* It would appear, that, together with this *sawen*, or, in the dative, *sa* a kindred form *si* co-existed, as, in Old Sclavonic *si* with *sebye*, and fro this *si* it is plain that the suffix of the verba reflexiva proceeded; and i the third person, instead of a simple *s* the full *si* may stand; for instanc *wadinnas* or *wadinnasi*, "he names himself." With verbs, also, begi ning with *at*, *ap*, and some other prepositeS, or the negation *ne*, the refle tive is interposed in the shape of *si*, but may also be appended to the en for instance, *issilaikaus* (*is-si-laikaus*), "I sustain me."

† Compare Sanscrit *vad*, "speak."

To these forms the Latin passive is strikingly
only that here the composition is already ob-
as the sense of independence of the reflective
ı is not here maintained by its mobility, as in the
ıian, where, under the above-cited conditions, it is
before the verb. By the favourite interchange,
tween *s* and *r*, a scission has occurred between the
suffix and the simple reflective; for the persons
with consonants, a connecting vowel was necessary
ı the adjunction of the *r*, as such stands in *amatur*,
r, as seems to me through the influence of the

The imperative forms *amato-r* and *amanto-r*
d no auxiliary vowel. In *amamur* the *s* of *amamus*
en way before the reflective, which is not surprising,
s does not belong to the personal designation, and,
ıcrit, is given up also in the simple verb, in the
ıry forms, and occasionally even in the primary.
r, on the other hand, the personal character is itself
ed to the suffix, for *amemr* was not possible, and
· was forestalled for the plural (instead of *amemusr*).
ıris, *ameris*, &c., there is either a conversion from
or the personal character *s* has been unable to
ınd the inclination to become *r* when placed between
wels (§. 22.); and the reflective has protected its
l *s*, like as the comparative suffix in the neuter
s *ius* opposed to *ior* (§. 298.), and *i* instead of *r* comes
as a connecting vowel.* In the singular im-

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t the *i* of *amaris* belongs to the original ending *si*, as Pott conjec-
ym. Forsch. p. 135), I cannot admit, because I hold this kind of
ɔrmation far younger than the period when the *i* of the active
n in Latin was still extant, as it has also vanished in Greek
ı trace, except in ἐσσί. In the secondary forms, however, it had
ed before the individualization of the languages here compared,
re find *amabaris*, *ameris*.

perative person *ama-re*, the reflective, in preference to tl other passive forms, has protected its vowel; and if v commute this *re* for *se*, we obtain the perfect accusati of the simple pronoun. We have already attended to th old infinitive form *amari-er*, produced by transposition fo *amare-re* (p. 662). If we prefer, however, which I do not to exempt the imperative *amare* from the universal prin ciple of the Latin passive, we might recognise in it remnant of the Hellene-Sanscrit and Zend construction and accommodate *re* as a personal ending to *σο*, स्व *sva*, *sv ha*, of which more hereafter.

478. That the second person plural *amamini* steps out o all analogy with the other passive persons is easy t observe, and nothing but the circumstance, that the earlie procedure of grammar did not trouble itself at all with th foundation of lingual phenomena, and that the relationshi between the Greek and Latin was not systematically an scientifically traced out, can account for the fact, that th form *amamini* had so long found its place in the para digms, without raising the question how and whence i came there. I believe I was the first to bring this unde discussion in my Conjugation System (Frankf. a. M. 1816 p. 105. ff.); and I repeat with confidence the explanation there given, namely, that *amamini* is a passive participle in the masculine nominative plural; thus *amamini* for *amamini estis*, as, in Greek, *τετυμμένοι εἰσί*. The Latin suffix is *minu-s*, and corresponds to the Greek *μενος* and Sanscrit *mân-as*. From the fact, however, that these participles in Latin are thrust aside in ordinary practice, *mini* has in the second person plural—where it has continued as i embalmed, as far as the practice of the language is con cerned—assumed the existence of a verbal termination, an has thus also, having lost the consciousness of its nomina nature, renounced its distinction of gender, and it appendage *estis*. If we found *amaminæ* for the feminin

mamina for the neuter, we should be spared the
: of seeking an explanation for *amamini*, inasmuch
ould partly be afforded by the language itself. It
e suitable here to bring to remembrance a similar
ure in Sanscrit: this assumes for *dâtâ* (from the
târ, §. 144.) properly *daturus*, the sense of *daturus est*,
t reference to gender; thus, also, of *datura* and
n est, although this form of word, which is also a
ntative of the Latin nomen agentis in *tor*, has
inine in *trî* at its command (see *trî-c*, §. 119.),
e giveress is as little called *dâtâ* as the giver in
lator. In the plural, also, *dâtâras*, used as a sub-
e, stands for "the givers," and in the character of
al person, "they will give;" this in all genders;
e in the dual, *dâtârâu*. The procedure of the
it is thus still more remarkable than that of the
because its *dâtâ*, *dâtârâu*, *dâtârâs*, has maintained
the ordinary nominal usage of the language. It
efore due merely to the circumstance, that the
ge, in its condition as handed down to us, could no
deal *ad libitum* with the forms in the sense of future
ples, that *dâtâ*, *dâtârâu*, *dâtârâs*, where they signify
abunt, have lost all consciousness of their adjectival
and their capacity for distinction of gender, and
ssumed altogether the character of personal termi-
s. To return, however, to the Latin *amamini*: the
rer of my Conjugation System, in the "Jena
urzeitung (if I mistake not, Grotefend), supports
planation given by the forms *alumnus*, *vertumnus*,
evidently belong to these participial formations, but
ost the *i*. This, however, has been preserved in *ter-*
if, as Lisch, correctly and beyond dispute, lays down,
sider it as expressing "that which is overstepped,"
entify its root with the Sanscrit *tar* (*tṛi*).* *Fe-mina*

* Vocalismus, p. 174.

(as giving birth, and therefore middle) I had before recognised as a formation belonging to the same category: the root is *fē*, from which also *fetus*, *fetura*, and *fecundus*. *Gemini* moreover, as "the born together," (of the root *gen*) may be considered as a mutilation of *genmini* or *genimini*.

479. How stands the case now with the imperative *amaminor*? Are we to consider its *r* as identical with that of *amor*, *amator*, *amantor*? I think not; for it was not necessary to express here the passive or reflective meaning by an appended pronoun, as the medio-passive participial suffix was fully sufficient for this purpose. At most, then, we seek in *amaminor* for a plural case-ending as in *amamini*; and this is afforded us, as I have observed in my Conjugation System (p. 106), by the Eugubian Tables, where, for instance, we find *subator* for the Latin *subacti*, *screhitor* for *scripti*.* The singulars, however, of the second masculine declension in the Umbrian end in *o*: we find *orto* for *ortus*, *subato* for *subactus*. Now it is remarkable that, in accordance with this singular form in *o*, there are extant also, in Latin, singular imperatives in *mino*, namely, *famino* in Festus, and *præfamino* in Cato de R. R. To these forms, before described, we can add *fruimino*, which Struve (Lat. Decl. and Conj. p. 143) cites from an inscription in Gruter, "*is eum agrum nei habeto nei fruimino*," where the form in question plainly belongs to the third person, by which it still more conclusively proclaims itself to be a participle, in which character it may with equal right be applied to one as to the other person.

"Remark.—Gräfe, in his work, 'The Sanscrit verb compared with the Greek and Latin from the point of view of Classical Philology,' remarks, p. 120, that he once considered, as I do, the form in *mini* as a participle in the

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* The ending *or* accords perfectly with the Sanscrit *âs* (*a*+*as*) and Gothic *ôs* (§. 227.); while the Latin *i* has obtruded itself from the pronominal declension (§. 228.).

egory of the Greek *μενος*, but now considers it, with con-
nce, as a remnant of an old analogy of the Greek
nitive in *εμεναι*, which, having been originally passive,
first been applied to the imperative in Latin, and
nce had been further diffused. How near the impera-
e and infinitive come together, and how their forms
interchanged, Gräfe thinks he has shewn. l. c. p. 58. ff.,
ere, namely, the Greek second person in *ον* (*τύψον*) is de-
ed from the Sanscrit first person singular in *âni*; but
ich is followed by the remark, that however *tiṣṭhâni*
should stand') is manifestly and strikingly like the
initive *ἱστάναι*, if we, moreover, consider that *ai* in San-
it is only the diphthong nearest to *i* (in Greek, however,
rarest, see Vocalism. p. 193). We have, however, to re-
mber, that, in *ἱστάναι*, the *α* belongs to the root, and that,
refore, for comparison with the Sanscrit imperative, if
h be admitted, we can retain nothing but *ναι*, as opposed
âni. Gräfe goes on: 'It would be easy to imagine
t the first person plural तिष्ठाम *tiṣṭhâma* had its counter-
rt in the other infinitive form *ἱστάμεν*, properly *ἱστάμε*,*
stare. Finally, it may not be left unobserved, that
Greek and Sanscrit imperative in *θι*, *dhi*, is again the
rm of the infinitive in the Sclavonic dialects,† and that
stom admits the frequent use of the infinitive for the
perative in Greek.' I could hardly have expected that
e personal endings of the Sanscrit imperative could lead
so many and various comparisons. It appears, however,
me ill suited to the spirit of classical philology, without
cessity to attribute to the Greek, among others, that it
as borrowed its second person imperative in *ον* from any

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* I consider the *ν* very essential, just because I deduce *μεν* and *μεναι*
rom the medial participial suffix *μενος*.

† I explain their *ti* as identical with the abstract substantive suffix
ti.

Sanscrit first person. I find it still less congenial to the spirit of a more universal comparative philology, than Gräfe, who has before overlooked, in his comparisons, many laws of sound incontrovertibly established, should give too willing an ear to mere similitudes of sound; for instance, when he explains the root चर् *char*, 'to go,' by the periphrasis, 'to move scraping along on the ground,' and, p. 32, places together लप् *lap*, 'speak,' *lappen*, 'to patch,' *schlabbern*, 'to slabber,' and λαππω. I was not aware that a German *sch* anywhere corresponded to a Sanscrit *ch*, but I knew that it did so to *f* (or *v*), in observance of the law of displacement (§. 87.), and of the favourite practice of exchange between gutturals and labials. Remark the relation of *chatvâras* to the Gothic *fidvôr* and our *vier*, as also that of *panchan* to *fünF*, and you will be satisfied with the identification of the Sanscrit *char*, 'go,' and Gothic *farya* (preterite *fôr*) 'go,' 'wander,' *fahren*. If, however, we are to admit that any infinitive has arisen out of any imperative person, it would be the least far-fetched supposition which derives the Sanscrit infinitive and the Latin supine in *tum* from the third person imperative तु *tu*, with the addition of *m*, for instance, *bhâtum*, 'to shine,' from *bhâtu*, 'let him shine;' *pâtum*, 'to rule,' from *pâtu*, 'let him rule.' In *kartum*, 'to make,' from *karôtu*, 'let him make,' the class vowel only would be thrust aside. As, however, Gräfe (l. c. p. 58) has found a jest in what I have elsewhere said, and mean to repeat, of the first person imperfect, I must take care that he does not take for earnest what I mean as a jest. We do not, in truth, go so far in deriving *bhâtum* from *bhâ* as in deducing ἱστάναι from तिष्ठानि *tishṭhâni* (Zend *histânı* 'I should stand'; but I can find no other relationship between *bhâ-tu* and *bhâ-tum* than this, that in the infinitive, as an abstract substantive, the action is personified through a form which comes near the expression of the third person in the imperative. I recognise in the suffix *tu*, as also in

(another class of abstracts, with which the Sclavonic and Lithuanian infinitive is connected), various gradations of one and the same pronoun of the third person—as in the interrogative we find the forms *ka*, *ki*, *ku*,—and so far a relationship between the nominal classes in question and the endings *ti* and *tu* of *bhâti*, 'he shines,' and *bhâtu*, 'he may shine.' The coincidence is thus in any case not quite so fortuitous as that between *ἱστά-ναι* and *tishṭhâni*. Whosoever derives the former from the latter cannot escape from bringing into this family the Gothic infinitive in *an*, especially as the *a* of *stand-an* does not, like that of *ἱστά-ναι*, belong to the root. Historically, however, as I doubt not, the German infinitive belongs to the class of the Sanscrit abstracts in *ana*, as *bandh-ana*, 'the binding' =Gothic *bind-an*."

INFLUENCE OF THE WEIGHT OF THE PERSONAL TERMINATIONS.

490. The weight of the personal terminations exercises, in Sanscrit and Greek, and, as far as we have evidence, also in Zend, an influence on the antecedent radical or class syllable, obvious and comprehensive, though till lately unobserved.* Before light terminations extensions are frequent, which, before the heavier, are withdrawn; so that in many anomalous verbs the entire body of the root can only be maintained before the light terminations, but, before the heavy, mutilation occurs. For instance, the root अस् *as*, "be," retains its *a* before the one, but rejects it before the other, as if it had been overgrown by the augment; hence, *asmi*, "I am," but *smas*, "we are," *stha*, "you are," *santi*, "they are." We see, however, that this mutilation had not yet established itself

* I was first led to the observation of this interesting phenomenon in my investigation of the origin of the German Ablaut (Berlin Jahrb. Feb. 1827, p. 259, and Vocalismus, p. 13).

at the period of the unity of the language; for the Greek protects, in the verb substantive, the radical vowel degenerated to ε, even before the heavier terminations, and opposes ἐσμές, ἐστέ, ἐστόν, to the Sanscrit *smas*, *stha*, *sthas*, *stas*. The Lithuanian and Sclavonic, also, testify to the comparatively recent loss of the Sanscrit *a* before the weightier terminations. Compare

		SINGULAR.	
SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LITH.	SCLAVONIC.
अस्मि *as-mi*,	ἐμ-μί,*	*es-mi*,	ѥсмь *yes-my*.
असि *a-si*,†	ἐσ-σί,	*es-si*,	ѥси *ye-si*.
अस्ति *as-ti*,	ἐσ-τί,	*es-ti*,	ѥсть *yes-ty*.
		DUAL.	
स्वस् *s-vas*,	. . .	*es-wà*,	ѥсва *yes-va*.
स्थस् *s-thas*,	ἐσ-τόν,	*es-ta*,	ѥста *yes-ta*.
स्तस् *s-tas*,	ἐσ-τόν,	like the Sing.	ѥста *yes-ta*.
		PLURAL.	
स्मस् *s-mas*,	ἐσ-μές,	*es-me*,	ѥсмы *yes-my*.
स्थ *s-tha*,	ἐσ-τέ,	*es-te*,	ѥсте *yes-te*.
सन्ति *s-anti*,	(σ)-εντί,	like the Sing.	сѫть *s-ąty*.

"Remark.—It is possible that the suppression of the radical vowel may have begun with the third person plural, whose termination *anti* is also the heaviest of all, and it may have existed in this position even before the migration of the language, and its manifold individualizations; at least, all the languages under comparison exhibit in this case a wonderful harmony scarcely attributable to chance: and, in addition to these, the Latin *sunt*, as opposed

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* By assimilation out of ἐσ-μι, as, before, ἄμμες, ὔμμες, out of ἄσμες ὔσμες. Vêda dialect *asmé*, *yushmé*.

† Irregular for *as-si*, on which rest the Greek and Lithuanian forms. The Sclavonic, however, has likewise dropped one of the sibilants.

to *estis*, as well as the Gothic *sind*, are in accordance. On the other hand, the dropping of the *e* in *sumus* first appears on Roman ground, and, in the singular likewise, *sum* for *esum* is quite solitary. After the falling away of the initial and terminating vowels of *asmi* in the Latin, the appendage of an auxiliary vowel became necessary, and the influence of the liquids prevailed in favour of *u*. This *u* remained, also, in the plural, where *smus* was possible, but not favoured, as the Latin has generally gone out of its way to avoid the immediate connection of the ending *mus* with roots ending in consonants; whence we have *vol-u-mus* opposed to *vultis*; *ferimus* to *fer-tis*, *fers*, *fert*, (Sanscrit *bibhṛi-mas*, *bibhṛi-tha*, *bi-bhar-si*, *bibhar-ti* from *bhṛi* class 3); *edi-mus* opposed to *estis*, *ês*, *es-t* (Sanscrit *ad-mas*, *at-ṭha*, *at-si*, *at-ti*). To the Greek, in the case of the third person plural, ἐντί, if, as I scarcely doubt, it stands for σ-εντί (=Zend *h-ĕnti*), nothing has remained but the termination, as in the Sanscrit, in the second medial person, αι for *a*(*s*)-*sê*. The Gothic we have excluded from the above comparison, although *i-m*, *i-s*, *is-t*, rest upon *as-mi*, *a-si*, *as-ti*; but, in the plural, *sind* alone is organic, for *siy-um*, *siy-uth* Dual *siy-yâ*, (see §. 441,) *siy-uts* have the ending of the preterite, and belong to a secondary root *siy*, which proceeds from a Sanscrit potential *syâm*, in which *sy* (=*si*) has changed itself to *siy*.

481. All Sanscrit roots of the third class in *â* (§. 109ª. 3.) depend, on account of the anterior burthen created in the reduplication syllable, on the influence of the weight of the personal endings, so that they retain their *â* only before the light endings, but before the heavier either altogether suppress or shorten it, or transpose the length of the *â* sound into that of the lighter *i*; and this is one of the evidences, from which I deduce the maxim—very important for the history of language—that the organism of the lingual body sustains a greater weight in the *a* than in the *i*

sounds, the long *â* being heavier than the long *î*, and the short *a* heavier than the short *i* (see Vocalismus, Obser. 12, p. 214). The roots *dâ*, "give," and *dhâ*, "place," suppress their *â* before heavy terminations, with exception of the third person plural, if, as I prefer, we make the division *dada-ti*, not *dad-ati* (compare §. 458.); for originally *dadâ-nti* certainly stood, out of which we never could obtain *dad-nti*, but well might *dada-nti*, and, out of this, a new sacrifice to the reduplication syllable, *dada-ti*. The Greek only shortens the long vowel before the increasing terminations, and makes διδο, τιθε, ἱστᾰ, out of διδω, τιθη, ἱστᾱ. In the Latin, Sclavonic, and Lithuanian, the influence of the personal endings on the antecedent syllable has utterly vanished, and *dă* has also lost the original length of its vowel and the reduplication syllable. The Lithuanian and Sclavonic have, on the other hand, saved their reduplication, but have absolutely suppressed the root vowel, which the Sanscrit only does before heavy terminations. As, however, the *d* also vanishes before endings which commence with *m* and *s*—in Lithuanian also with *w*—but before *t* passes into *s* (§. 457.), the reduplication in these verbs is almost totally overlooked, and in *dům̊i*, дамь *damy*, which are mutilations of *dů-dh-mi*, *da-dh-my*, the reduplication has, by thrusting out the most essential element of the entire form, acquired the appearance of a radical syllable. It is, however, certain, that in *dům̊i*, *damy*, the syllables *dů*, *da*, are identical with those of *dů-s-ti*, *da-s-ty*, for *dů-d-ti*, *da-d-ty* thus merely reduplicators.*

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* We here confirm the observations of §. 442., Obs. 7. In *důdu*, according to the usual conjugation, *důd* has constituted itself as root, and the *a* of *důd-a-wa*, *důd-a-me*, has thus nothing more to do with the *â* of the Sanscrit *dadâmi*, or the ω, ο of the Greek δίδωμι, δίδομεν, but belongs to the class with the *a* of *weź-a-wa*, *wez-a-mè*.

SINGULAR.

ZEND.	GREEK.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.	LATIN.
ladhâ-mi,	*δίδω-μι,*	*dů(d)-mi,*	*da(d)-my,*	*do.*
ladhâ-hi,	*δίδω-ς,*	*dů(d)-i,*	*da(d)-si,*	*da-s.*
ladhâi-ti,	*δίδω-τι,*	*důs-ti,*	*das-ty,*	*dat.*

DUAL.

....	....	*dů(d)-wa,*	*dad-e-va,*	...
laṡ-tô?[1]	*δίδο-τον,*	*důs-ta,*	*das-ta,*	...
laṡ-tô?[2]	*δίδο-τον,*	like Sing.	*das-ta,*	...

PLURAL.

lad-ĕ-mahî,[3]	*δίδο-μες,*	*dů(d)-me,*	*da(d)-my,*	*da-mus.*
laṡ-ta?[4]	*δίδο-τε,*	*důs-te,*	*das-te,*	*da-tis.*
ladĕ-nti,[5]	*διδό-ντι,*	like Sing.	*dad-yaty,*	*da-nt.*

eek the influence of the weight of the personal end- the root syllable has penetrated further than in n this respect, that even the aorist forms, set free plication, *ἔθην* and *ἔδων*, have shortened their vowel increasing ending, while *ἔστην* (=*ἔστᾱν*), in ac- vith similar Sanscrit aorist forms, allows no influ- he weight of the endings. In Sanscrit, from the ented preterite *adadâ-m* comes the plural *adad-ma,* ek, *ἐδίδο-μεν* from *ἐδίδω-ν*; but from *adâm* comes but the root remains undiminished. It may be t to give here in full the two augmented preterites, distinguished in the two languages by retaining aside the reduplication syllable.

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the second dual person in Zend is not yet identified, it can be deduced with tolerable certainty from the third person, tant in *tó* (§. 464.), for which, in the second person of the pri- , we may expect *thó*, the aspirate of which, however, has been anish in [illegible] *daṡtó* (see §. 453.). Upon [illegible] *ṡ* for [illegible] *d* see

[2] See §. 102. [3] §. 30. [4] §. 102. and §. 453.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
adadâ-m,	ἐδίδω-ν,	*adad-va,*	. . . .	*adad-ma,*	ἐδίδο-μες.
adadâ-s,	ἐδίδω-ς,	*adat-tam,*	ἐδίδο-τον,	*adat-ta,*	ἐδίδο-τε,
adadâ-t,	ἐδίδω-(τ),	*adat-tâm,*	ἐδιδό-την,	*adad-us,**	ἐδίδο-ν,
adâ-m,	ἔδω-ν,	*adâ-va,*	. . . .	*adâ-ma,*	ἔδο-μες,
adâ-s,	ἔδω-ς,	*adâ-tam,*	ἔδο-τον,	*adâ-ta,*	ἔδο-τε,
adâ-t,	ἔδω-τ,	*adâ-tâm,*	ἐδό-την,	*ad-us,**	ἔδο-ν.

482. The Sanscrit roots *hâ*, "leave,"† *hâ*, "go," and *mâ*, "measure" (compare *μέ-τρον, μιμέομαι*, &c.)—the two last have the medial, the first only the pure active form—weaken, before most of the heavy endings, their *â* to *î*, and the two last substitute also, in their reduplication syllable, a short *i* for short *a*; for instance, *jahî-mas*, "we leave," opposed to *jahâ-mi*, "I leave"; *mimê* (from *mimî-mê*), "I measure," *mimî-mahê*, "we measure." The roots स्था *sthâ*, "stand," and घ्रा *ghrâ*, "smell," follow a peculiar path, inasmuch as a vowel shortening, which probably at its origin, as in the Greek ἵστᾱμι, ἵστᾰμεν, only obtained before heavy endings, has extended itself to the other persons through which the radical *a*, thus shortened, would be treated just like the unradical of the first and sixth class (109ª. 1.). The Indian grammarians thence reckon these roots as under the first class, although they assume a reduplication syllable, which, however, substitutes an *i* for *a*, as I doubt not, on the ground that the reduplication syllable, which is seeking generally for relief from weight, and therefore, converting long into short vowels, may not mix up the heaviest among the short vowels with the length derived from position; hence, *tishṭhâmi, tishṭhasi, tishṭhati*. &c., Zend *histâmi*

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* See §. 462.

† Compare, with Pott, χη-ρα, "widow," as the "abandoned" or "left." In Sanscrit *vi-dhavâ* is "the manless."

, *histati; jighrâmi, jighrasi, jighrati,* &c. The Greek s this principle of the weakening of the vowel, also, there is not, as in the cases of *ἵστημι, κίχρημι,* any im- te reason for it by the doubling of consonants. *Πίμ-* and *πίμπρημι* are, however, striking and peculiar in ding a nasal, a stranger to the root, to the reduplicating le. These forms, however, accord with the Sanscrit in- e verbs, which love a great impression in the repeated le, and hence change to the Guna letters the vowels sus- le of Guna, but double the whole root in roots ending nasals, and, in some cases, also represent the liquids *r* by the nasal liquids which accord with the organ of the consonants; for instance, *jangam,** from *gam,* "go"; *hal,* from *chal,* "totter"; *chanchur* (for *chanchar*), from 'go." In this sense I assume *πίμπρημι, πίμπλημι,* for *ημι, πίλπλημι*: thus, also, *βαμβαίνω,* with the kindred *βαμβάλω* (compare *balbus*).

. The roots of the second class (§. 109ª. 3.), in San- lo not load themselves with reduplication, neither do ubject a concluding *â* to the influence of the weight of rsonal endings. The Greek, however, has here also permitted a wider range to that influence, inasmuch as *φᾱμί*), in this respect, follows the analogy of *ἵστημι.* are—

IGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
ni,	*φᾱ-μί,*	*bhâ-vas,*	. . . .	*bhâ-mas,*	*φă-μές.*
i,	*φή-ς,*	*bhâ-thas,*	*φă-τόν,*	*bhâ-tha,*	*φă-τέ.*
i,	*φᾱ-τί,*	*bhâ-tas,*	*φă-τόν,*	*bhâ-nti,*	*φă-ντί.*
-m,	*ἔφᾱ-ν,*	*abhâ-va,*	. . . .	*abhâ-ma,*	*ἔφă-μες.*
-s,	*ἔφᾱ-ς,*	*abhâ-tam,*	*ἔφă-τον,*	*abhâ-ta,*	*ἔφă-τε.*
-t,	*ἔφᾱ-(τ),*	*abhâ-tâm,*	*ἐφά-την,*	*abhâ-n,*	*ἔφă-ν.*

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ompare with this the Gothic *gagga* (=*ganga*), "I go," where the yllable has lost the nasal.

This analogy is followed in Sanscrit, among other roots "go," on which the Greek ἴημι, properly " make to go, to which the syllable of reduplication has lent a ca signification, as to the Latin *sisto* opposed to *sto*, wl Greek ἵστημι (=σίστημι) unites the primitive with the tive signification. While in ἵ-στημι the spiritus aspe so often does, stands for σ, in ἵημι it is the represent the lost semi-vowel *y*, as among others in ὅς for यस् *yas*, (§. 382.); thus, ἵ-ημι for *yι-yημι*: on the other hand, c the future discharged of the reduplication ἥ-σω wi Sanscrit *yâ-syâmi*. This ἵημι still bends to the weight endings; thus ἵεμες, ἵετε opposed to *yâ-mas*, *yâ-tha*. root *yâ*, I think with Pott (Etym. Forsch. p. 201), we refer the middle of εἶμι, which itself belongs to the r "go," which in Greek, by analogy to ἴ-μες, should forr ἴσαι, ἴται, opposed to the Sanscrit *i-yê* (from *i-mê*), *i-s* The form ἵε-μαι, however, explains itself out of *yâ* by a ization of the semi-vowel, and thinning of the α to duly considering, what I think I have proved, that the nal endings exercise a more comprehensive influence preceding syllable in Greek than in Sanscrit, and tha ending in vowels shorten one originally long before endings, the verbs ἧμαι and κεῖ-μαι might surprise us in these the heavy medial endings have not shorten antecedent vowel. Of κεῖμαι we shall treat hereafte ἦ-μαι owes the retention of the length of its vowel circumstance that its root was originally terminate consonant, and I have already, in my glossary, ident with the Sanscrit *âs*, "sit," the *s* of which has remai the Greek only before τ; hence ἧσ-ται = आस्ते *âs-tê*, ἧ आस्त *âs-ta*.* It accords, however, with the syst

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* On the other hand, εἶ-σα, &c., belong to the root ϜΕΔ (ἑ-ρα), *sad* (compare Pott, Etym. Forsch. p. 278, and Kühner, p. 242)

ilibrium that *κάθημαι* cannot bear the σ of *ἧσ-το*, together th the burthen of the augment; hence *καθῆσ-το*; but *ἵθη-το*.

484. The Sanscrit root शास् *śâs*, "rule," exhibits a uliar capability for the weight of the personal endings, smuch as its long *â* remains undisturbed before those ıvy endings which begin with the weakest consonants mi-vowels and nasals); thus *śâs-vas*, "we two rule," *-mas*, "we rule;" but, before the strong consonants of ıvy endings, weakens itself to the shortness of the htest vowel, namely, to *i*, whence, for instance, *śish-tha*, *egitis*," opposed to *śâs-si*, "*regis*," *śâs-ti*, "*regit*." We may cognise in this a forerunner of the German conjugation rms, such as *binda*, *bindam*, *bundum*, opposed to the onosyllabic singular preterite *band*, *bans-t*, p. 108.

485. The roots of the ninth class (§. 109[a]. 5.) are so far ı accordance with the principle of the roots *hâ* and *mâ*, ıentioned in §. 482., in that they weaken to *i* the *â* of the lass syllable *nâ*, in the same places in which those roots xperience the same relief in their radical syllable. The Greek, on the other hand, shortens the long Doric *ᾱ* (*n*) to *ι*. Compare—

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
krî-ṇa-mi,[1]	*πέρ-νᾱ-μι*.	*krî-ṇî-vas*,	. . . . .
krî-ṇâ-si,	*πέρ-νᾱ-ς*.	*krî-ṇî-thas*,	*πέρ-νᾰ-τον*.
krî-ṇâ-ti,	*πέρ-νᾱ-τι*.	*krî-ṇî-tas*,	*πέρ-νᾰ-τον*.
akrî-ṇâ-m,	*ἐπέρ-νᾱ-ν*.	*akrî-ṇî-va*,	. . . . .
akrî-ṇâ-s,	*ἐπέρ-νᾱ-ς*.	*akrî-ṇî-tam*,	*ἐπέρ-νᾰ-τον*.
akrî-ṇâ-t,	*ἐπέρ-νᾱ-(τ)*.	*akrî-ṇî-tâm*,	*ἐπερ-νά-την*.

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[1] spiritus of *ἧμαι* is inorganic, *i. e.* not from σ; as, for instance, in *ὕδωρ* opposed to उद् *uda*, *unda*.

PLURAL.

krî-ṇî-mas,	πέρ-νᾰ-μες.
krî-ṇî-tha,	πέρ-νᾰ-τε.
krî-ṇa-nti,	(περ-νά-ντι).
akrî-ṇî-ma,	ἐπέρ-νᾰ-μες.
akrî-ṇî-ta,	ἐπέρ-νᾰ-τε.
akrî-ṇa-n,[2]	(ἐπέρ-νᾰ-ν).

[1] क्रीणामि *krînâmi*, "I purchase," has *n* for *n* in the middl through the euphonic influence of the antecedent *r*. The relat πέρνημι rests on the favourite exchange between gutturals ar through which the Greek verb has assumed an apparent relat περάω, "to sail through" (=Sanscrit *pârayâmi*, where the π is

[2] If we make the divisions *krí-n'-anti*, *akrí-n'-an* (§. 458.), we mu that the middle syllable suppresses its vowel before all those hea which themselves begin with a vowel; thus, also, in the middl from *krí-nî-mé*. For the special purposes of Sanscrit Gramma may hold good; but in considering the historical developement o the language, I am more inclined to the belief that the sylla shortened itself before *nti* and *n* (older *nt*) instead of converting the long form of the lighter *i* sound, in order to avoid combining vowel and position. The middle-dual endings *âthé*, *âté*, *âthâm*, not require the weakening of the *nâ* to *ṇî*, since without this, dinary rule of sound, two homogeneous vowels melt into one lo that *nâ* + *âthé* gives a lighter form than *nî* + *âthé*, which lat give *ny-âté*, while from *nâ* + *âté* we get merely *nâté*.

486. With Sanscrit verbs of the second and thi with a radical vowel capable of Guna,* the infl the weight of the personal endings is shewn in t Guna takes place before the light (§. 26.), but b heavy the pure radical vowel reappears. The s

* The Sanscrit conjugation system only allows the Guna to sl before simple consonants, and to long at the end of roots. O hand, Guna never takes place in the middle of the roots, wh length by nature and position.

is respected by the Greek, which, however, affords no example, except that of εἶμι (§. 26.), of a verb with a radical vowel capable of Guna, which, in the special tenses (§. 109.[a]), connects the personal sign directly with the root. Compare—

SING.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
i-mi,	εἶ-μι.	*i-vas,*	. . .	*i-mas,*	ἴ-μες.
i-shi,	εἶ-ς.	*i-thas,*	ἴ-τον,	*i-tha,*	ἴ-τε.
i-ti,	εἶ-τι.	*i-tas,*	ἴτον,	*y-anti,*	ἴ-ᾱσι (from ἴ-αντι).

That the middle ἵεμαι belongs to another root has been already remarked (p. 676).

487. An exception from the law of gravity is found in the root *shi*, class 2 ("lie," "sleep,") in that, although only used in the middle, despite the weight of the medial endings, it everywhere exhibits Guna; in which respect the Greek κεῖμαι runs pretty parallel to the Sanscrit: hence śe-śai = *śê-shê*, κεῖ-ται = *śê-tê*, plural κεί-μεθα = *śê-mahê*. We might also present *śê*, as the root for the Sanscrit verb, as the pure vowel *î* nowhere appears, and the construction, also, of the word exhibits no expression, which made a root *śi* necessary, rather than *śê*, unless, perhaps, we assumed *śîta*, "cold," in the sense of resting, motionless, and hence chose to derive it from *śî*. The Old Sclavonic exhibits the old diphthong in the shape presented by the Greek κοίτη, κοιμάω, in покой *pokoĭ*, "*requies*," "*pax*."* On the other hand, чию *chijû*, "*quiesco*," has undergone a double weakening; first, that of к to ь *ch*, and next the winning out of the diphthong to its concluding element. It must not be overlooked that *pokoĭ* is not the primitive shape of the base, but *po-koyo*, out of which, in the uninflected nominative and accusative, after suppression of the final vowel of the base (§. 257.), *po-koĭ* necessarily came:

* Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 86.

the theme *pokoyo*, however, accords excellently with Sanscrit *śaya*; as the adjective "lying," "sleeping;" or as the substantive "sleep."

488. The roots of the fifth and eighth class admit the Guna form of the उ *u* of the class syllable *nu* or *u* before the light terminations, and, before the heavy, reject the same vowel: the Greek sanctions the same principle, only, instead of extending *υ* into *ευ*, it lengthens the *υ*. Compare—

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
*stṛi-ṇo-mi,**	στόρ-νῡ-μι.	*stṛi-nu-vas,*	....
stṛi-ṇo-shi,	στόρ-νῡ-ς.	*stṛi-nu-thas,*	στόρ-νῠ-τον.
stṛi-ṇó-ti,	στόρ-νῡ-τι.	*stṛi-nu-tas,*	στόρ-νῠ-τον.
astṛi-ṇav-am,	ἐστορ-νῡ-ν.	*astṛi-ṇu-va,*	....
astṛi-ṇó-s,	ἐστόρ-νῡ-ς.	*astṛi-ṇu-tam,*	ἐστορ-νῠ-τον.
astṛi-ṇó-t,	ἐστόρ-νῡ-(τ).	*astṛi-ṇu-tâm,*	ἐστορ-νύ-την,

PLURAL.

stṛi-ṇu-mas,	στόρ-νῠ-μες.
stṛi-ṇu-tha,	στόρ-νῠ-τε.
stṛi-nv-anti,	στορ-νύ-ντι.
astṛi-ṇu-ma,	ἐστόρ-νῠ-μες.
astṛi-ṇu-ta,	ἐστόρ-νῠ-τε.
astṛi-nv-an,	(ἐστόρ-νῠ-ν.)

489. The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite receives guna before the light endings, and restores the pure root vowel again before the heavy. In this the German, and most evidently in the Gothic, stands in closest accordance with the Sanscrit, inasmuch as all verbs, with a root vowel

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* The grammarians assume a root स्तृ *stṛi* and another स्तॄ *stṝi*, both of which signify "strew," and have, properly, for their root syllable *star* = Greek ΣΤΟΡ, Latin *STER*, the *a* of which is subject to suppression (Vocalismus, Obs. I. p. 157, and on the root in question, especially, l. c. p. 179.

tible of Guna (*i.e.* with *i* or *u*), insert before this, in ngular of the simple (strong) preterite, the original vowel *a*; but before the increasing endings of the s, as also in the entire conjunctive, which is bur- l by the exponent of the mood, and also in the sin- polysyllabic, again reject the foreign strengthening

Compare—

RIT.	GOTHIC.	SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.
T.	ROOT.	ROOT.	ROOT.
to split."	*bit*, "to bite."	*bhuj*, "to bend."	*bug*, "to bend."
AR.	SINGULAR.	SINGULAR.	SINGULAR.
ı,	*bait*,	*bubhôja*,	*baug*.
tha,	*baist*,	*bubhôjitha*,	*baugt*.
ı,	*bait*,	*bubhôja*,	*baug*.
L.	DUAL.	DUAL.	DUAL.
va,	*bitû*,	*bubhujiva*,	*bugû*.
thus,	*bituts*,	*bubhujathus*,	*buguts*.
tus,	. . .	*bubhujatus*,	. . .
AL.	PLURAL.	PLURAL.	PLURAL.
ma,	*bitum*,	*bubhujima*,	*bugum*.
(tha),	*bituth*,	*bubhuja(tha)*,	*buguth*.
s.	*bitun*,	*bubhujus*,	*bugun*.

. On the law of gravity rests also the phenomenon, hose Gothic roots ending in two consonants, which, it protecting the reduplication, have preserved a l *a* in the singular of the preterite, weaken this to *u* before the heavy plural and dual endings, and of the whole conjunctive (Vocalismus, Obs. 16. p. 227) Sanscrit exhibits a remarkable counterpart to this omenon, which had not come under my notice in my r treatment of the theory of gravity, and is here for first time considered in this point of view;—I mean root *kar*, "make," which—not indeed in the redupli-

cated preterite, but still in the special tenses before heavy endings, and in the whole potential, which answers to the Gothic conjunctive—weakens its *a* to *u*, and only before light endings retains the heavy *a* sound. Hence *karômi*, "I make," stands in equal relation to *kurumas* or *kurmas*, "we make," and to *kuryâm*, "I might make," as, in Gothic, *band* to *bundum*, and *bundyau*. We place here the Gothic preterite *band* in the same category with the Sanscrit *babhandha*, which everywhere leaves its vowel unaltered, and with *karômi* as regards the change of vowel.

SINGULAR.			DUAL.		
SANSCRIT.	GOTH.	SANSCRIT.	SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.	SANSCRIT.
babandha,	*band,*	*karômi,*	*babandhiva,*	*bundû,*	*kuruvas.*
babandhitha,	*banst,*	*karôshi,*	*babandhathus,*	*bunduts,*	*kurudhus.*
babandha,	*band,*	*karôti.*	*babandhatus,*	. . .	*kurutas.*

PLURAL.

babandhima,	*bundum,*	*kurumas.*
babandha(tha),	*bunduth,*	*kurutha.*
babandhus,	*bundun,*	*kurvanti.*

POTENTIAL.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Sanscrit.	*Gothic.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Gothic.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Gothic.*
kuryâm,	*bundyau,*	*kuryâva,*	*bundeiva,*	*kuryâma,*	*bundeima.*
kuryâs,	*bundeis,*	*kuryâtam,*	*bundeits,*	*kuryâta,*	*bundeith.*
kuryât,	*bundi,*	*kuryâtâm,*	. . . .	*kuryus,*	*bundeina.*

"Remark 1.—As all verbs which follow the analogy of *band* have a liquid for their penultimate consonant, and liquids have a preference for the vowel *u*, we may attribute to them here an influence on the generation of the *u*: it remains, however, not the less true, that the conditions under which, in the foregoing scheme, *a* and *u* are interchanged, rest only on the laws of gravity, and on

axim sufficiently, as I believe, demonstrated in my ocalismus (p. 227), that the weight of the *u* is more easily ıpported by these languages than that of *a*. For were ıis not so, it were difficult to see why exactly, in the ıonosyllabic singular, the old *a* was protected; and why ıe condition of monosyllabism is so enforced in the pre-ervation of the *a*, that, in Old High German, where the :cond person singular is designated by *i* instead of *t*,* and lso, in the form which becomes dissyllabic, the lighter *u* hould give way to the heavier *a*; and thus *bundi* of the irst and third person stands in contrast to *band*, and to he Gothic second *banst*. In like sense may, in the ànscrit form *kur*, exchanged for *kar*, a certain share be ttributed to the liquid in the generation of the *u*, while he distribution between the *a* and *u* forms depends on he weight of the endings alone. Beyond the range, however, of the special tenses, the root *kar*, in the forms which seek for alleviation, dispenses entirely with the *a*, so that the *r* becomes the vowel *ṛi*. The mutilated form *ṛi* thus produced—as, for instance, in *kṛi-ta*, 'made,' opposed to *kar-tum*, 'make'—is considered by the grammarians as the original, and this holds good in analogous cases;—a view which I have, in my Vocalismus, endeavoured to demonstrate as historically unsustainable, in the first Observation of that work. In special Sanscrit grammars, this system may be maintained; a *kar* may still pass for a Guna form of *kṛi*; as also we may be compelled to treat the *a* of the Gothic *band* as the Guna form of *i* in *binda*, as we must, if, reversing the real historical course of the language, we recognise, in the singular *a* of the preterite, a first, and, in the plural, a conjunctive *u* of the preterite, a second *ablaut* of the *i* of the present *binda*."

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* For the origin of this *i* I refer to my Vocalismus, p. 23.

"Remark 2.—It may appear surprising that these Gothic verbs with a radical *a*, which, in the preterite, have protected the old reduplication, do not equally weaken their *a* to *u* before the heavy endings; that, for instance, *haihald*, in the plural, should form, not *haihuldum*, but *haihaldum*, although the root has equally a liquid for its penultimate; and we might imagine that the burthening of the root by reduplication would occasion still more susceptibility for the weight of the endings; as we have seen, in Sanscrit, that the reduplicating roots of the third class in *á* either weaken or totally remove that vowel before the heavy endings (§. 181.), but the non-reduplicators experience no diminution. With the Gothic reduplication of the preterite we find in this a peculiar relation: it can only be borne by the strongest radical structure, and has hence only been perpetuated, first, by verbs with a long or diphthongal radical vowel; as *haihait*, 'I was named,' present *haita*; *hlailaup*, 'I ran' present *hlaupa*; secondly, by roots with the heaviest of the short vowels (*a*), united with length by position; for instance, *vaivald*, 'I directed,' present *valda*.* Under these conditions, it was a necessity of the language to retain the reduplication of the root in all its strength, and by this the weakening of the *a* to *u* was provided against."

491. The Greek exhibits the Guna modification of the *i* in two forms, namely, where the original *a* sound is represented either by *ε* or *o*, but *αι* never becomes the counterpart of the Sanscrit *é* in roots in which diphthongs are exchanged with pure *ι*.† Where, however, *ει* and *οι*, next to *ι*, are exchanged

* *Faifah*, from the base *fah*, "to seize," and *haihah*, from *hah*, "to hang" make an exception, but appear, on the evidence of cognate dialects, to have lost a nasal.

† Vocalismus, Obs. 2. p. 193.

ith each other in one and the same root, then *οι*, as the hea-ier of the two Gunas, takes its place in the perfect, where also requently the simple *o* is opposed to the simple *ε*; hence, for nstance, *λέλοιπα* opposed to *λείπω*, *ἔλιπον*; *πεποίθα* to *πείθω*, *πιθον*, as *τέτροφα* to *τρέφω*. Thus *οι* answers to the Gothic Guna through *a*, and *ει* to that through *i* (§. 27.); and *πείθω* and *πέποιθα* are related to each other, as *beita* (i.e. *bîta* from *biita*, p. 105) to *bait* from the root *bit;* then, also, *τρέφω* to *τέτροφα*, as *lisa* to *las* from the root *LAS* (p. 106). It appears, also, thus, that the Greek bears more willingly the burthen of a stronger than of a weaker root syllable. The susceptibility of the weight of endings has, however, almost entirely vanished from the Greek perfect. A remnant of it is still found in *οἶδα*, opposed to the Sanscrit *vêda*, "I know," and the Gothic *vait**—in all three languages a present as to sense, with the terminations of the reduplicated preterite. Yet the Sanscrit verb, in this signification, dispenses with the reduplication, and so does the Greek; for *οἶδα* for *Fοίδα* is merely the Guna of the root (*F*)*ιδ*. Compare—

SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.	GREEK.
वेद *vêd-a*,	*vait*,	*οἶδ-α*.
वेत्थ *vêt-tha*,	*vais-t*,	*οἶσ-θα* (see §. 453).
वेद *vê-da*,	*vait*,	*οἶδ-ε*.
विदिव *vid-i-va*,	*vit-u*,	....
विदथुस् *vid-a-thus*,	*vit-u-ts*,	*ἴσ-τον*,
विदतुस् *vid-a-tus*,	....	*ἴσ-τον*,
विदिम *vid-i-ma*,	*vit-u-m*,	*ἴδ-μεν*,
विद (थ) *vid-a-tha*,	*vit-u-th*,	*ἴσ-τε*.
विदुस् *vid-us* (see §. 462.),	*vit-u-n*,	*ἴσ-α-σι*.

* In the case of this verb our present language has preserved the operation of the influence of the endings; hence, *wissen*, *wisset*, *wissen*, against *weiss*, *weisst*, *weiss;* while elsewhere the plural has everywhere made itself equal in weight to the singular.

"Remark.—The Sanscrit base *vid* is not without a proper present—वेमि *vêdmi*, the plural of which, *vid-mas*, *vit-tha*, *vid-anti*, might have equally given, in Greek, *ἴδ-μεν*, *ἴσ-τε*, *ἴσ-ασι* (from *ἴδαντι*, p. 640); as also out of the duals *vit-thas*, *vit-tas*, we could hardly obtain in Greek any thing other than *ἴσ-τον*. The present forms resemble the Greek much more than those of the preterite. Nevertheless, I am not of opinion that the Greek plural and dual endings can belong to the present in their origin, for the intermediate vowel *a*, whose rejection gives to *ἴδμεν* the appearance of a present (compare *ἐσ-μέν*), is no essential element of the perfect, and is wanting, among other instances, in *ἴϊκ-τον*; which, moreover, through the restoration of the pure radical vowel, bears the same relation to *ἔοικε*, as *ἴστον* to *οἶδε*. We shall recur to this subject."

492. After what we have hitherto remarked on the laws of gravity, it becomes scarcely necessary to quote instances to shew which are the light terminations, and which the heavy. It is self-evident that the dual and plural endings have more body and compass than the singular of the transitive active form, and that in the middle voice the weight of endings communicates itself also to the singular; for *μαι*, *σαι*, *ται*, are obviously richer in sound than *μι*, *σ(ι)*, *τι*: in the same manner, in the secondary forms, *μην*, *σο*, *το*, are heavier than *ν*, *σ*, (*τ*). We have, however, to observe, that several terminations, originally heavy, but which have, in the course of time, become abbreviated, have nevertheless left behind them the effect of their former state. This is the case especially in the Sanscrit, in which the middle *abibhr-i* (see p. 461) is much weaker in its termination than the transitive *abibhar-am*; so that, according to the present state of the language, we should rather expect *abibhr-am* answering to *abibhar-i* than the reverse. The second person plural of the transitive reduplicate preterite, like the first and third of the singular, has lost the true personal sign, and retained only the

intermediate vowel. Nevertheless, we find above *vida*, "ye know," answering to the singular *vêda*, "I know," "he knows." In the second person plural of the primary forms, *tha* is, in its present state, heavier than the singular *si*, as *a* is heavier than *i*, and the Sanscrit aspirates are evident combinations of an *h* with the full tenues or media (§. 12.). In Greek, all the terminations (if we except, perhaps, the relation of τε to θα, as in ἴσ-τε contrasted with οἶσ-θα), which I reckon heavy have still, in their actual state, more weight than those which, according to the theory which has been brought forward, belong to the light class. Compare—

		HEAVY ENDING.	
i.	μ.	*vas, mas, ê, valiê, mahê,*	μες, μαι, μεθον, μεθα.
i.	σ(ι).	*thas, tha, sê, âthê, dve,*	τον, τε, σαι, σθον, σθε.
i.	π.	*tas, nli, tê, âtê, ntê,*	τον, ντι, σθον, νται.
(am).	ν.	*va, ma, a, i,* vahi, mahi,*	μες, μην, μεθον, μεθα.
	ς.	*tam, ta, thâs, âthâm, dhvam,*	τον, τε, σο, σθον, σθε.
	(τ).	*tâm, n(an), ta, âtâm, nta, (ata),*	την (των), ν, το, σθην (σθων), ντο.

DIVISION OF CONJUGATIONS.

493. Sanscrit verbs admit of an easy distribution into two conjugations; the first—which, if not the oldest, existed before the separation of languages, and is almost alone represented in the European cognate languages—comprehends the great majority of all the verbs, viz. classes 1, 4, 6, 10 (§. 109a.), which, in the special tenses, annex to the root a simple *a* (cl. 1 and 6), or syllables which terminate with *a*, viz. *ya* and *aya* (cl. 4 and 10). This conjugation is followed also, as will hereafter appear, by nearly all derivative verbs and by all denominatives. In Greek, the conjugation in ω corresponds to it, in which too much stress must not be laid on the ω answering to the Sanscrit *mi*, for

* See §. 471.

if the μι is restored to the τέρπω, compared above (§. 434) with *tarp-â-mi*; and if τέρπεις, τέρπει, are carried back to the forms τέρπ-ε-σι, τέρπ-ε-τι, which, in all probability, once existed; still this verb, and all of similar construction, remain sufficiently distinguished from all classes of the so-called μι conjugation, which does not contain any verbs that insert between the root and the personal terminations an ε which is interchanged with o, or larger syllables terminating with this vowel. The second Sanscrit conjugation separates, like the Greek, into three divisions. It takes first, those verbs which append the personal terminations direct to the base (Cl. 2, 3, 7), as *ê-mi* = εἶ-μι; *dadâ-mi* = δίδωμι; *yunaj-mi*, "*jungo*," plural *yunj-mas*, "*jungimus*" (§. 109ª. 3.), to which there is no analogy in Greek; secondly, verbs with *nu* or *u*, in Greek νυ, υ, as the intermediate syllable; thirdly, those with *nâ* (weakened *nî*), in Greek νᾱ (νη), νᾰ (see pp. 109, 677). All these divisions are, in Sanscrit as in Greek, subjected to the influence of the weight of the personal terminations, while the first conjugation is free from it. Other peculiarities will be presented hereafter, in which the Sanscrit and Greek second conjugation coincide with one another, and are distinguished from the first conjugation.

494. The Greek first conjugation contains a greater variety of subdivisions than the Sanscrit, which consists of only four classes. This, however, has no influence on the inflection, since τέρπ-ο-μεν* is inflected just like τύπ-το-μεν, δάκ-νο-μεν, ἰζ-άνο-μεν, λαμβ-άνο-μεν, πράσ-σο-μεν, δαμ-άζο-μεν, ὠθ-ίζο-μεν; as it is the same, with regard to the conjugation, whether the formation, which is added to the base, consists simply of one ε, which, before nasals, is replaced by ο, or of syllables which terminate with this vowel, as, in San-

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* I give the plural, as the abbreviation of the singular primary termination renders the character of formation not easily perceptible.

ɔrmations *a*, *ya*, and *aya* are inflected similarly, for reason, that they all end in *a*. It appears to me, wrong to separate, in Greek, the consonants from els, and in τύπτομεν to add, first a τ and then a e vowel *o*; while, according to the course of the ent of the language, the base τυπ, in the special mbines with the syllable τε or το, δακ with νε or β with ανε or ανο. The addition of a bare conso- f a syllable terminating with a consonant, would n too cumbrous for the conjugation: a τυπ-τ-μεν μεν can never have existed. But if we are right g thus, δείκ-νυ-μεν, and do not regard the ν merely ement of formation, and the υ as the conjunctive re is no reason to distribute τύπτομεν according to t principle. What the syllable το is in the latter syllable νυ is in the former. For this reason I cannot t mode of distinguishing the conjugation in ω from which consists in terming the latter "with a con- owel"; as the μι conjugation also, though not in all s of which it consists, has syllables of conjunction, e to be so called, that are inserted in δείκ-νυ-μεν, ν, between the base and the personal termina-

t is hardly possible to state any thing satisfactory the origin of these syllables. It appears to probable that the majority of them are pronouns, which the action or quality, which is expressed ot *in abstracto*, becomes something concrete; *e.g.* ession of the idea "to love" becomes the expres- he person, "who loves." This person, however, closely defined by the personal termination, it be "I," "thou," or "he." Proceeding from t of view, we may regard the character of the ninth class. *nâ* (§. 109[a]. 5.) = Greek νᾱ, νη, νᾰ, as thening of the pronominal base, न *na*, (§. 369.) and

nu = Greek *νυ*, as the weakening of this *na*, as, in the interrogative, together with *ka* the forms *ku* and *ki* occur. The *u* of the eighth class is easily perceived to be the abbreviation of the syllable *nu*, which arises from the circumstance that the few roots of this class terminate with *n*; thus *tan-u-mas* for *tan-nu-mas*. The sole exception is *kṛi*, "to make," which, however, as may be deduced from the Zend *kĕrĕ-nâo-mi*, likewise had *n* originally before the appended *u*. From *nâ* it seems that *ân* has arisen by transposition, which is further combined with the character *a* of the first or sixth class, and belongs to the first conjugation; but it occurs only in the second person imperative singular of the transitive active form of the ninth class, in which the first conjugation is without the personal termination; hence, *aś-âna*, "eat," answering to the first person *aś-nâni*, and the third *aś-nâtu*. This *aś-âna* would lead us to expect a present *aś-ânâ-mi*, *aś-âna-si*, *aś-âna-ti*, for *aś-nâ-mi*, &c. The circumstance that the Vêda dialect has not preserved forms of that kind, affords no certainty that they have never existed; for although several other ancient forms of speech have been preserved in the Vêda dialect, still it is very far from having retained, in their perfect state, all that existed at the period of the unity of language; *e.g.* there are no middle forms in *mê* for the abbreviated *é*. But if the Sanscrit, in its formations in *âna*, actually took its departure from the second person imperative, where it also remained, the Greek has completed the formation thus commenced; for I have scarce any doubt that forms like *aś-âna* are the prototypes of the Greek ἵ̈ζανε, δάρθ-ανε, &c. Both languages agree in their conjugational addition almost as exactly as possible; for a Greek ᾰ̀ refers rather to a Sanscrit long *â* than to a short one, as *a* is more frequently represented by ε than by *o*. For the rest the original length of quantity is still left in ἱκᾰ́νω.

nian, verbs in *enu* and *inu*, and also those with
l *n*, *innu*, belong to this class, though they retain
ısal, also, in the future and infinitive, which verbs
of which hereafter, do not, *e.g. gab-enù*, "I bring,"
ì, "I destroy," future *gabeń su*, *gadiń su* (§. 10.),
ive *gabénti*, *gadinti*.

. If, in the Sanscrit seventh class (§.109.ª3.), that
which appears before light terminations, is older
that which occurs before heavy ones, *e.g. bhi-na-d*
bhi-nad-mi, "I cleave," older than *bhi-n-d* from
-mas, "we cleave," then it might be assumed, as I
ıuch inclined to do, that this syllable *na* is nothing
han the syllable *nâ* of the ninth class, which has
transposed into the interior of the root, and abbre-
; thus, *bhinadmi* for *bhidnâmi*, as *bhid* would form
ling to the ninth class. In Greek verbs, like
ίνω, μανθάνω, both forms occur together; and in them
asal of derivation has a second time been reflected
the middle of the root, just as, in Zend, an *i* or *y*
ts to the preceding syllable also an *i* (§. 41.) It
een already remarked (§. 109ª. 5.), that verbs, like
-μεν, τέμ-νο-μεν, by weakening the syllable of deriva-
i. *e.* by changing the organic *α* of δάμ-νᾰ-μεν for the
anic *ε* or *o*, have entered into the *ω* conjugation. Here
gs, also, the Latin formation *ni* (before *r* : *ne*) of *ster-*
s, *cer-ni-mus*, *sper-ni-mus*, *li-ni-mus*, *si-ni-mus*. Com-
for instance, *ster-ni-mus* with स्तृणीमस् *stṛi-nî-mas*; but
semblance must not be rated too high, for the Latin
not a shortened form of the Sanscrit *nî* (see §. 485),
weakened as *leg-i-mus* for *leg-ă-mus* (§. 109ª. 1.). In
lclavonic, correspond verbs in *nû*, *nĕshi*, which reject
ppended syllable in the preterite, *e.g.* ГЫВНУ *gyb-nû*,
o," second person *gyb-ne-shi*, preterite *gy-boch* (Dobr.
.); in Lithuanian, correspond verbs in *nu*, plural
è, which, though sparingly, are retained in roots in

au (Mielke, p. 101, 25.); *e. g. gáu-nu*, "I avow," plural *gáu-na-me*, preterite *gawau*, future *gausu*. Compare—

GREEK.	OLD SCLAV.	LITHUAN.	LATIN.	SANSCRIT.
δάκ-νω,	*gyb-nû*,[1]	*gáu-nu*,[2]	*ster-no-*`	*stṛi-ṇâ mi.*
δάκ-νει-ς,	*gyb-ne-shi*,	*gáu-n*`*-i*,	*ster-ni-s*,	*stṛi-ṇâ-si.*
δάκ-νε-(τ)ι,	*gyb ne-ty*,	*gáu-na-*`	*ster-ni-t*,	*stṛi-ṇâ-ti.*
. . . . .	*gyb-ne-va*,	*gáu-na-wa*,	. . . . .	*stṛi-ṇî-vas.*
δάκ-νε-τον,	*gyb-ne-ta*,	*gáu-na-ta*,	. . . . .	*stṛi-ṇî-thas.*
δάκ-νε-τον,	*gyb-ne-ta*,	*gáu-na-*`	. . . . .	*stṛi-ṇî-tas.*
δάκ-νο-μεν,	*gyb-ne-m*,	*gáu-na-me*,	*ster-ni-mus*,	*stṛi-ṇî-mas.*
δάκ-νε-τε,	*gyb-ne-te*,	*gáu-na-te*,	*ster-ni-tis*,	*stṛi-ṇî-tha.*
δάκ-νο-ντι,	*gyb-nû-ty*,[1]	*gáu-na-*`	*ster-nu-nt*,	*stṛi-ṇa-nti.*

[1] Here an entirely legitimate division is impossible, since the personal termination has likewise a share in the *û* of derivation, its nasal being contained in it: see §. 255. *g*. [2] See p. 609.

' 497. The addition τε, το (*τύπ-το-μεν*, *τύπ-τε-τε*), appears peculiar to Greek, which, however, except *πέκτω*, *τίκτω*, occurs only after labials. Its τ is, perhaps, a corruption of ν, as elsewhere, also, we have seen mutes proceed from nasals of corresponding organ; *e. g.* βροτός from μροτός; in Lithuanian and Sclavonic *dewyni*, ДЕВѢТЬ *devyaty* (§. 317.), from *newyni*, *nevyaty*; and (which comes tolerably near to the case in question) the Greek suffix ματ, used in the formation of words, corresponds to a formation in *n* in the kindred languages; *e. g.* ὀ-νοματ answers to the Sanscrit *nâman*, Latin *nomen*, to the Gothic *namô*, *namin-s*, and Sclavonic ИМѧ *imya*, genitive ИМЕНЕ *imen-e* (§. 269.). In Sanscrit, also, we must remark that the *n* is replaced by the tenuis of its organ, since, for instance, from *han*, "to slay," comes the causal *ghât-ayâ-mi* for *hân-ayâ-mi*. If, then, the τ of *τύπ-το-μεν*, *κρύπ-το-μεν*, &c., stands in this manner for ν, then these verbs, just as those in *νο-μεν*, *νε-τε*

(§. 109². 5.), lead back to the Sanscrit ninth class. But if the τ is organic, which is less probable, then, according to the principle laid down in §. 495., the syllable τε, το, leads to the pronominal base το = Sanscrit त *ta* (§. 343.).

498. In Lithuanian there are some verbs which resemble Greek verbs like τύπτω in this point, that they insert between the root and the personal termination an additional syllable beginning with *t* and terminating with a vowel, though they reject it again in the preterite, which answers to the Greek imperfect, and in which the class syllables are still retained. Thus *klys-tu* (euphonic for *klyd-tu*, compare §. 457.), plural *klys-ta-me*, preterite *klyd-au*, future *kly-su*, as ἐρεί-σω for ἐρειδ-σω; *plûs-tu* (for *plûd-tu*), "I swim" (compare *plu*, p. 114), plural *plûs-ta-me*, preterite *plûd-au*; *lôsz-tu*, "I am petulant" plural *lôsz-ta-me*, preterite *lôszau*; *mirsz-tu*, "I forget,"* plural *mirsz-ta-me*, preterite *mirsz-au*; *plysz-tu*, "I tear to pieces," plural *plysz-ta-me*, preterite *plysz-au*. Some verbs prefix to the *t* a nonradical *s* also, for which the way is perhaps prepared by cases in which a sibilant, or a *d* which changes into *s*, is already in the root, or because *st* is in general a favourite termination (compare §. 94.); as, *rim-stu*, "I am quiet" (Sanscrit *vi-ram*, "to rest"), plural *rim-sta-me*, preterite *rimm-au*, future *rim-su*.

499. I believe a pronominal origin must be ascribed, also, to the ε, ο of verbs like τέρπ-ο-μεν, τέρπ-ε-τε, which is usually called a conjunctive vowel; for the अ *a*, which answers to it in Sanscrit, is deducible from a pronominal base more easily than any other conjugational adjunct, and it proceeds, in fact, from the base from which we have above seen *a-smâi*, "to this," *a-smât*, "from this," *a-sya*, "of this," and *a-smin*, "in this," proceed. For a mere conjunctive vowel *a*, as the heaviest of the three primary

* Compare Sanscrit *smar* (*smṛi*), "to remember," Vocalismus, p. 164.

vowels, appears to me least of all adapted; and I think that the origin of conjunctive vowels, which are inserted between two consonants to facilitate pronunciation, belongs to a later period of the language than that to which the coincidences of the Sanscrit with its European cognate languages conducts us back. The अ *a* in question, however, coincides with the Gothic *a* which is interchanged with *i*, with the Greek ε interchangeable with *o*, Old Sclavonic Е *e*, Lithuanian *a*, and Latin *i* (§. 109ª. 1.); *e.g.* in the second person dual, वहथस् *vah-a-thas*, answering to the Gothic *vig-a-ts*, Greek ἔχ-ε-τον, Old Sclavonic ВЕЗЕТА *veź-e-ta*, Lithuanian *weź-a-tà*; second person plural वहथ *vah-a-tha*, answering to the Greek ἔχ-ε-τε, Old Sclavonic ВЕЗЕТЕ *veź-e-te*, Lithuanian *weź-a-tè*, Latin *veh-i-tis*, Gothic *vig-i-th*. The case is different with the lightest of the primary vowels, *i*, with which we shall hereafter become acquainted in considering the Sanscrit auxiliary future. No analogous vowel can be assigned to this *i* in the kindred languages, and we must therefore fix its origin in the period succeeding the division of languages. In Zend, we see some conjunctive vowels arise, as it were, under our eyes, *i.e.* vowels which enter between two consonants that were formerly combined: this never occurs, however, with an *a*, but with the unorganic ę *ĕ* (§. 30.), for which *i* is sometimes found; *e.g. uś-ĕ-hista*, "stand up," in which an *i* is inserted between the preposition and the verb, which never happens in Sanscrit.

500. The adjuncts of the fourth and tenth classes, य *ya* and अय *aya*, must, I believe, be regarded as auxiliary verbs: य *ya* is, at the same time, the character of the passive, and we shall recur to it in treating of that voice. In Gothic, we have already found a representative of the Sanscrit fourth class (§. 109ª. 2.): in Latin, verbs in *io*, of the third conjugation, correspond to it. These, in disadvantageous comparison with the Gothic, have permitted th

owel of the syllable *ya* to disappear almost everywhere; .*g*, in all the cases in which the *a* of the first and sixth lass has been weakened to *i*, before *r* to *ĕ*; hence, *spec-i-o*, *pec-i-unt*, contrasted with the Sanscrit *paś-yâ-mi*, *paś-ya-nti*, but *spec-i-s*, *spec-i-t*, *spec-i-mus*, *spec-i-tis*, contrasted with *paś-ya-si*, *paś-ya-ti*, *paś-yâ-mas*, *paś-ya-tha*. In the participle present, the *a* of the syllable *ya* has been retained under the protection of two consonants; hence, *spec-ie-ns*, *spec-ie-ntem*, contrasted with *paś-ya-n*, *paś-ya-ntam*. *Facio*, according to its origin, should follow the fourth conjugation, as it is based on the Sanscrit causal form, *bhûrayâmi*, "I make to be" (§. 19.): on account, however, of the trifling difference in form between *-yâmi* and *-ayâmi*, it cannot surprise us that the said Latin verb has deserted its original class, and migrated to that next adjoining. Thus, *vice versâ*, *cupio* = *kup-yâ-mi*, "I am angry," has partly changed into the fourth conjugation, which corresponds to the Sanscrit tenth class; and to this conjugation belong *cupivi*, *cupîtum*, while the present has remained in the class to which this verb originally belongs. In Lithuanian, correspond verbs in *iu*, *yu*, of Mielke's first conjugation (p. 96, &c.); *e.g. liepyu*, "I order," which, like similar verbs with a labial termination to the root, rejects indeed the *y* before the *i* of the second person, but otherwise retains the class syllable inviolate throughout the whole present. In Sclavonic, Dobrowsky's first conjugation belongs here, which, in the present, with the exception of the first person singular, and third person plural, exhibits the syllable ѩ *ya* in the form of ѥ *ye*, but only after vowels: after consonants, only the *e* of the ѥ *ye* is left, as in other parts, also, of grammar, е *e* is very frequently the remnant of the syllable ѥ *ye*, as the euphonic product of *yo* (§. 255. *n*. and 258.). In the first person singular and third person plural, we find, both after vowels and consonants, *yû*, *yûty*, from *yo-m*, *yo-nty* (§. 255. *y*.), and, in the gerund (participle) present *ya*,

feminine *yûshchi*, answering to the Sanscrit *yan*, *yanti*. Examples are: *pi-yû*, "I drink," * second person *pi-ye-shi*,"† third person *pi-ye-ty*; *ʒna-yû*, "I know" (Sanscrit *jnâ*, "to know") *ʒna-ye-shi*, *ʒna-ye-ty*; *or-yû*, "I plough," *or-e-shi*, *or-e-ty*. Compare—

SANSCRIT.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.	GOTHIC.	LATIN.
lubh-yâ-mi,[1]	*liẹp-yu*,	*ʒna-yû*,[2]	*haf-ya-*'[3]	*cap-io-*'.
lubh-ya-si,	*liep-i*,	*ʒnâ-ye-shi*,	*haf-yi-s*,	*cap-i-s*.
lubh-ya-ti,	*liep-ya-*'	*ʒna-ye-ty*,	*haf-yi-th*,	*cap-i-t*.
lubh-yâ-vas,	*liep-ya-wa*.	*ʒna-ye-va*,	*haf-yô-s*,[4]	. . . . .
lubh-ya-thas,	*liep-ya-ta*,	*ʒna-ye-ta*,	*haf-ya-ts*,	. . . . .
lubh-ya-tas,	*liep-ya-*'	*ʒna-ye-ta*,	. . . . .	. . . . .
lubh-yâ-mas,	*liep-ya-me*,	*ʒna-ye-m*,	*haf-ya-m*,	*cap-i-mus*.
lubh-ya-tha,	*liep-ya-te*,	*ʒna-ye-te*,	*haf-yi-th*,	*cap-i-tis*.
lubh-ya-nti,	*liep-ya-*'	*ʒna-yi-ty*,[2]	*haf-ya-nd*,	*cap-iu-nt*.

[1] "I desire," compare *lubet*, *libet*, Gothic *liubs*, "dear." [2] See p. 692, Rem. [1]. [3] The Gothic *haf-ya*, our *heben*, "to raise," is radically identical with the Latin *capio*, the law of transposition being followed (§. 87.). [4] A completely legitimate division is impossible in this word (see §. 255. *g*.).

501. As the Lithuanian readily assimilates the semi-vowel *y* to a stronger consonant preceding it (compare p. 353), it need not surprise us if this case occasionally occurs in the class of verbs also under discussion. To this we refer verbs in *mmu* (according to Mielke, p. 101. 23.), which, in the preterite, again restore their second *m* to the *y*, whence it arose,

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* The Sanscrit root *pî* is used only in the middle, but belongs, in like manner, to the fourth class; hence, *pî-yé*, *pî-yasé*, &c.

† Dobrowsky writes, p. 321, *bieshi*, *biety*, from the root *bi*, "to cut"; but Kopitar, whom I follow, gives *biyeshi*, &c. If the first reading were correct, it must be assumed that after *i* the *y* of the class syllable would be dropped before *e*.

he future and infinitive, according to the old princi-
irely withdraw the class syllable; as, *immu*, "I take,"
e *émyau*, future *imsu*, infinitive *imti*. *Gemmu*, "I am
as, in the preterite, together with *gimyau* also the
ted form *gímmau*. The root *gim* agrees with the
जन् *jan*, which, in the sense of "to be born," is like-
luded in the fourth class, but which regularly sup-
the *n* before the character य *ya*, and, in compensation,
is the vowel. As, however, *jan*, "*nasci*," is used
the middle, and the passive, on account of its cha-
a, is identical with the middle of the fourth class,
prevents us from regarding जाये *jâyé*, "*nascor*," as
and thus, in Lithuanian, *gemmu* is recognised as a
of the Sanscrit passive, with the loss only of the
erminations. We should also remark the admirable
nt between the Lithuanian *luppu*, "I peel," "skin,"
h is based on assimilation, and the Sanscrit *lup-yâ-mi*,
root *lup*, "to cleave," "destroy," "trouble." Hence
ition is close to Greek verbs with double consonants,
ecial tenses; for the form ἄλλος, as contrasted with
ic *ALYA*, has furnished us with the first proof, that,
, the semi-vowel *y* still exists in the form of a retro-
similation,* for comparatives like *κρείσσων*, *ἐλάσσων*,
d back to this principle (§. 300.), to which, also, verbs
or λ doubled in the special tenses are subjected;
ομαι from *λιτγομαι*, as *κρείσσων* from *κρειτγων* or
; *φρίσσω* from *φρικγω*, as *γλύσσων* from *γλυκγων*
); *πτύσσω* from *πτυχγω*, as *πάσσων* from *παχγων*
. According to this principle, γ also becomes σ;
ω from *ταγγω*, to which the comparatives do not
ny analogy, as might have been expected in *μέγας*.
ever, *μείζων* is used for *μεγίων* from *μεγγων*, so also
of some verbs the retroactive influence of an earlier

* Demonstrative Bases, p. 20.

y might be conjectured; thus ἄζω (with ἅγιος = Sanscrit यज् *yaj*, "to adore," "to sacrifice,") from ἀγγω; φράζω from φραδγω; ἵζω from ἰδγω; βράζω with βράσσω from βραδγω or βραχγω.

502. Most verbs in σσω are denominatives; and it is here important to remark, that, in Sanscrit also, the syllable य *ya* forms denominatives, as *chirâ-yâ-mi*, "I hesitate," from *chira*, "slow"; *śabdâ-yâ-mi*, "I tune," from *śabda*, "sound"; *asû-yâ-mi*, "I curse," from *asu*, "life"; *namas-yâ-mi*, "I adore," from *namas*, "adoration." Thus, in Greek, amongst others, αἱμάσσω from αἱματγω from ʽΑΙΜΑΤ; κορύσσω from κορυθγω from ΚΟΡΥΘ; ταράσσω from ταραχγω from ΤΑΡΑΧΗ; πτερύσσομαι from πτερυγγομαι from ΠΤΕΡΥΓ; κηρύσσω from κηρυγγω from ΚΕΡΥΓ. The numerous denominatives also, in αζω and ιζω might be referred to this class, the semivowel य् *y* being represented by ζ.* The question is, whether the α and ι of forms like εὐνάζω, ἀκμάζω, δικάζω, ἀγελάζω, ἀγοράζω, πολεμίζω, ἀθροίζω, ἀφρίζω, belong to the primitive noun, or to the verbal derivative. It must be considered an important argument in favour of the former view that αζω, in that kind of denominatives, for the most part occurs only where an α or η is already contained in the base noun, but η according to its origin = â (§. 4.). If therefore, δικἄζω comes from δικη (δικᾱ), then the final vowel of the base word has only been weakened in the most natural manner, and it would therefore be also only a weakening of the vowel, if *o*, springing from short *a*, should become ι (§. 6.), and *e.g.* πολεμί-ζω should stand for πολεμό-ζω. And it need not surprise us if η (ᾱ) were at times weakened a stage further than to ă, viz. to ι, and αὐλί-ζομαι were derived from αὐλη by changing the η into ι. Bases ending with a consonant

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* See §. 19. From this interchange an affinity of the Greek ζεά, ζε to the Sanscrit यव *yava*, "barley," may be deduced; thus ζεά, for ζεϝά.

serve, if this opinion be just, a double course of procedure: her the final consonant is suppressed, or an *ι* added to it as onjunctive vowel. The former occurs principally in words ich have already become accustomed, through the nomitive (accusative), to the loss of their final consonant; the ter principally in those words that retain their final conant, or the former of two in the nominative; hence, ιμάζω from XEIMAT; *ὀνομάζω* from 'ONOMAT; *παίζω* m ΠΑΙΔ; *ἀσπίζομαι* from 'ΑΣΠΙΔ; but *ἀνδρ-ί-ζω*, *γαστρ-ί-ζω*, *αὐχεν-ί-ζω*, *ἀκοντ-ί-ζω*, *ἀγων-ί-ζω*, *ἀλοκ-ί-ζω*. Deviations m the prevailing principle are *αἱματ-ί-ζω*, *ἑρματ-ί-ζω*, *ραδειγματ-ί-ζω*, *κυματ-ί-ζω*, *σπερματ-ί-ζω*, *ποδ-ί-ζω*; and, on e other hand, *μαστί-ζω*, *σαλπί-ζω*, *συρί-ζω*, for *μαστιγ-ί-ζω*, c. The Σ of words like *τεῖχος* belongs, indeed, as has been fore shewn (§. 128.), to the base; notwithstanding, no devations exist like *τειχεσ-ί-ζω*, since the recollection that the , which had been dislodged from the oblique cases, belonged the base at the time when these verbs originated was ready extinct.

503. If we proceed on the opinion, that the *α* and *ι* of deminatives in *αζω* and *ιζω* belong to the verbal derivative, en they correspond to the Sanscrit tenth class (§. 109ª. 6.), hich likewise forms denominatives; and thus, in the second erson plural, *αζε-τε* would = Sanscrit *aga-tha*. The *ι* of ω would consequently be, in *πολεμίζω*, not the weakening of e *o* of ΠΟΛΕΜΟ, and in *γαστρίζω*, *μακαρίζω*, *εὐδαιμονίζω*, nd others, not a conjunctive vowel, but the weakened form f the old *a* of अयामि *ayâ-mi*, अयसि *aya-si*, &c.; but the owels of the nominal bases would be rejected, as in Sanerit, in which language, in polysyllabic bases, not only the inal vowels are withdrawn, but final consonants also, together with the vowel preceding them; *e.g. prîl-a-yâmi* from prîti, "joy," *varm-ayâmi* from *varman*, "armour." We might consider in this light the isolated word *ἀεκαζόμενος* in Greek, and, moreover, forms like *ὀνομάζω*, *ἀσπίζω*; thus pro-

perly, *αεκ(ον)-αζόμενος*, *ασπ(ιδ)-ίζω*, *ὀνομ(ατ)άζω*: on other hand, the majority of bases terminating with a co nant, in advantageous contrast with the Sanscrit, pres the primary word unabbreviated, or only weakened, as fore the oblique case terminations: thus, *γαστρ-ίζω γαστρ-ός*. If this second view of the matter is, as I much inclined to think it is, the correct one, then the o sition between forms like *ἀγορ'-άζω*, *δικ'-άζω*, *χειμ-άζω* the one hand, and such as *πολεμ'-ίζω*, *ἀφρ'-ίζω*, *ἀδελφ' ἀηδ'-ίζω*,* *ὑψ'-ίζω*, on the other, is to be settled thus, that *α* of derivation is preserved by *α* or *η* (=ᾱ) of the prim word, in order that the base and derivative part may experience too much weakening. For the rest, in b in *ο*, the forms in *άζω*, without *ι* preceding, are not though they are kept in the back-ground by the o whelming majority of those in *ίζω*; as *ἵππ-άζω*, *λιθ-ἐργ-άζομαι*, *ἰσ-άζω*, *γυμν-άζω*, *κολ-άζω*, *δοκιμ-άζω*, *ἑτοιμ-κωμ-άζω*, *σηκ-άζω*, *συσκοτ-άζω* (together with *σκοτ-ίζω*), *άζω*, *τοξ-άζομαι*. Hence, also, the form in *ίζω* is not tirely foreign to the *α* declension (*λυρίζω* from *λύρα*); what is of more importance, both *ἀζω* and *ἰζω* occur yond the nominal formations, as *ῥιπτ-αζω* from *ῥίπτω*, *άζω* from *στένω*,† as *δαμάζω* together with *δαμάω*, *ἀγα* with *ἀγαπάω*, *προκαλίζω* with *καλέω*, *αἰτίζω* with *α ὠθίζω* with *ὠθέω*. Such forms are certainly connected the character जय *aya* of the tenth class.

504. To this class I refer, also, verbs in *αω* and *εω*,† w

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* Not from the nominative *ἀηδής*, but from the base 'ΑΗΔΕΣ (co p. 308).

† *Ἐρπ-ύζω* from *ἕρπω* appears to have been formed by weakening to *υ*.

‡ Of course with the exception of those the *ε* or *α* of which is n denominatives in *οω*, likewise, probably belong here, though the *ο* h appearance of belonging to the primitive noun. The question app

ation to the Sanscrit *aya* must be this, that (as in the in first conjugation and the Gothic second weaker form), er dropping the semi-vowel, the two *a*'s of अय *aya* have nbined into a corresponding long vowel (*ā* or *η*). This ews itself elsewhere besides in the special tenses, *e.g* *φιλ-ή-σω*, *πεφίλ-η-κα*, with which the Æolic present *φίλ-ω* agrees; whence, by adding the conjunctive vowel of the conjugation, through which the *η* is abbreviated, come *λέω*, *φιλέομεν*. The case is similar to the formation of *δέω*, for *τίθημι*, from the root ΘΗ.* For *νικάω* we should pect *νικ-ā-μι*, and such forms must have formerly existed: e *νίκ-η-μι*,† however, which has been transmitted to us, as *κ-ή-σω* for *νικ-ā-σω*, need not surprise us, as *η*, according to s origin, stands everywhere for *ā*, and even the Doric, dis-osed as it is to adopt the *ā*, has not preserved every *ā* from eing corrupted to *η*. In this point, verbs in *αω* maintain a uperiority over those in *εω* (for *ηω*), that they have pre-erved the length of the *α* under the protection of a preced-ng long vowel. The Prakrit, as has been already observed, has, for the most part, contracted the character *aya* into *é*—

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have one issue with that, whether the *α* or *ι* of *αζω*, *ιζω* belong to the verbal derivation or to the nominal base.

* From the point of view of the Greek it might appear doubtful whether *ἵστᾱμι*, *τίθημι*, *δίδωμι*, should be regarded as lengthened forms, or *ἵστᾰμεν*, *τίθεμεν*, *δίδομεν*, as shortened ones. But the history of languages is in favour of the latter opinion (compare §. 481.).

† I formerly thought it probable, that in *νικαω* the Sanscrit preposition *ni* might be concealed, then *να* would be the root, and might be compared with जयामि *jay-â-mi*, "I conquer," from *ji*, Cl. 1., the medial being irregularly raised to a tenuis. But if, which I now prefer, *νῑκ* is regarded as the root, and *άω* = *ayâmi*, is the class character; then *νικάω* leads us to the Sanscrit causative *nâś-ayâ-mi*, "to annihilate," "to slay." The relation of *νῑκ* to *nâś* resembles that of *krî-ṇî-mas* to *krâ-ṇî-mi* in Sanscrit (§. 485.). Then the conquering would take its name from the annihilation of the foe combined with it, and *νικάω* would also be akin to *νέκυς*, *νεκρός*.

by suppressing the final *a*, vocalizing the *y* to *i*, and contracting it, according to rule, with the preceding *a* to *é**—and thus it agrees with the weak form of the Latin second, and Gothic third conjugation (p. 110, *passim*). But in Prakrit the *y* of *aya* may also be abandoned, as *jaṇ-ad-di* = Sanscrit *jan-aya-ti*, which serves as countertype to the Latin first and Gothic second weak conjugation (with *ô* for *â*, according to §. 69.), and to Greek verbs with the derivative *η* or *ᾱ*.

505. The relation of the Latin *î* of the fourth conjugation to the Sanscrit *aya* is to be viewed thus, that the first *a* has been weakened to *i*, and has then combined with the *y* dissolved to *i*, and has thus formed *î*, which *î* before a vowel following-sound is again subject to abbreviation. The final *a* of अय *aya* has been lost or preserved under the same circumstances as those under which the syllable य *ya* of the fourth class; *e.g.* in *capio*; is retained or lost (compare §. 500.). Thus the *io*, *iunt*, of *audio*, *audiunt*, correspond with the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti*; *e.g.* in *chôr-ayâ-mi*, "I steal" (compare *furo*, according to §. 14), *chôr-aya-nti*; the *iês*, *iâs* of *audiês*, *audiâs*, with the Sanscrit अयेस् *ayês* in *chôr-ayê-s*, "thou mayest steal"; on the other hand, the *îs*, *ĭt*, *îmus*, *îtis*, of *audîs*, *audĭt*, *audîmus*, *audîtis*, with the *aya-si*, *aya-ti*, *ayâ-mas*, *aya-tha*, of *chor-aya-si*, &c. In Sclavonic, Dobrowsky's third conjugation is to be referred here, which, in the present, contrasts *yû* (from *yo-m*, §. 255ª. g.), *ya-ty*, with the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti* and Latin *io*, *iu-nt*, but in the other persons has preserved only the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *aya*, resolved to *i*. Exclusive of the special tenses, these verbs separate into two classes (*E* and *F*, according to Dobrowsky), since the Sanscrit अय् *ay*,† shews itself either in the form of ѣ *ye*, as *i*. The former, according to §. 255. *e*, corresponds

* Compare Vocalismus, p. 202.

† The final *a* of अय *aya* remains only in the special tenses (§. 109ª. 4

ctly with the Prakrit ए *ê*, and therefore with the Latin
: the second conjugation, and with the Gothic *ai*, Old
h German *ê*, of the third weak conjugation (p. 120.
im); *e.g.* ВИДѢТИ *vid-ye-ti*, "to see,"* answering to the
krit *vêd-ê-tuṁ* (*vêd-ê-mi*), Latin *vid-ê-re*, Sanscrit *vêd-ay-*
m (*vêd-ayâ-mi*). On the other hand, *bûd-i-ti*, "to
:en," in analogy with *bûd-i-shi*, "thou wakenest," &c.
506. In Lithuanian we recognise the Sanscrit tenth
s, and therefore the German weak conjugation, in
elke's second and third conjugation. The second, with
ard to the present, distributes itself into two classes, of
ich the one, and the more numerous, has preserved
y the *a* of the character *aya*—probably the latter,—and
ice appears identical with the first, which corresponds
the Sanscrit first or sixth class; *e.g.* *stén-a-me*, "we
an," *stén-a-te*, "ye groan"=Sanscrit *stan-ayâ-mas*,†
n-aya-tha, as *veź-a-mé*, *veź-a-té* = *vah-â-mas*, *vah-a-tha*.
e other, and less numerous class, has, like Dobrowsky's
rd conjugation, an *i* in the present, as a remnant of the
nscrit *aya*, e.g. *myl-i-me*, "we love." In the preterite
th classes have *êyo* throughout the dual and plural;
ıs, *e.g.* second person plural, *stem-êyo-te*, *myl-êyo-te*, an-
ering to the Sanscrit *astan-aya-ta*. The singular has,
the first person, *êyan* from *êya-m* (§. 438.); second
rson, *êyei* from *êya-si*; third person, *êyo*, without an ex-
ession for the person. Thus we see here the class
aracter अय *aya* retained more exactly than in any other

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* In Sclavonic and Latin the causal in question has the meaning "to
e," which is a means of making to know of a particular kind, as, in San-
rit, the eye, as the organ of guiding, is termed *né-tra* and *nay-ana*.

† The Sanscrit verb expresses a louder groaning than the Lithuanian,
d signifies "to thunder"; compare *tonare* and Greek στένω in the sense
f the roaring of the waves of the sea.

European cognate language. The *é*,* andswering to th अ *a*, is perhaps produced by the re-active influence of th *y*, while, in Zend, that semi-vowel, by its assimilativ force, changes into *ê* the following *a* sound; *e.g. śrâv-ay mi*, *śrav-ayê-shi*, *śrâv-ayêi-ti*, "I speak" ("make to hear" &c. There are some verbs in Lithuanian which, in th present also, have preserved the character अय *aya* in th most perfect form; *e.g. klyd-ėyu*,† "I wander about," plur *klyd-ėya-me*, preterite singular *klyd-ėyau*. Verbs, also, i *oyu*, *ůyu*, and *iyu*—plural *oya-me*, *ůya-me*, *iya-me*—furnis an exact counterpart to the Sanscrit tenth class, or caus form; *e.g. dum-oyu*, "I think," plural *dum-oya-me*, pre terite *dum-ayau*; *waźůyu*, "I drive," plural *waź-ůyu-me* = the Sanscrit causal *vâh-âya-mas*. Verbs in *iyu* are, as i appears, all denominatives;‡ *e.g. dáwadiyu*, "I bring int order," from *dawâdas*, "order." Mielke's third conju gation, like the preponderating class of the second conju gation, has, in the present, preserved only the last vow of the character अय *aya*, and that in the form of an with the exception of the first and second person singula in which the old *a* remains Compare *penù*, "I nourish, of the second conjugation, with *laikau* (*laik-a-u*), "I stop, of the third.

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* The Lithuanian grammarians do not write the *e* with a circumfle but with a different mark to denote the length of quantity.

† Lithuanian *y* = *î*; and thus from the root of this verb comes the su stantive *klaidûnas*, "false believer," with Vṛiddhi (§. 26.), for Lithuani *ai*=*âi*, the *i* being slightly pronounced; so *baimė*, "fear," answering to t Sanscrit root *bhî*, "to fear," whence *bhîma*, "fearful," and hence the de vative *bhâima*. The derivation suffix *ûna*, in *klai-dûna-s*, corresponds the Sanscrit middle participial suffix *âna* (compare §. 255. *h*.).

‡ Mielke refers verbs in *ėyu*, *oyu*, *ůyu*, and *iyu* to his first conjugati which is, in general, composed of very heterogeneous parts.

SINGULAR.		DUAL	
pen-ù,	*laik-a-u,*	*pén-a-wa,*	*laik-o-wa,*
pen-ì,	*laik-a-i,*	*pén-a-ta,*	*laik-o-ta,*
pén-a,	*laik-o.*	*pén-a,*	*laik-o.*

PLURAL.

pén-a-me,	*laik-o-me,*
pén-a-te,	*laik-o-te,*
pén-a,	*laik-o.*

he two plural numbers, and in the third person sin- r of the preterite, *laikau* has lost the syllable *yo* of *êyo*, which, in the second conjugation, corresponds to Sanscrit *aya*, and, in the first and second person sin- r, it has lost the syllable *ê*: it uses *iau* for *êyau*, and or *êyei*. Hence we see clearly enough that this con- tion, though more corrupted, likewise belongs to the scrit tenth class. Compare—

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
pen-êya-u,	*laik-ia-u,*	*pen-êyo-wa,*	*laik-ê-wa,*
pen-êye-i,	*laik-ie-i,*	*pen-êyo-ta,*	*laik-ê-ta,*
pen-êyo,	*laik-ê.*	*pen-êyo,*	*laik-ê.*

PLURAL.

pen-êyo-me,	*laik-ê-me,*
pen-êyo-te,	*laik-ê-te,*
pen-êyo,	*laik-ê.*

as been already observed with regard to the Sanscrit h class, that its characteristic अय *aya* is not restricted he special tenses (§. 109[a]. 6.), but that, with few excep- s, it extends to all the other formations of the root, y laying aside the final *a* of *aya*. Thus, in Lithuanian, art of the corresponding *êyo*, *iyo*, &c., is transposed to general tenses and the other formations of the word. *êyo*, the *ê* remains; of *iyo*, *i*; and of *aya*, *ůya*, *ó*: the rd conjugation, however, uses *y* (= *i*); *e.g.* future *pen- u*, *da-wad-i-su*, *waź-ó-su*, *laik-y-su*.

FORMATION OF THE TENSES.

PRESENT.

507. The Present requires no formal designation, is sufficiently pointed out by this, that no other rel

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The following Note formed the Preface to the Fourth Part of the G Edition, and, being too important to be omitted, is inserted in the p form, in order to avoi l an interruption of the text.

THIS Part contains a section of the Comparative Grammar, the important fundamental principles of which were published tw six years ago in my Conjugation System of the Sanscrit, Greek, Persian, and German, and have, since then, been almost universal knowledged as just. No one, perhaps, now doubts any longer reg the original identity of the abovementioned languages, with which, present work, are associated also the Lithuanian and Sclavonic; since the appearance of the Third Part, I have devoted a distinct T to the Celtic language,* and have endeavoured, in a Work which l cently appeared, to prove an original relationship between the Mal lynesian idioms, also, and the Sanscrit stem. But even so early my System of Conjugation, the establishment of a connection of lan was not so much a final object with me, as the means of penet into the secrets of lingual development, since languages, which wer nally one, but during thousands of years have been guided bytheir o dividual destiny, mutually clear up and complete one another, inasm one in this place, another in that, has preserved the original or tion in a more healthy and sound condition. A principal result inquiry instituted in my System of Conjugation was the following: many grammatical forms, in the construction of verbs, are explai auxiliary verbs, which are supposed to have attached themsel them, and which, in some measure, give to the individual lan a peculiar appearance, and seem to confirm the idea, that new matical forms were developed, in the later periods of the of languages, from newly-created matter; while, on closer insp

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* In the Transactions of the Phil. Historical Cl. of the Academy of Belles Le the year 1836. The separate Edition of my Treatise is out of print, and a new will be struck off hereafter, to complete this Comparative Grammar.

[illegible] at times its application is new. Thus the Latin, in com-
ith the Greek, which is so closely allied to it, shews, in the
s tenses and moods in *bam*, *bo*, *vi*, *rem*, and *rim*, an aspect which
ely strange. These terminations, however, as has been long
n, are nothing else than the primitive roots of the verb "to be,"
› all the members of the Indo-European family of languages,
ch one has for its radical consonant a labial, the other a sibilant
asily converted into *r*: it is, therefore, not surprising, that *bam*
great resemblance to the Sanscrit *abhavam* and Lithuanian
was" (see §. 522.); while forms like *amabo*, through their final
and in remarkable agreement with the Anglo-Saxon *beo* and
bŏm, "I shall be" (see §. 662., &c.), and border on the Irish
he Celtic in this respect, that here also the labial root of "to
an elementary part of verbs implying futurity (see §. 256.).
atin conjunctives, as *amem*, *amēs*, and futures, as *legam*, *legēs*,
eady, through the medium of the Sanscrit, perceived an analogy
reek optatives and German conjunctives, and designated, as ex-
the relation of mood or time, an auxiliary verb, which signifies
" "to will," and the root of which is, in Sanscrit, *i*, which here,
n and Old High German, is contracted with a preceding *a* to *ĕ*,
eek, with the *a* which is corrupted to *o*, forms the diphthong *ot*.
meet with the Sanscrit *bharĕs*, the Old High German *bĕrĕs*, the
's, the Gothic *baíraís*, the Zend *barŏis*, and the Greek *φέροις*, as
ically and inflexionally connected, which excite real surprise by
rful fidelity with which the original type has been preserved in
anguages which have been, from time immemorial, distinct from
er. In particular, the mood, which, in §§. 672. 713., I have

in the present, only the combination of Personal te
tions, and, indeed, of the primary ones, with the r

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language. In order to set this in a clear point of view, I have, s
(last example), contrasted two verbs of the same signification in
languages, and in them written the Sanscrit diphthong *é* from *ai*
ing to its etymological value.

Where differences exist in the languages here discussed, they fr
rest on universal euphonic laws, and therefore cease to be dif
Thus, in the paradigm just mentioned, the Carniolan has lost, in t
persons singular of the imperative, the personal termination, w
dual and plural stand in the most perfect accordance with the
The abbreviation in the singular, however, rests on the euph
which has compelled the Sclavonic languages, at least in pol
words, to drop all original final consonants (see §. 255. *l.*). Acc
this principle, in Carniolan, *dáj* (=*dái*), thrice repeated, corres
the Latin *dem*, *dês*, *det* (from *daim*, *dais*, *dait*), while in the prese
more full than *do*, and *dásh* as full as *das*, because, that is to sa
present the pronominal consonants originally had an *i* after them.

The German languages have renounced the association of the
the verb "to be." They are wanting in futures like the San
syâmi, Greek δώ-σω, and Lithuanian *dů-su*, and also those with t
root of "to be," which furnish the Latin *dabo*, and Irish futures li
fa-mar, "we will deceive," and Lithuanian conjunctives as *důt*
daremus (see §. 685.). German is wanting, too, in preterites like
scrit *adîk-sham*, Greek ἔδεικ-σα, and Latin *dic-si* (see §. 555.); t
belong the Sclavonic tenses like *da-ch*, "I gave," *dachom*, "we ga
guttural of which we have derived from a sibilant.† On the oth
the German idioms, by annexing an auxiliary verb signifying '
have gained the appearance of a new inflexion. In this sense
already, in my System of Conjugation, taken the Gothic plu
sôkidêdum and conjunctives as *sôkidêdyau* ("I would make to seek
subsequently, in agreement with F. Grimm, I have extended the s
verb just mentioned also to the singular indicative *sôkida*, and ot
like *suchte*. (See §§. 620. &c.) I think, too, I have discovered t
auxiliary in the Sclavonic future *bûdû*, "I will be" ("I make to b

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* Sanscrit *dadâmi*, *dadâsi*, *dadâti*, on which the Carniolan *dám* (for *dad*
dá, is based, see p. 673.

† See §. 255. *m.*, &c.

of the root, such an extension of it, as, in the tenses, falls to the class of conjugation, to which

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perative *bûdi* (properly "make to be"); moreover, in *idû*, "I ke to go," see §. 633.); and finally, in the Greek passive aorists e §. 630.); for the auxiliary verb to which our *thun* answers, been treated of minutely at §. 428., &c., signifies, both in San- Zend, "to place," and "to make"; and the Old Saxon *dēdu*, "I emblles surprisingly the Zend reduplicated preterite *dadha* (see It is, however, remarkable, that those Sanscrit classes of verbs, as I think, I have proved our weak conjugation answers, always e that preterite which is the foundation of our German tense licated or perfect), either by an auxiliary verb signifying "to make," or by a verb substantive. Here, therefore, as in so er things, the apparently peculiar direction which the German have taken, was in a great measure pointed out to them by Asiatic sister.

t, however, express myself with sufficient strength in guarding e misapprehension of supposing that I wish to accord to the niversally the distinction of having preserved its original charac- re, on the contrary, often noticed, in the earlier portions of this also in my System of Conjugation, and in the Annals of Orien- ture for the year 1820, that the Sanscrit has, in many points, ed alterations where one or other of the European sister idioms truly transmitted to us the original form. Thus it is undoubt- cordance with a true retention of the original condition of the that the Lithuanian *diewas*, "God," and all similar forms, keep inative sign *s* before all following initial letters, while the Sanscrit ich answers to the abovementioned *diewas*, becomes either *dévah*, r *déva*, according to the initial sound which follows, or a pause; henomenon occurs in all other forms in *as*. The modern Lithu- noreover, more primitive and perfect than the Sanscrit in this , that in its *essi*, "thou art," it has, in common with the Doric rved the necessary double *s*, of which one belongs to the root, the he personal termination, while the Sanscrit *asi* has lost one: also int, that the forms *esme*, "we are," *este*, "ye are," in common Greek ἐσμέν, ἐστέ, have retained the radical vowel, which has been n the Sanscrit *smas*, *sthas* (see §. 480.). The Latin *erant* and *bant*, t, &c., surpass the Sanscrit *âsan* and *abhavan*, "they were," as Greek ἦσαν and ἔφυον, by retaining the *t*, which belongs to the

it belongs (§. 109[a]. 493. &c.) Compare, for the first conjugation (§. 493.), the Sanscrit वहामि *vahâmi*, "I drive,'

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third person; and *ferens* and the Zend *barans* are in advance of the Sanscrit *bharan* and Greek *φέρων*, by their keeping the nominative sign; as also the Lithuanian *wezans* (*wezús*), in common with the Zend vazans and Latin *vehens*, put to shame, in this respect, the Sanscrit *vahan*. It is, in fact, remarkable that several languages, which are still spoken, retain here and there the forms of the primitive world of languages, which several of their older sisters have lost thousands of years ago. The superiority of the Carniolan *dám* to the Latin *do* has been mentioned before; but all other Carniolan verbs have the same superiority over all other Latin verbs, with the exception of *sum* and *inquam*, as also over the Greek verbs, as the Carniolan, and, in common with it, the Irish, have in all forms of the present preserved the chief element of the original termination *mi*. It is, too, a phenomenon in the history of languages, which should be specially noticed, that among the Indian daughters of the Sanscrit, as in general among its living Asiatic and Polynesian relations, not one language can, in respect of grammatical Sanscrit analogies, compare with the more perfect idioms of our quarter of the globe. The Persian has, indeed, retained the old personal terminations with tolerable accuracy, but, in disadvantageous comparison with the Lithuanian and Carniolan, has lost the dual, and preserved scarce any thing of the ancient manner of formation of the tenses and moods; and the old case terminations, which remain almost entire in the Lithuanian, and of which the Classical and German languages retain a great part, the Celtic somewhat, have completely vanished in Persian, only that its plurals in *ân* bear the same resemblance to the Sanscrit plural accusatives, that the Spanish in *os* and *as* do to the Latin; and also the neuter plurals in *hâ*, as I believe I have shewn, stand connected with the old system of declension (see §. 241.). And in the correct retention of individual words the Persian is often far behind the European sisters of the Sanscrit; for while in expressing the number "three" the European languages, as far as they belong to the Sanscrit, have all preserved both the *T* sound (as *t*, *th*, or *d*) and also the *r*, the Persian *sih* is farther removed from the ancient form than the Tahitic *toru* (euphonic for *tru*). The Persian *chehâr* or *châr*, "four," also, is inferior to the Lithuanian *keturi*, Russian *chetyre*, Gothic *fidvór*, Welch *pedwar*, and even to the *e-fatrá* of Madagascar.

No one will dispute the relation of the Bengáli to the Sanscrit; but it

"carry," with the verbs which correspond to it in the cognate idioms. (Regarding ἔχω, and the Lithuanian *wézù*, see §. 442. Rem. 3 and 4.).

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has completely altered the grammatical system, and thus, in this respect, resembles the Sanscrit infinitely less than the majority of European languages. And as regards the lexicon, too, the Bengáli resembles the above-mentioned language far less than its European sisters, in such words, for instance, as have gone through the process of fermentation in a language which has newly arisen from the ruins of an old one, and have not been re-drawn from the Sanscrit at a comparatively recent period, without the slightest alteration, or only with a trifling modification in their pronunciation. We will take as an example the word *schwester*, "sister": this German word resembles the Sanscrit *svasâr** far more than the Bengáli bôin,† our *bruder*, also, is more like the Sanscrit *bhrâtar* than the feminate Bengáli *bhâi*, and our *tochter* is infinitely closer to the Sanscrit duhitar than the Bengáli *jhi*. Our expressions *vater* and *mutter* correspond far better to the Sanscrit *pitar* (from *patar*) and *mâtar* than the Bengáli *bap* or *baba*‡ and *mâ*. Our *drei*, *acht*, and *neun*, are more similar to the Sanscrit *tri*, *ashṭân* (from *aktân*), *navan*, than the Bengáli tin, âṭ, nay. Our *sieben* has retained only the labial of the *pt* of the Sanscrit *saptan*; the Bengáli *sât* only the *T* sound, and dropped entirely the termination *an*. In general it appears that in warm regions languages, when they have once burst the old grammatical chain, hasten to their downfall with a far more rapid step than under our milder European sun. But if the Bengáli and other new Indian idioms have really laid aside their old grammatical dress, and partly put on a new one, and in their forms of words experienced mutilation almost everywhere, in the beginning, or in the middle, or at the end, no one need object if I assert the same of the Malay-Polynesian languages, and refer them to the Sanscrit family, because I

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* This, and not *svasṛi*, is the true theme; the nominative is *svasá*, the accusative *svasáram*. This word, as Pott also conjectures, has lost, after the second *s*, a *t*, which has been retained in several European languages.

† The initial *s* is rejected, and the second corrupted to *h*. The Sanscrit *v* is, in Bengáli, regularly pronounced as *b*, and *a* like *o*. As regards the termination *ini*, I look upon the *i* as an interposed conjunctive vowel, and the *n* as a corruption of *r*, as in the numeral tin, "three." Properly speaking *bohini* presupposes a Sanscrit *svasri* (from *sva-stri*).

‡ In my opinion, a reduplication of the initial syllable *pa*.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	LITH.	OI
vah-â-mi,[1]	*vaz-â-mi*,	ἔχ-ω-',	*veh-o-'*,	*vig-a-'*,	*wezź-ù*,[2]	ve
vah-a-si,	*vaz-a-hi*,	ἔχ-ει-ες,[3]	*veh-i-s*,[4]	*vig-i-s*,[4]	*wezź-ì*,[5]	ve
vah-a-ti,	*vaz-ai-ti*,	ἔχ-ε-(τ)ι,	*veh-i-t*,[4]	*vig-i-th*,[4]	*wezź-a-'*,	ve

DUAL.

vah-â-vas,[1]	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . . .	*vig-ôs*,[6]	*wezź-a-wa*,	v
vah-a-thas,	*vaz-a-thô*?	ἔχ-ε-τον,[7]	. . . . .	*vig-a-ts*,	*wezź-a-ta*,	v
vah-a-tas,	*vaz-a-tô*,	ἔχ-ε-τον,[7]	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .[8]	v

PLURAL.

vah-â-mas,[1]	*vaz-â-mahi*,[9]	ἔχ-ο-μες,	*veh-i-mus*,	*vig-a-m*,	*wezź-a-mè*,	v
vah-a-tha,	*vaz-a-tha*,	ἔχ-ε-τε,	*veh-i-tis*,[4]	*vig-i-th*,[4]	*wezź-a-tè*,	v
vah-a-nti,[10]	*vaz-ĕ-nti*,	ἔχ-ο-ντι,	*veh-u-nt*,	*vig-a-nd*,	. . . .[8]	v

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have found in them a pervading relationship in numerals and p and, moreover, in a considerable number of other common words.

Philology would ill perform its office if it accorded an original only to those idioms in which the mutual points of resemblanc everywhere palpable and striking, as, for instance, between the *dadâmi*, the Greek δίδωμι, Lithuanian *dâmi*, and Old Sclavoni Most European languages, in fact, do not need proof of their rel to the Sanscrit; for they themselves shew it by their forms, w part, are but very little changed. But that which rema philology to do, and which I have endeavoured to the utmos ability to effect, was to trace, on one hand, the resemblances into retired corner of the construction of language, and, on the other far as possible, to refer the greater or less discrepancies to laws which they became possible or necessary. It is, however, of itsel that there may exist languages, which, in the interval of thou years in which they have been separated from the sources whe arose, have, in a great measure, so altered the forms of words, tha longer practicable to refer them to the mother dialect, if it be still and known. Such languages may be regarded as independent, people who speak them may be considered Autochthones. But w two languages, or families of languages, resemblances, which are

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* See my Pamphlet "On the Connection of the Malay-Polynesian Languag Indo-European;" as also my own notice of the same in the Ann. of Lit. C 1842); and compare L. Diefenbach's judicious review, l. c. May 1842.

ting the lengthening of the class vowel see §. 434. [2] *Wezù* *m* for *wez-a-m*, as in Old Sclavonic ВЕЗѫ *veζ-û* from *veζ-o-m*: *g*. and 436. The full Lithuanian termination is *mi*, and the ıic *my* (§. 436.). [3] See §. 448. [4] In Latin the weak- *a* of the middle syllable to *i* pervades nearly throughout; thic, occurs only before *s* and *th* final: see §§. 67. 109 a. 1. *vez-a-i* from *vez-a-si*, compare *es-si*, "thou art": see §. 448., ıould read *wez-ai*, *wezate* for *wezei*, *wezete*. The Old Prussian here retained the sibilant, and employs *se* or *sei*, and *si*, as the mination; as *druw-e-se*, "thou believest" (compare Sanscrit irm," "certain"), *da-se*, "thou givest," *wai(d)-sei*, "thou *iw-a-ssi* (for *giw-a-si*), "thou livest," = Sans. *jîvasi*. [6] From e §. 441. [7] From ἔχ-ε-τος, see §. 97. [8] Is supplied ılar. [9] *Vazâmahi* is founded on the Vêda form *vahâmasi*,

[10] See §. 458. [11] From *vez o-nty*, see §. 255. *g*.

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may be recognised through the known laws by which corrup- crowd together into the narrow and confined space of particular words, as is the case in the Malay-Polynesian languages in the Indo-European, in the numerals and pronouns; and where, we find, in all spheres of ideas, words which resemble one the degree that the Madagascar *sakai*, "friends," does the *châi*; the Madagasc. *mica*, "cloud," the Sanscrit *mégha*; the ıd *rákau*, "tree," the Prakrit *rukkha*; the New Zealand *páka*u, he Sanscrit *paksha*; the Tagalia *paa*, "foot," the Sanscrit Tahitian *ruy*, "night," the Prakrit *râï*; the Tongian *aho*, Sanscrit *ahô*; the Tongian *váka*, "ship," the Sanscrit *plâvaka*; n *feláu*, "to sail in a ship," the Sanscrit *plava*, "ship"; the *fúlu*, "to wash," the Sanscrit *plu* (*â-plu*); the Tongian *hamo*, ıe Sanscrit *kâma*; the Malay *pûtih* and Madagasc. *futsi*, he Sanscrit *pûta*, "pure";*—there, certainly, we have ground convinced of a historical connection between the two families es.

e desired, in settling the relation of languages, to start from a oint of view, and to declare such languages, or groups of lan- t related, which, when compared with one another, present a

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: the frequent coincidence in Madagasc. and Tongian with the German ony, of which more is to be found in my Pamphlet on the Malay-Polynesian p. 5 and Rem. 13.

508. In the Sanscrit first conjugation the तिष्ठामि *tishṭhâmi*, "I stand," deserves particular notic proceeds from the root *sthâ*, and belongs properly third class, which receives reduplication (§. 109[a]. 3.) is distinguished from it by this anomalous characte it shortens its radical *â* in the special tenses,* an

* Where naturally, in the first person, this shortened *a* is, acc §. 434., again lengthened.

large number of words and forms, which appear to be peculi we must not only detach the Malay-Polynesian languages fi Sanscrit stem, but also separate them from one another — the gascar and South-Sea languages from the acknowledged affini the Tagalia, Malay, and Javanese, which has been so meth and skilfully demonstrated by W. von Humboldt; and in like divide the Latin from the Greek and Sanscrit; and the Greek, Sclavonic, Lettish Lithuanian, Celtic, must be allowed to be s independent, unconnected potentates of the lingual world; and t cidences, which the many members of the Indo-European lingu mutually offer, must be declared to have originated casually or b quent commixture.

I believe, however, that the apparent verbal resemblances of idioms, exclusive of the influences of strange languages, aris from this, that each individual member, or each more confined ci great stem of languages, has, from the period of identity, preserve and forms which have been lost by the others; or from this, that in a word, both form and signification have undergone con alteration, a sure agreement with the sister words of the kin guages is no longer possible. That, however, the significa well as the form, alters in the course of time, we learn even f comparison of the new German with the earlier conditions of our language. Why should not far more considerable changes in i arisen in the far-longer period of time which divides the Euro guages from the Sanscrit? I believe that every genuine radic whether German, Greek, or Roman, proceeds from the original although the threads by which it is retraced are found by us at t off or invisible. For instance, in the so-called strong conjugatio

n the syllable of reduplication, where a short *a* should tand, it weakens this, the gravest of the vowels, to that hich is the lightest, *i*; hence, *e.g.* in the second and third erson singular, *tishṭha-si*, *tishtha-ti*, for *tasthâ-si*, *tasthâ-ti*, s might be expected according to the analogy of *dadâ-si*, *ddâ-ti*. As the shortened *a* of *sthâ* in the conjugation is eated exactly like the class vowel of the first conjugation, his verb, therefore, and *ghrâ*, "to smell," which follows s analogy, is included by the native grammarians in the

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erman one would expect nothing exclusively German, but only what as been handed down and transmitted from the primitive source. We re able, however, to connect with certainty but very few roots of the trong verbs with the Indian. While, *e. g.*, the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Lettish, and Sclavonic agree in the idea of "giving" a root, of which the original form, preserved in the Sanscrit and Zend, *dâ*, the German *gab* throws us into perplexity as regards its comparison ith its sisters. But if we would assume that this verb originally gnified "to take," and has received the causal meaning ("to make to ake," *i. e.* "to give"), as the Sanscrit *tishṭhâmi* and Zend *histâmi*, in reek ἵστημι, has arrived, from the meaning of "standing," at that of taking": we might then trace *gab* to the Véda *grabh*, and assume that e *r* has been lost, although this root has remained in German also, in a uer form and meaning, only that the *a* has been weakened to *i* (Gothic ripa, *graip*, *gripum*).

I have altered the plan proposed in the Preface to the First Part . xvii.), of devoting a separate work to the formation of words and com- arison of them, and to refer thither also the participles, conjunctions, d prepositions, for this reason, that I intend to treat in the present work, ith all possible conciseness, the comparative doctrine of the formation of ords, and will also discuss the coincidences of the various members of the ndo-European stem of languages, which appear in the conjunctions and repositions. For this object a Fifth Number will be requisite. The resent Fourth Number will conclude the formation of the tenses and oods; but a little remains to be added regarding the mood which is called *it* in the Zend and Véda dialects, as also the imperative, which, for the est, is distinguished only by its personal terminations, which have been lready discussed in the Third Part.

first class; so that, according to them, we should have divide *tishṭh-a-si*, *tishṭh-a-ti*, and regard *tishṭh* as a substitu for *shtha*. I consider the occasion of the double weakenin which the roots *sthâ* and *ghrâ* undergo in the syllable of rep tition and of the base, to be in the two consonants conjoine with it, which give to the syllable of repetition a length b position; for which reason, in order that the whole shoul not appear too unwieldly, the vowel weight of the syllabl of reduplication is lessened, and the length of the bas syllable is shortened. The Zend *histahi*, "thou standest," *histati*, "he stands," &c., follow the same principle; an it is important to remark, that the Latin *sistis*, *sistit*, *sis timus*, *sistitis*, on account of the root being incumbere with the syllable of reduplication, has weakened th radical *â* of *stâ-re* to *i*, and apparently introduced th verb into the third conjugation. I say apparently because the essence of the third conjugation consists i this, that an *i*, which is not radical, is inserted betwee the root and the personal termination; but the *i* of *sisti-s* &c., like the *a* of the Sanscrit *tiṣṭha-si*, belongs to th root. The Greek ἵστη-μι has so far maintained itself upo an older footing, that it has not given to the syllable c reduplication, or to the consonants which unite it, a influence on the long vowel of the radical syllable, bu admits of the shortening of this vowel only through th operation of the gravity of the personal terminations thus, before the grave terminations of the plural number and of the entire middle, according to the analogy δίδωμι, &c. (see §. 480. &c.). With respect to the kind reduplication which occurs in the Sanscrit *tishṭhâmi*, an of which more hereafter, I must notice preliminarily th Latin *testis*, which is the reverse case of *steti*, as I believ *testis* is to be regarded as one who stands for an thing.

509. The Sanscrit, and all its cognate dialects, have tw

roots for the verb substantive, of which the one, which is, in Sanscrit, भू *bhû*, in Zend, بو *bû*, belongs to the first conjugation, and, indeed, to the first class, and assumes, therefore, in the special tenses, a class-vowel *a*, and augments the radical vowel by *guna*; while the other, viz. अस् *as*, falls to the second conjugation, and, in fact, to the second class. These two roots, in all the Indo-European languages, except in the Greek, where ΦΥ has entirely lost the signification "to be," are so far mutually complete, that *bhû*, *bû*, have remained perfect in the Sanscrit and Zend (as far as the latter can be quoted); but *as*, on the contrary, in its isolated condition, is used only in the special tenses. In Lithuanian, the root which answers to *as* is only used in the present indicative, and in the participle present; just as in the Sclavonic, where the present of the gerund is, according to its origin, identical with the participle present. The Gothic forms from *as*, the *a* of which it weakens to *i*, its whole present indicative and conjunctive, only that there is attached to it a further apparent root *SIY*, which, however, in like manner, proceeds from अस् *as*. The root *bhû*, in Gothic, does not refer at all to the idea of "to be"; but from it proceeds, I have no doubt, the causal verb *bana*, "I build" (second person *banais*), which I derive, like the Latin *facio*, from भावयामि *bhâvayâmi*, "I make to be" (§. 19.). The High German has also preserved remains of the root *bhû* in the sense of "to be": hence proceed, in the Old High German, the first and second person of the singular and plural, while the third persons *ist* and *sind* (which latter form is now, in the shape of *sind*, erroneously transferred to the first person) answer to अस्ति *asti*, सन्ति *santi*. For the rest, from अस् *as* also proceeds the conjugation *sî* (Sanscrit स्याम् *syâm*, "I may be"), and the infinitive *sîn*. Moreover, also, the Sanscrit root *vas*, "to dwell," has raised itself, in German, to the dignity of the verb sub-

stantive, since, indeed, in Gothic, the present *visa* (weakened from *vasa*, see §. 109[a]. 1.) signifies only "to remain;" but the preterite *vas*, and its conjugation *vêsyau* (our *war*, *wäre*), the infinitive *visan*, and the participle present *visands*, replace the forms which have been, from ancient time, lost by the roots expressing the idea "to be." It may be proper to mention here, that in Sanscrit, the root *sthâ*, "to stand," occasionally receives the abstract meaning "to be," and so, in a measure, has served as an example to the Roman languages, which, for their verb substantive, employ, besides the Latin roots, *ES* and *FU*, also *STA*. And *âs*, "to sit," also occurs in Sanscrit, in the sense of the verb substantive; *e.g.* Nal. 16. 30. गतसत्त्वा इवासते *gatasattvâ* (*s*) *ivaâsatê*, "like senseless are they;" Hitôp. 44. 11. आस्ताम् मानसतुष्टये सुकृतिनाम् *âstâm mânasatushṭayê sukṛitinâm*, "let it be (your good behaviour) to gratify the spirit of the virtuous;" Urv. 92. 8. आयुष्मान् आस्ताम् अयम् *âyushmân âstâm ayam*, "long-lived may this man be." It is not improbable that the verb substantive is only an abbreviation of the root *âs*, and that generally the abstract notion of "being" is in no language the original idea of any verb whatever. The abbreviation of *âs* to *as*, and from that to a simple *s*, before grave terminations (see §. 480.), is explained, however, in the verb substantive, very easily; as, from its being worn out by the extremely frequent use made of it, and from the necessity for a verb, which is so much employed, and universally introduced, obtaining a light and facile construction. Frequent use may, however, have a double influence on the form of a verb;—in the first place, to wear it out and simplify it as much as possible; and, secondly, to maintain in constant recollection its primitive forms of inflexion, by calling them perpetually into remembrance, and securing them from destruction. Both these results are seen in the verb substantive; for in Latin, *sum*, together with

inquam, are the only verbs, which have preserved the old personal sign in the present: in the Gothic and English of the present day, *im* and *am* are the only forms of this kind; and in our new German, *bin* (from *bim*) and *sind* are the only forms which have preserved the character of the first person singular and third person plural.

510. As the Sanscrit root *bhû* belongs to the first conjugation, we shall next examine its conjugation in the present. As belonging to the first class, it requires *Guna* and the insertion of the class vowel *a* between the root and the personal termination (§. 109[2]. 1.). This insertion of the *a* occasions the *bhô* (=*bhau*), for euphonic reasons, to become *bhav*, in which form the root appears in all the persons of the special tenses. By this *bhav*, in Zend *bav*, the Old High German *bir* (or *pir*), in the plural *bir-u-mês*, *bir-u-t*, obtains very satisfactory explanation, since, as remarked at §. 20., and as has since been confirmed, in the case before us, by Graff (II. 325.), the semi-vowels are often interchanged; and, for example, *v* readily becomes *r* or *l*.* The *u* of *bir-u-mês*, *bir-u-t*, is a weakening of the old *a* (Vocalismus, p. 227. 16.); and the *i* of the radical syllable *bir* rests on the weakening of that vowel, which occurs very often elsewhere (§ 6.). The singular should, according to the analogy of the plural, be *birum*, *birus*, *irut*, but has rejected the second syllable; so that *bim* has nearly the same relation to the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, that, in Latin, *malo* has to the *mavolo*, which was to have been looked for. The obsolete conjunctive forms *fuam*, *fuas*, *fuat*, *fuant*, presuppose an indicative *fuo*, *fuis*, *fuit*, &c., which has certainly at one time existed, and, in essentials, has the same relation to the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, *bhavasi*, *bhavati*, that *veho*, *vehis*, *vehit*, has to *vahâmi*, *vahasi*, *vahati*.

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* See, also, §. 409, Rem. †, and §. 447, Rem. 6.

The obsolete form *fuvi* of the perfect, which is found with the common *fui*, leads us from *fuo* to *fuvo*, in as far as the syllable *vi* of *fuvi* is not declared identical with the *vi* of *amavi*, according to my opinion, but its *v* regarded as developed from *u*, just as, in the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite बभूव *babhûva*, in the aorist अभूवम् *abhûvam*, and in the Lithuanian preterite *buvaù*.

The full conjugation of the present of the root under discussion, in Sanscrit, Zend, Old High German, and Greek, is as follows:—

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	OLD SCLAV.	GREEK.
bhav-â-mi,	*bav-â-mi,*	*bi-m,*	φύ-ω-'
bhav-a-si,	*bav-a-hi,*	*bi-s,**	φύ-ει-ς.
bhav-a-ti,	*bav-ai-ti,*	. . . .	φύ-ε-(τ)ι.

DUAL.

bhav-â-vas,	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .
bhav-a-thas,	*bav-a-thô?*	. . . .	φύ-ε-τον.
bhav-a-tas,	*bav-a-tô,*	. . . .	φύ-ε-τον.

PLURAL.

bhav-â-mas,	*bav-â-mahi,*	*bir-u-mês,*	φύ-ο-μες.
bhav-a-tha,	*bav-a-tha,*	*bir-u-t,*	φύ-ε-τε.
bhav-a-nti,	*bav-ai-nti,*	. . .†	φύ-ο-ντι.

511. I hold it to be unnecessary to further annex an example of the second conjugation (that in μι in Greek), for several examples have been given already, in the

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* Also *bist*.

† The forms *birint*, *birent*, *birnt*, and *bint*, which occur in Notker in the second person plural, I consider as unorganic intruders from the third person, where *birint* would answer admirably to *bhavanti*. The form *bint* corresponds in its abbreviation to the singular *bim*, *bis*. With regard to the mutation of the person, notice our *sind* of the first person.

paragraphs, which treat of the influence of the gravity of personal terminations on the preceding root or class syllable, to which we here refer the reader (§. 480. &c.). We will only adduce from the Gothic the verb substantive (as it is the only one which belongs to this conjugation), and contrast its present with the Sanscrit and Zend (compare p. 510) :—

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
as-mi,	*ah-mi,*	*i-m.*	*s-mas,*	*h-mahi,*	*siy-u-m.*
a-si,	*a-hi,*	*i-s.*	*s-tha,*	*s'-tha,*	*siy-u-th.*
as-ti,	*as'-ti,*	*i-st.*	*s-a-nti,*	*h-ĕnti,*	*s-i-nd.*

"Remark 1.—It is evident that the plural forms *siy-u-m*, *siy-u-th*, if strictly taken, do not belong to this place, as the personal terminations are not conjoined direct with the root; but by means of a *u*, which might be expected, also, in the second dual person, *siy-u-ts*, if it occurred, and in which respect those forms follow the analogy of the present. The first dual person which actually occurs is *siyâ*.* As regards the syllable *siy*, which forms, as root, the base of all these forms, and of the conjunctive *siy-au*, *siy-ais*, &c., I do not think, that, according to its origin, it is to be distinguished from *im* (of which the radical *s* has been lost) and *sind*. To *sind* answers *siy*, in so far as it likewise has lost the radical vowel, and commences with the sibilant, which in Zend, according to §. 53., has become *h*. With regard to the *iy*, which is added, I think that *siy* stands connected with the Sanscrit potential *syâm*, so that to the semi-vowel there has been further prefixed its corresponding vowel *i*; for the Gothic, as it appears, does not admit of a *y* after an initial consonant; hence *siyau* for *syau* = स्याम् *syâm*, according to the principle

* Regarding the derivation of this form from *siy-u-va*, and the ground of my giving the long *u*, see §. 441.

by which, from the numeral base *thri*, "three," com genitive *thriyé* for *thryé* (§. 310.). If, therefore, i form *siy*, properly only the *s* is radical, and the presses a mood-relation, still the language, in its p state, is no longer conscious of this, and erroneously ing the whole *siy* as root, adds to it, in the conju the class vowel *a* (§. 109[a]. 1.), with which a new *i* is as the representative of the mood relation, and, in t dicative, the vowel *u*, which otherwise, in the pre regularly enters between the root and personal ter tion."

"Remark 2.—That in the Roman languages, als weight of the personal terminations exerts an infl on the preceding radical syllable, and that, in F the relation of *tenons* to *tiens* rests on the same pri on which, in Greek, that of δίδομεν to δίδωμι does, is al remarked elsewhere.* The third person plural, in r to the form of the radical vowel, ranks with the sin since it, like the latter, has a lighter termination th first and second person plural, and indeed, as pron in French, none at all; hence, *tiennent*, answering to *tenez*. Diez, however, differing from my view of th man terminating sound (*ablaut*), has, in his Grammar Roman languages (I. p. 168), based the vowel differen tween *tiens* and *tenons* on the difference of the accent exists, in Latin, between *téneo* and *tenémus*. But it to be overlooked, that, in the third conjugation although, *quæro* and *quærimus* have the same still, in Spanish, *querimos* is used, answering to *quier* in French, *acquérons*, answering to *acquiers*, as has already remarked by Fuchs, in his very valuable pan "Contributions to the Examination of the Roman

* Berlin Ann., Feb. 1827, p. 261. Vocalismus, p. 16.

ages," p. 18. It may be, that the *i* of the French *sais*, identical with the *i* of the Latin *sapio*; but, even then, e dislodgement of this *i* in *savons* rests on the same law s that which dislodged, in *tenons*, the *i* prefixed in *tiens*; s, *e.g.*, in Sanscrit, the root *vaś* rejects, in the same laces, its radical *a*, where regular verbs of the same class ay aside the Guna vowel which is introduced into the oot before light terminations; thus, उश्मस् *uśmas*, "we will," answering to वश्मि *vaśmi*, "I will," as, in French, *savons* to *sais*."

"Remark 3.—I cannot ascribe to the Guna in the conjugation of the Sanscrit and its cognate languages a grammatical meaning, but explain it as proceeding simply from a disposition to fulness of form, which occasions the strengthening of the lighter vowels *i* and *u*, by, as it were, taking them under the arm by prefixing an *a*, while the *a* itself, as it is the heaviest vowel, does not require extraneous help. If it were desired, with Pott (Etym. Inq. I. 60.), to find, in the Guna of the present and imperfect, an expression of the continuance of an action, we should be placed in the same difficulty with him, by the circumstance that the Guna is not restricted to these two tenses, but in verbs with the lighter base-vowels, *i* and *u* accompanies the base through nearly all the tenses and moods, not only in Sanscrit, but also in its European cognate languages, in as far as these have in general preserved this kind of diphthongization; as the Greek λείπω and φεύγω cannot any more be divested of the ε taken into the roots ΛΙΠ, ΦΥΓ, only that the ε in λέλοιπα is replaced by *o*;* and that the aorists ἔλιπον, ἔφυγον, exhibit the pure root, which I cannot attribute to the signification of this aorist (as the second aorist has the same meaning as the first, but the latter firmly retains the Guna, if it is in general the property of the verb), but to the circumstance that the second aorist is

† E and *o*, never *a*, are, with the vowel *i*, the representatives of the Sanscrit Guna vowel *a*, see Vocalismus, pp. 7, &c., 193, &c.

for the most part prone to retain the original form
base, and hence at one time exhibits a lighter vocali
than the other tenses; at another, a heavier one, as ἔ
compared with ἔτρεψα and ἔτερπον. In this dispo
therefore, of the second aorist to retain the true state
base, the difference between forms like ἔλιπον, ἔφυγον, ἔ
and the imperfects of the corresponding verbs, cani
sought in the circumstance, that the action in the ac
not represented as one of duration; and that, on the
trary, in the imperfect and present the continuance is
bolically represented by the Guna. In general, I d
think that the language feels a necessity to express for
the continuance of an action, because it is self-evider
every action and every sort of repose requires time, an
it is not the business of a moment, if I say that any on
or drinks, sleeps or sits, or that he ate or drank, slept
at the time that this or that action occurred regarding
I affirm the past time. I cannot, therefore, assume
Pott, that the circumstance that the class-characteristi
cur only in the special tenses (*i. e.* in the present and i
fect indicative, and in the moods thereto belonging),
be thence explained, that here a continuance is to b
pressed. Why should the Sanscrit have invented nin
ferent forms as symbols of continuance, and, among i
classes of conjugations, exhibit one, also, which is c
of all foreign addition? I believe, rather, that the
augment originally extended over all tenses, but s
quently, yet still before the separation of languages
dislodged from certain tenses, the construction of whi
duced the semi-vowel. This inducement occurred i
aorist (the first, which is most frequently used) and f
owing to the annexation of the verb substantive; w
fore, *dâsyâmi* and δώσω were used for *dadâsyâm*
διδώσω; and in the perfect, owing to the reduplicatior
racterising this tense, whence, in Greek, the forı
δειγμαι must have gained the preference over the δεδεί

which may have existed. Observe that, in Sanscrit, the reading the root, by reduplication, in the tenses mentioned, as occasioned, even in the second person plural active, the loss of the personal sign; so that, दृदृश *dadṛiśa* corresponds to the Greek δεδόρκ-α-τε."

512. For the description of the present middle, which, in the Greek, appears also as the passive, and in Gothic as passive alone, it is sufficient to refer back to the disquisition of the middle terminations given at §§. 466. &c. It might, however, not be superfluous to contrast here, as an example of the first conjugation, the Sanscrit *bharê* (for *bhar-â-mê*) with the corresponding forms of the cognate languages; and, for the second, to annex the forms of the Sanscrit *tan-v-ê* (from *tan-u-mê*, from *tan*, Cl. 8., "to extend," see §. 109[a]. 4.).

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.
bhar-ê (from *bhar-â-mê*[1]),	*bair-ê*,[2]	φερ-ο-μαι,	. . . .[3]
bhar-a-sê,	*bar-a-hê*,	(φέρ-ε-σαι),	*bair-a-za*.[4]
bhar-a-tê,	*bar-ai-tê*,[2]	φέρ-ε-ται,	*bair-a-da*.[4]

DUAL.

bhar-â-vahê,	. . . .	φερ-ό-μεθον,	. . . .
bhar-êthê,[5]	. . . .	φέρ-ε-σθον,[6]	. . . .
bhar-êthê,[5]	. . . .	φέρ-ε-σθον,[6]	. . . .

PLURAL.

bhar-â-mahê,[7]	*bar-â-maidhê*,	φερ-ό-μεθα,	. . . .[3]
bhar-a-dhvê,[8]	*bar-a-dhwê*?[9]	φέρ-ε-σθε,[6]	. . . .[3]
bhar-a-ntê,	*bar-ai-ntê*,	φερ-ο-νται,	*bair-a-nda*.[4]

[1] See §§. 467. 473. [2] Regarding the *ai* of the root see §. 41.; and regarding the Gothic *âi* of *bairaza*, &c., see §. 82. [3] This is replaced by the third person. [4] The terminations *za*, *da*, *nda*, are abbreviations of *zai*, *dai*, *ndai*, see §. 466. Observe, in *bair-a-za*, *bair-a-da*, that the conjunctive vowel is preserved in its original form (see §. 466. close). [5] *Bharêthê* and *bharêtê* from *bhar-a-âthê*, *bhar-a-âtê*, whence *bharâthê*, *bharâtê*, would be regular; but in this place, throughout the whole conjugation, the *â* has been weakened to *ê* (=*a*+*i*), or the *â* of the termina-

tion has become *i* or *î*, and been melted down with the class vowel *a* to *é*. Regarding the terminations *âthé*, *âté*, as conjectural abbreviations of *tâthé*, *tâté*, or *sâthé*, *sâté*, see §§. 474. 475. [6] See §§. 474. 475. [7] From *bhar-â-maidhé*, see §. 472. To the Zend termination *maidhé* corresponds remarkably the Irish termination *maoid; e. g.* in *dagh-a-maoid*, "we burn," = Sanscrit *dah-â-mahé*, from *dah-â-madhé*. [8] Probably from *bhar-a-ddhvé*, see §§. 474. 475. [9] The termination *dhwé* can be deduced with tolerably certainty from the secondary form *dhwěm*; see Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes, p. xxxviii.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
tan-v-é (from *tan-u-mê*),	τάν-υ-μαι.
tau-u-shé,	τάν-υ-σαι.
tan-u-té,	τάν-υ-ται.
DUAL.	
tan-u-vahê,	ταν-ύ-μεθον.
tan-v-âthé,	τάν-υ-σθον.
tan-v-âté,	τάν-υ-σθον.
PLURAL.	
tan-u-mahê from *tan-u-madhé*,	ταν-ύ-μεθα.
tan-u-dhvé,	τάν-υ-σθε.
tan-v-até from *tan-v-anté*,*	τάν-υ-νται.

"Remark.—In Zend, we expect, if *tan* is here employed, according to the same class of conjugation, for the second and third person singular, and first and second person plural, the forms *tan-ûi-śé* (see §§. 41. 52.), *tan-ûi-té* (according to the *kěrě-nûi-té*, 'he makes,' which actually occurs), *tan-u-maidhê*, *tan-u-dhwê*. The third person plural might be *tan-v-aité*, or *tan-v-ainté*, according as the nasal is rejected or not; for that the Zend, also, admits of the rejection of the nasal in places where this is the case in Sanscrit, is proved by the forms 𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *šěṇhaiti*, 'they teach,' medial 𐬱𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *s'ěṇhaité*, corre-

* See §§. 458. 459. See an example of the active of the corresponding class of conjugation, or one nearly akin to it, at p. 680.

sponding to the Sanscrit शासति *śâsati*, शाशते *śâśatê* (Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 480). In the Sanscrit, also, we sometimes find the nasal retained in the middle of the second conjugation, e.g, *achinvanta* for the more common *achinvata*. In the first person singular is formed, in Zend, from §. 43., the form *tan-uy-ê*, with euphonic *y*.

THE PRERERITE.

513. The Sanscrit has for the expression of past time the forms of the Greek imperfect, aorist, and perfect, without, however, like the Greek, connecting with these different forms degrees of meaning. They are, in Sanscrit, all, without distinction, used in the sense of the Greek aorist or imperfect; but the reduplicated preterite, which corresponds in form to the Greek perfect, most frequently represents the aorist. The Sanscrit is entirely deficient in a tense exclusively intended to express the completion of an action: none of the three forms mentioned is used chiefly for this object; and I do not remember that I have anywhere found the reduplicated preterite as representative of the perfect. When the completion of an action is to be expressed, we most commonly find the active expression changed into a passive one; and, in fact, so that a participle which, in form and signification, corresponds to the Latin in *tus*, is combined with the present of the verb substantive, or the latter is to be supplied, as in general the verb substantive, in Sanscrit, is omitted almost everywhere, where it can possibly be done. Some examples may appear not improperly annexed here. In the episode of the Savitrî* it should be said V. 19. "Thou hast gone as far as thou hadst to go," where the latter words are expressed by *gatan tvayâ* (*gatan*

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* I have published it in a collection of episodes entitled "Diluvium," &c., in the original text, and in the German translation under the title "Sündflut." (Berlin, by F. Dümmler.)

euphonic for *gatam*), "gone by thee": in the Nalus, X 29., for "Hast thou seen Nala"? we read in the origi *kachchit dṛishṭas tvayâ Nalô*, i. e. "*an visus a te Nalus*"? Kâlidâsa's Urvasî (by Lenz, p. 66) "Hast thou stolen h step"? is expressed by *gatir asyâs tvayâ hṛitâ* ("the way her taken by thee"). It happens, too, not unfrequently, th the completion of an action is denoted in such a manner th he who has performed an action is designated as the po sessor of what has bee.i done; since, उक्तवान् अस्मि *uktav asmi*, literally "*dicto prædītus sum*," signifies "*dictum h beo*," "I have said." Thus in Urvasî (l. c. p. 73) the questio "Hast thou seen my beloved"? is expressed by *api dṛishṭav asi mama priyâm*, i. e. "art thou having seen m. b."?* Th modern mode, therefore, of expressing the completion an action was, in a measure, prepared by the Sanscri for the suffix *vat* (in the strong cases *vant*) forms po sessives; and I consider it superfluous to assume, with th Indian grammarians, a primitive suffix *tavat* for acti perfect participles. It admits of no doubt whatever, th उक्तवत् *uktavat*, "having said," has arisen from *ukta*; the same way, धनवत् *dhanavat*, "having riches," "rich proceeds from *dhana*, "riches."† The form in *tav*

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* The fourth act of Urvasî affords very frequent occasion for the u of the perfect, as the King Pururavas on all sides directs the questi whether any one has seen his beloved? This question, however, is nev put by using an augmented or even a reduplicated preterite, but always t the passive participle, or the formation in *vat* derived from it. So, als in Nalus, when Damayanti asks if any one has seen her spouse?

† The Latin *divit* may be regarded as identical with *dhanavat*, the mi dle syllable being dropped and compensated for by lengthening the pr ceding vowel. A similar rejection of a syllable has at one time occurre in *ditior*, *ditissimus*, just as in *malo*, from *mavolo*, from *magisvolo*. Pot on the contrary, divides thus, *div-it*, and thus brings "the rich" to th Indian "heaven," *div*, to which also Varro's derivation of *divus* in a ce tain degree, alludes, as *divus* and *deus* are akin to the Sanscrit *dêv* "God"; and the latter like *div*, "heaven," springs from *div*, "to shine."

although apparently created expressly for the perfect, occurs sometimes, also, as an action in transition. On the other hand, in neuter verbs the Sanscrit has the advantage of being able to use the participles in *ta*, which are properly passive, with active, and, indeed, with a perfect meaning; and this power is very often employed, while the passive signification in the said participle of verbs neuter is limited, as in the above example, to the singular neuter in the impersonal constructions. As example of the active perfect meaning, the following may serve, Nalus XII. 13.: *kva nu râjan gatô śi* (euphonic for *gatas asi*), "*quone, rex! profectus es?*"

514. The Sanscrit is entirely devoid of a form for the plusquam perfect, and it employs, where that tense might be expected, either a gerund expressive of the relation, "after"*—which, where allusion is made to a future time, is replaced, also, by the future absolute†—or the locative absolute, in sentences like *apakrântê nalê râjan damayantî .... abudhyata*, "after Nalas had departed, O king! (*profecto Nalo*) Damayantî awoke."

515. But if it is asked, whether the Sanscrit has, from the oldest antiquity, employed three past tenses without syntactical distinction, and uselessly expended its formative power in producing them; or whether the usage of the language has, in the course of time, dropped the finer degrees of signification, by which they might, as in Greek, have been originally distinguished; I think I must decide for the latter opinion: for as the forms of language gradually wear out and become abraded, so, also, are meanings subjected to corruption and mutilation. Thus, the San-

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* Nal. XI. 26.: *âkrandamânân saṅśrutya javênâ 'bhisasâra*, "*flentem postquam audiverat* ('after hearing the weeping') *cum velocitate advenit.*"

† Nal. X. 22.: *katham buddhvâ bhavishyati*, "how will she feel in spirit, after she has been awakened (after awaking)?"

scrit has an immense number of verbs, which signify "to go," and "to be," the employment of which must have been originally distinguished by the difference in the kind of motion which each was intended to express, and which are still, in part, so distinguished. I have already noticed elsewhere, that the Sanscrit *sarpâmi*, "I go," must have had the same meaning as *serpo* and ἕρπω, because the Indians, like the Romans, name the snake from this verb (सर्पस् *sarpa-s* "*serpens*").* If, then, the nicer significations of each one of the three forms by which, in Sanscrit, the past is expressed, gradually, through the misuse of language, became one, so that each merely expressed time past, I am of opinion, that it was originally the intention of the reduplicated preterite, like its cognate form in Greek, to express an action completed. The syllable of reduplication only implies an intensity of the idea, and gives the root an emphasis, which is regarded by the spirit of the language as the type of that which is done, completed, in contradistinction to that which is conceived to be in being, and which has not yet arrived at an end. Both in sound and in meaning the perfect is connected with the Sanscrit intensive, which likewise has a reduplication, that here, for greater emphasis, further receives a vowel augment by Guna. According to signification, the Sanscrit intensive is, in a measure, a superlative of the verbal idea; for, *dêdîpya-mâna* means "very shining." In respect of form, this intensive is important

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* I believe I may include here the German root *slip*, *slif* (*schleifen*); Old High German *slifu*, *sleif*, *slifumês;* English "I slip." We should expect in Gothic *sleipa*, *slaip*, *slipum*, preserving the old tenuis, as in *slêps* =*swêpimi*, "I sleep." The form *slip* is founded on a transposition of *srp* to *srap*. The transition of *r* into *l*, and the weakening of the *a* to *i*, cannot surprise us, considering the very usual exchange of semi-vowels with one another, and the by no means unusual phenomenon, that a root is divided into several, by different corruptions of form. We may include here, too, the root *swip*, *swif* (*schweifen*); Middle High German *swîfe*, *sweif*, *swifen*.

for comparison with the European cognate languages, because the moods which spring from its present indicative afford, as it were, the prototype of the imperative and the optative of the Greek perfect, and of the German conunctive of the preterite; compare preliminarily *bâbandhyâm*, "I much wish to bind," with the Gothic *bundyau* from *baibundyau*), "I may bind," and the imperfect *vâvagdhi* (from *vach*, "to speak"), with the Greek *κέκραχθι*, which is connected with it in formation, though not radically. The first augmented preterite of this intensive comes, in respect to form, very close to the Greek plusquam perfect; compare *atûtûpam*, plural *atûtupma*, with *ἐτετύφειν*, *ἐτετύφειμεν*. As every completed action is also past, the transition of the vocal symbol of completion approaches very closely to that of the past, and the gradual withdrawal of the primary meaning is not surprising, as we must, in German also, describe the completion of an action in a manner already pointed out by the Sanscrit, while our simple preterite, which is akin to the Greek perfect, and which, in Gothic also, in a certain number of verbs, has preserved the reduplication, corresponds in meaning to the Greek imperfect and aorist.

516. As regards the two augmented preterites, which appear, in Greek, as imperfect and aorist, there is no occasion, in the form by which they are distinguished from one another, to assume a primitive intention in the language to apply them to different objects, unless such aorists as—in Greek, *ἔλιπον*, *ἔδων*, contrasted with *ἔλειπον*, *ἐδίδων*, in Sanscrit, *alipam*,* *adîm*, opposed to *alimpam*, *adadâm*—are considered original, and, in their brevity and succintness, contrasted with the cumbersomeness of the imperfect, a hint be found,

* The Sanscrit root *lip* is not connected with the Greek ΑΙΠ, but means "to smear," and to it belongs the Greek *λίπος*, *ἀλείφω*. But *alipam* stands so far in the same relation to *alimpam* that *ἔλιπον* does to *ἔλειπον*, that it has divested itself of the inserted nasal, as *ἔλιπον* has of the Guna vowel.

that through them the language is desirous of expressing such actions or conditions of the past, as appear to us momentary, from their ranking with other events, or for other reasons. It might then be said that the language unburthens itself in the aorist only of the Guna and other class characteristics, because, in the press of the circumstances to be announced, it has no time to express them; just as in Sanscrit, in the second person singular imperative, the lighter verbal form is employed, on account of the haste with which the command is expressed, and, *e.g.* *vid-dhi*, "know," *yung-dhi*, "bind," stands opposed to the first person *védâni*, "let me know," *yunajâni*, "let me bind." But the kind of aorist just mentioned is, both in Sanscrit and in Greek, proportionably rarer, and the withdrawing of the class characteristics extends, in both languages, not to the aorist alone, and in both this tense appears, for the most part, in a form more full in sound than the imperfect. Compare, in Sanscrit, *adiksham* = ἔδειξα with the imperfect *adisham*, which bears the complete form of the aorist abovementioned. In the sibilant of the first aorist, however, I cannot recognise that element of sound, which might have given to this tense its peculiar meaning; for this sibilant, as will be shewn hereafter, belongs to the verb substantive, which might be expected in all tenses, and actually occurs in several, that, in their signification, present no point of coincidence. But if, notwithstanding, in Sanscrit, or at the time of the identity of the Sanscrit with its cognate languages, a difference of meaning existed between the two augmented preterites, we are compelled to adopt the opinion, that the language began very early to employ, for different ends, two forms which, at the period of formation, had the same signification, and to attach finer degrees of meaning to trifling, immaterial differences of form. It is requisite to observe here, that, in the history of languages, the case not unfrequently occurs, that

one and the same form is, in the lapse of time, split into several, and then the different forms are applied by the spirit of the language to different ends. Thus, in Sanscrit, *dâtâ*, from the base *dâtâr* (§. 144.), means both "the giver" and "he that will give"; but, in Latin, this one form, bearing two different meanings, has been parted into two; of which the one, which is modern in form, and has arisen from the old by the addition of an *u* (*datûrus*), has assumed to itself alone the task of representing a future participle; while the other, which has remained more true to the original type, appears, like the kindred Greek δοτήρ, only as a noun agent.

THE IMPERFECT.

517. We proceed to a more particular description of the different kinds of expression for past time, and consider next the tense, which I call in Sanscrit, according to its form, the monoform augmented preterite, in contradistinction to that which corresponds in form to the Greek aorist, and which I term the multiform preterite, since in it seven different formations may be perceived, of which four correspond, more or less, to the Greek first aorist, and three to the second. Here, for the sake of brevity and uniformity, the appellations imperfect and aorist may be retained for the Sanscrit also, although both tenses may in Sanscrit, with equal propriety, be named imperfect and aorist, since they both in common, and together with the reduplicated preterite, represent at one time the aorist, at another the imperfect. That, which answers in form to the Greek imperfect, receives, like the aorist, the prefix of an *a* to express the past: the class characteristics are retained, and the personal terminations are the more obtuse or secondary (§. 430.), probably on account of the root being loaded with the augment. This exponent of the past may bear the same name in Sanscrit also. In Greek is easily recognised in the ε. Thus, in the first conjugation, we may compare *atarp-a-m*, "I delighted," with ἔτερπον; in

the second, *adadâ-m*, "I gave," with ἐδίδων; *astṛi-ṇav-a* (see §. 437. Rem.), "I strewed," with ἐστόρ-νυ-ν; and *akṛ ṇâ-m*, "I bought," with ἐπέρ-νᾱ-ν. As the conjugation of tl imperfect of the three last mentioned verbs has been alread given (§§. 481. 485. 488.), where the weight of the person terminations is considered, I shall annex here the comple one of *atarp-a-m* and ἔτερπ-ο-ν only.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
atarp-a-m,*	ἔτερπ-ο-ν,	*atarp-â-va*,	. . . . .
atarp-a-s,	ἔτερπ-ε-ς,	*atarp-a-tam*,	ἐτέρπ-ε-τον.
atarp-a-t,	ἔτερπ-ε(τ)†	*atarp-â-tâm*,	ἐτέρπ-ε-την.

PLURAL.	
SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
atarp-â-ma,	ἐτέρπομεν.
atarp-a-ta,	ἐτέρπ-ε-τε.
atarp-a-n,†	ἔτερπ-ο-ν.†

"Remark.—In the Vêda dialect the *t*, which, accordi to §. 461., has been lost in *atarpan* for *atarpant*, has be retained under the protection of an *s*, which begins tl following word; thus, in the Rig-Vêda (p. 99), अभी ॅम् अवन्व स्वभिष्टिम् *abhi' ॅm avanvant svabhishṭim*, "*illum colebant fau aggredientem.*" According to the same principle, in tl accusative plural, instead of the *ns*, to be expected in a cordance with §§. 236. 239., of which, according to a u versal law of sound, only *n* has remained, we find in t Vêda dialect *nt*, in case the word following begins with *e. g.* अस्मान् सु तत्र चोदय *asmânt su tatra chôdaya*, "*nos bene dirige*" (Rosen, l. c. p. 13). I do not hesitate to consi the *t* of *asmânt* as the euphonic mutation of an *s*, as al under other circumstances, one *s* before another *s*, in or to make itself more perceptible in pronunciation, becor

* See §. 437. Rem. † See §. 461.

t; as from *vas*, "to dwell," comes the future *vat-syâmi* and the aorist *avât-sam*. The original accusative termination in *ns* appears in the Vêdas also as *ṅr*, and indeed in bases in *i* and *u*, in case the word following begins with a vowel or *y*, as, in general, a final *s*, after vowels other than *a*, *â* becomes *r* before all sonant letters. Examples of plural accusatives in *ṅr* (for *n* must become Anusvâra before *r*, as before *s*) are गिरींꣳर् अचुच्यवीतन *girîṅr achuchyavîtana*, "*nubes excitate*" (l. c. p. 72); त्वम् अग्ने वसुंꣳर् इह रुद्रां आदित्यां उत । यजा *tvam agné vasûṅr iha rudrâṅ âdityâṅ uta | yajâ*, "*tu Agnis! Vasues hic, Rudras atque Aditis filios sacris cole*" (l. c. p. 85). Bases in *a* have lost the *r* in the accusative plural. The circumstance, however, that they replace the *n* of the common accusative terminations with Anusvâra (*ṅ*), as in रुद्रां *rudrâṅ*, आदित्यां *âdityâṅ*, just mentioned, appears to me to evince that they likewise terminated originally in *ṅr*: the *r* has been dropped, but its effect—the change of *n* into *ṅ*—has remained. At least it is not the practice in the Rig Vêda, particularly after a long *â*, to replace a final *n* with Anusvâra; for we read, l. c. §. 219., विद्वान् *vidvân*, "skilful," not विद्वां *vidvâṅ*, although a *v* follows, before which, according to Pânini, as before *y*, *r*, and vowels in the Vêda dialect, the termination *ân* should be replaced by *âṅ* (compare Rosen, p. IV. 2.); a rule which is probably taken too universally, and should properly be limited to the accusative plural (the principal case where *ân* occurs), where the Zend also employs an *ṅ*, and not *n* (§. 239.). The accusative termination *ṅr* for *ns* is, however, explained in a manner but little satisfactory, by Rosen, in his very valuable edition of a part of the Rig-Vêda, p. XXXIX, 5.; and the *t* mentioned above is considered by the Indian grammarians as a euphonic insertion (Smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §. 82[a]. [b]. Rem.). If, however, an initial *s*, from a disposition towards a *t* preceding, has such influence as to annex that letter, it appears to me far more natural for it to have had

the power to preserve a *t*, which actually exists in the primitive grammar, or to change an *s* into that letter.

518. The Zend, as found in the Zend Avesta, appears to have almost entirely given up the augment, at least with the exception of the aorist mentioned in §. 469., and which is remarkable in more than one respect, 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬹𐬯𐬀 *urûrudhusha*,* "thou growest," and the form mentioned by Burnouf 𐬀𐬵 *âs*, "he was," 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵 *âonhâṭ*, "he would be";† I have found no instances, which can be relied upon, of its retention, unless, perhaps, 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬵 *apathayĕn*,‡ "they went" (Vend. S. p. 43, Z. 4.), must pass as such; and we are not to read, as might be conjectured, in place of it 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬵 *apathayĕn*, and the initial vowel is the preposition *a*, which, perhaps, is contained in some other forms also, which might be explained by the augment. Thus, perhaps, in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, the frequently-recurring forms 𐬞𐬁𐬱𐬁𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬵 *frâthwĕrĕšĕm* (or *frâthwarĕšĕm*), "I made," "I formed," 𐬞𐬭𐬁𐬱𐬁𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬵 *frâkĕrĕntaṭ*, may be distributed into *fra* and *athwĕrĕšĕm* and *akĕrĕntaṭ*. I, however, now think it more probable that their first syllable is compounded of the prepositions *fra*

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* The initial *u* appears to have been formed from *a* by the assimilating influence of the *û* of the second syllable. I shall recur to this aorist hereafter.

† Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 434) proposes to read 𐬀𐬵𐬰 *âṡ* for 𐬀𐬵 *âs*. But this form, also, has something uncommon, since the Vêda आस् *âs* (of which hereafter) would lead us to expect, in Zend, *âo*, as a final Sanscrit स् *s*, with a preceding *â*, regularly becomes *âo*; but अस् *as* becomes *ó* (see §. 56ᵇ.). Without the augment we find, in the Zend Avesta, both the reading 𐬀𐬵𐬰 *aṡ* and 𐬀𐬵 *as*, although otherwise this form actually belongs to the verb substantive.

‡ Thus we should read instead of 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬵 *apathaîĕn*; compare the Sanscrit *apanthayan*, "they went," with an inserted nasal. Ἔπάτεον corresponds in Greek. But should we read *âpathayĕn* for *apathayĕn* the long *â* would not be the augment, but the preposition *â*.

nd *á*. The combination of these two prepositions is very enerally used in the Zend; as, 𐬞𐬁𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀 *frâdaya*, value" (Vend. S. p. 124), 𐬞𐬁𐬎𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌 𐬞𐬁𐬎𐬌 *frâmaiṅn unvaṇha*, "prize me" (Vend. S. p. 39), where the prepotions are separated from the verb,* as in the pasge, 𐬞𐬁𐬎 𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀 𐬞𐬁𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬌 𐬞𐬁𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬌𐬌 *frâ yô patainn frâ urvara ucsyainn*, "*aves volent arbores crestnt*" † (Vend. S. p. 257), and in 𐬞𐬁𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬌𐬌 *â zaṡta ṡnayaṇuha*, "wash the hands" (l. c. p. 457). A rm which, if the lithographed codex of the Vend. S. is rrect, might appear best adapted to testify to the exisnce of the augment in Zend, is 𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌 *uṡazayaṇha*, thou wast born," a word which is remarkable in other spects also (see §. 469.). But as long as the correctness of the reading is not confirmed by other MSS., or geneally as long as the augment is not more fully established n Zend, I am disposed to consider the vowel which stands etween the preposition and the root as simply a means of onjunction; and for *a* I should prefer reading *i* or *ĕ*, just s in *uṡ-i-hista*, "stand up" (Vend. S. p. 458), *uṡ-i-histata*, stand ye up" (l. c. p. 459), *uṡ-ĕ-histaiti*, "he stands up."

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* The comparison of other MSS. must decide whether the accusative the pronoun is rightly conjoined with this. Anquetil renders this imative with the word following, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬌 *kharĕtĕé*, on account of the ing, "of the nourishing," strangely enough by "*qui me mange en croquant avec ardeur*," as he also translates the following words, 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬌𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬌 *aôivi* (= अभि *abhi*) *manm maćni* (*ṡtaômaini?*) *ṡtûidhi*, "extol me in praise," by "*qui m' adresse blement sa prière.*" The form *hunvaṅha* is the imperative middle, re, as often occurs, the character of the first class is added to that of fifth.

Pataṅn, "*volent*," and *ucsyaṅn*, "*crescant*," with which the Greek πέτ and our *Feder* and *wachsen* are to be compared, are imperfects of onjunctive mood, which, with this tense, always combines a present fication.

But *a* also occurs in this verb, inserted as a conjunctive vowel between the preposition and the root; for, p. 456 l. 18., we read *uṡ-a-histata*, "stand up." I would therefore, if the reading *uṡ-a-za-yaṇha*, "thou wast born," should prove itself from the majority of MSS. to be genuine, prefer, nevertheless, regarding the *a* as a conjunctive vowel, rather than as the augment.

519. The following examples may throw sufficient light on the conjugation for the first class of the Zend imperfect active, which admits of tolerably copious citation: *uzbar-ĕ-m*, "I brought forward" (Vend. S. p. 493); *frâthwarĕṡ-ĕ-m* or *frâthwĕrĕṡ-ĕ-m*, "I created" (l. c. 117, &c.); *frâdaêṡaêm*, "I shewed," from *frâdaêṡ-ayê-m* = Sanscrit प्रादेशयम् *prâdêś-aya-m*, "I caused to shew" (see §. 42.); *fradaêṡ-ayô*, "thou shewest" (l. c. p. 123); *kĕrĕ-nvô*, "thou didst make";* *pĕrĕṡ-a-ṭ*, "he asked," = अपृच्छत् *aprichchh-a-t* (l. c. p. 123); *bav-a-ṭ*, "he was," = अभवत् *abhav-a-t* (p. 125); *jaṡ-a-ṭ*, "he came," = अगच्छत् *agachchh-a-t*, "he went;" *paiti ṡaṇh-â-ma*, "we spoke"† (pp. 493, 494, repeatedly) = प्रत्यशंसाम *pratyaśaṁsâma*; *aṇhĕn*, "they were" (p. 103 erroneously *aṇhin*) = आसन् *âsan*. I am not able to quote the second person plural, but there can be no uncertainty regarding its form, and from *uṡihistata*, "stand ye up," we may infer, also, *uṡihistata*, "ye stood up," since, in Sanscrit as in Greek, the imperative in the second person plural is only distinguished from the imperfect by the omission of the augment. Examples of the second conjugation are, *dadhaṅ-m*, "I placed" "I made" (Vend. S. p. 116) = अदधाम् *adadhâ-m*, ἐτίθη-ν;

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* For *kĕrĕnaôs*: there is, that is to say, as often happens, the character of the first class added to the class character, which is already present; as though, in Greek, ἐδείκ-νυ-ε-ς were said for ἐδείκ-νῦ-ς.

† Anquetil renders this "*je viens de vous parler.*"

raêm,* "I spoke" (p. 123); 𐬨𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬱 *mraô-s*, "thou
(p. 226), 𐬨𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬵 *mraôṭ*,† "he spoke"; occurs very
𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬵 *kĕrĕ-naô-ṭ*, "he made" (p. 135). In the
conjecture the forms *amrû-ma*, *amrû-ta* = Sanscrit
abrû-ta; and *kĕrĕ-nu-ma*, *kĕrĕ-nu-ta*, like such Greek
s ἐστόρ-νυ-μεν, ἐστόρ-νυ-τε = Sanscrit *astṛi-nu-ma*,
ta. The third person plural does not admit of
aced with the same certainty.

With respect to the use of the imperfect it deserves
marked, that, in Zend, this tense is very frequently
d as the conjunctive of the present, and that the
ated preterite also occasionally occurs in the same
n such cases, the past appears to be regarded from its
side as denying the actual present, and to be thus
to denote the conjunctive, which is likewise devoid
y. Here belongs the phenomenon, that, in Zend,
junctive, even where it is actually formally ex-
far more frequently expresses the present by the
:t than by the present; and that, in Sanscrit, the
nal is furnished with the augment; and that, also,
ian and Latin, the conditional relation is expressed
tenses. Examples of the Zend imperfect indica-
h the sense of the present conjunctive are, 𐬨𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀
:g *fracha kĕrĕntĕn*, "they may cut to pieces," = San-
क्रान् *akṛintan* (Vend. S. p. 233); 𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬯𐬁𐬎 𐬨𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀
𐬐𐬁𐬎𐬌 *dva vâ nara aṇhĕn pancha vâ*, "there may be
wo persons or five"; 𐬯𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬱 𐬐𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀 𐬨𐬁𐬎𐬀 *yêzi*

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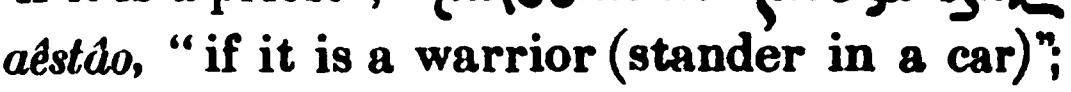
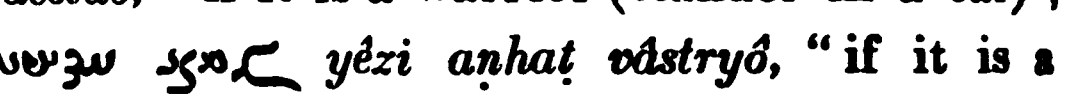
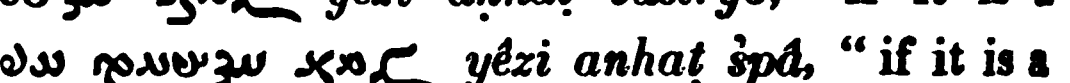
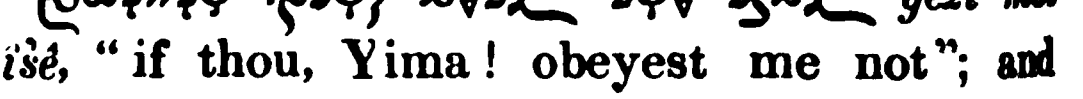
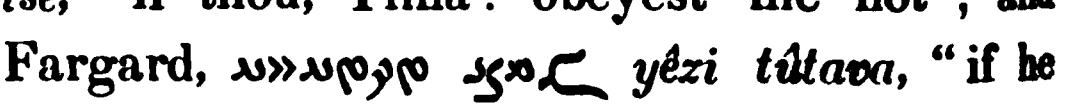
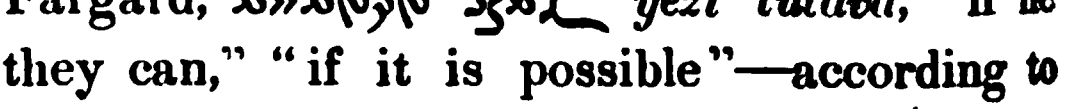
form is based on the Sanscrit *abravam*, for which *abruvam:* the
n in Zend is similar to that of यवम् *yavam*, "*oryzam*," to 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵
egarding the exchange of *b* with *m* in *mraôm* see §. 63.
e two persons pre-suppose, in Sanscrit, *abrô-s*, *abrô-t*, for which
with irregular insertion of a conjunctive vowel *î*, *abrav-î-s*,

aṇhaṭ âthravâ, "if it is a priest";* *yêzi aṇhaṭ rathaêstâo*, "if it is a warrior (stander in a car)";  *yêzi aṇhaṭ vâstryô*, "if it is a cultivator";  *yêzi aṇhaṭ ṡpâ*, "if it is a dog" (l. c. p. 230, 231);  *yêzi vaṡĕn mazdayaṡna zaṅm raôdhayaṅm*,† "if the worshippers of Ormuzd would cultivate the earth (make to grow)" (p. 198). It is clear, that in most of the examples the conjunction *yêzi* has introduced the imperfect in the sense of a conjunctive present, for this conjunction loves to use a mood which is not indicative, whether it be the potential, the conjunctive, or, as in the passages quoted, the imperfect of the indicative, as the representative of the conjunctive present. However, the indicative present often occurs after *yêzi* (Vend. S. pp. 263, &c. *yêzi paiti-jaṡaiti*); where, however, the reduplicated preterite stands beside this conditional particle, there it is clear that the past is regarded, as in the imperfect, as the symbol of non-actuality, and invested with a modal application. Thus we read in the second Fargard of the Vendidad (by Olshausen, p. 12),  *yêzi mâi yima nôiṭ vîvîṡé*, "if thou, Yima! obeyest me not"; and in the sixth Fargard,  *yêzi tûtava*, "if he can," or "if they can," "if it is possible"—according to Anquetil, "*si on le peut*"; Vend. S. p. 12,  *yézi thwâ didvaêsa*, "if he hates thee," according to Anquetil "*si l'homme vous irrite.*"

521. If we now turn to the European cognate languages, it is remarkable that the Lithuanian, Sclavonic, and German, which appear, in a measure, as twins in the

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* Regarding the termination of *aṇhaṭ* more will be said hereafter.

† Thus I read for *raôdhyaṅm*, for which, p. 179, occurs with two other faults, *raôdayĕn*.

reat family of languages, which occupies our attention, iverge from one another in respect to the past, and have) divided the store of Sanscrit-Zend past forms, that iat of the imperfect has fallen to the lot of the Lithuanian, and the Sclavonic has taken the aorist, and, in fact, ie first aorist, while the German has rceived the form f the Greek perfect. The augment, however, has been ropped by the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, and the Gothic as retained the reduplication only in a small number of erbs, while in German it lies concealed in forms like *iess*, *lief*, *fiel*, of which hereafter.

522. As the imperfect now engages our attention, we nust, for the present, leave the Sclavonic and German unoticed, and first bestow our notice on that Lithuanian preterite, which is called, by Ruhig, the perfect. It might, with equal propriety, be termed imperfect or aorist, as it, at the same time, simultaneously represents hese two tenses; and its use as a perfect is properly a nisuse; as, also, in the Lettish, which is so nearly allied, his tense is actually called the imperfect, and the perfect s denoted by a participle perfect, with the present of the verb substantive; *e.g. es sinnayu*, "I did know," *es esmu sinnayis* "I have known (been having knowledge)." That the Lithuanian preterite answers to the imperfect, and not to the second aorist, is clear from this, that it retains the class characteristics given up by the aorist; for *buwaù*, "I was," or "have been," answers to the Sanscrit अभवम् *abhavam* and Greek ἔφυον, and, in the plural, *búw-o-me*, to the Zend *bav-â-ma*, Sanscrit *abhav-â-ma*, Greek ἔφῡ-ο-μεν, not to the aorist अभूम *abhû-ma*, ἔφῡ-μεν; although, if necessary, the first person singular *buwaù* might be compared with अभूवम् *abhûvam*, to which, on account of the *u* of the first syllable, it appears to approach more closely than to the imperfect *abhavam*. I believe, however, that the Lithuanian *u* of *buwaù* is a weakening

of *a*: and I recognise in this form one of the fairest and truest transmissions from the mythic age of our history of languages: for which reason it may be proper to annex the full conjugation of this tense of the verb, and to contrast with it the corresponding forms of the cognate languages, to which I also add the Latin *bam*, as I consider forms like *amabam*, *docebam*, &c., as compounded, and their *bam* to be identical with the Sanscrit *abhavam*, to which it has just the relation which *malo* has to *mavolo*, or that the Old High German *bim*, "I am," has to its plural *birumés*, from *birumés* (see §. 20.).

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	LITH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
abhav-a-m,	*baôm* from *bav-ĕ-m*?	*buw-a-ù*,[1]	*-ba-m*,[2]	ἔφυ-ο-ν.
abhav-a-s,	*bav-ô*.[3]	*buw-a-ì*,	*-bâ-s*,	ἔφυ-ε-ς.
abhav-a-t,	*bav-a-t*.	*buw-o*,	*-ba-t*,	ἔφυ-ε-(τ).

DUAL.

abhav-â-va, ...	*búw-o-wa*, . . .	. . . .
abhav-a-tam, *bav-a-tĕm*?	*búw-o-ta*, . . .	ἐφύ-ε-τον.
abhav-a-tâm, *bav-a-taim*?	like Sing. . . .	ἐφυ-έ-την.

PLURAL.

abhav-â-ma, *bav-â-ma*,	*búw-o-me*,	*-bâ-mus*,	ἐφύ-ο-μεν.
abhav-a-tha, *bav-a-ta*,	*búw-o-te*,	*-bâ-tis*,	ἐφύ-ε-τε.
abhav-a-n, ...	like Sing.	*-ba-nt*,	ἔφυ-ο-ν.

[1] From *buw-a-m*: see §. 438 "*erasque*."

[2] See §. 526.

[3] *Bavat-cha*,

523. For the regular verb, compare, further, *kirtau*, "I struck," "I cut" (*kirtau szenan*, literally "I mowed," "cut hay"), with the Sanscrit अकृन्तम् *akṛintam*, "I cleft,"* Zend

* The root is *kṛit*, properly *kart*, and belongs to those roots of the sixth class which, in the special tenses, receive a nasal. Here belongs, among

ʼɛɔ *kĕrĕntĕm*, and Greek ἔκειρον, which has lost the *t* root.

SINGULAR.

r.	ZEND.	LITHUANIAN.	GREEK.
ı-m,	*kĕrĕnt-ĕ-m*,	*kirt-a-u* (see §. 438.),	ἔκειρ-ο-ν.
ı-s,	*kĕrĕnt-ô*,	*kirt-a-i* (see §. 499.),	ἔκειρ-ε-ς.
ı-t,	*kĕrĕnt-a-ṭ*,	*kirt-o-*ʼ	ἔκειρ-ε-(τ).

DUAL.

ı-va,	. . . . .	*kirt-o-wa*,	. . . . .
ı-tam,	*kĕrĕnt-a-tĕm?*	*kirt-o-ta*,	ἐκείρ-ε-τον.
ı-tâm,	*kĕrĕnt-a-taṅm?*	like Sing.	ἐκείρ-έ-την.

PLURAL.

a-ma,	*kĕrĕnt-â-ma*,	*kirt-o-me*,	ἐκείρ-ο-μεν.
a-ta,	*kĕrĕnt-a-ta*,	*kirt-o-te*,	ἐκείρ-ε-τε.
a-n,	*kĕrĕnt-ĕ-n*,	like Sing.	ἔκειρ-ο-ν,

. Many Lithuanian verbs, which follow, in the pre-he analogy of the Sanscrit of the first class, change, preterite, into the tenth, and, in fact, so that they ıate in the first person singular, in *ia-u* (=Sanscrit), but, in the other persons, instead of *ia* employ an ch unites with *i* of the second person singular to *ei*.

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lip, "to besmear," whence *limpâmi*, *alimpam* (second aorist *alipam*), hich the Lithuanian *limpú*, "I paste on" (preterite *lippau*, future nfinitive *lipti*), appears to be connected. Pott acutely compares thic *salbó* so that *sa* would be an obscured preposition grown up ıe root. The present of *kirtau* is *kertù*, and there are several verbs uanian which contrast an *e* in the present with the *i* of the prete-ture, and infinitive. This *e* either springs direct from the original : root *kart*—as, among others, the permanent *e* of *degu*, "I burn," crit *dahâmi*—or the original *a* has first been weakened to *i*, and ı been corrupted, in the present, to *e*; so that *kertù* has nearly the lation to the preterite *kirtau*, future *kir-su* (for *kirt-su*), and infini-*s-ti* (from *kirt-ti*), as, in Old High German, the plural *lesamês*, ad," to the Gothic *lisam*, and its own singular *lisu*.

This analogy is followed, by *weźiau*, "I led," *sekiau*, "I followed," whence *weźei, sekei; weźẽ, sekẽ; weźẽwa, sekẽwa; weźẽta, sekẽta; weźẽme, sekẽme; weźẽte, sekẽte.* Observe the analogy with Mielke's third conjugation (see §. 506.), and compare the preterite *laikiau*, §. 506.

525. In the Lithuanian tense which is called the imperfect of habit, we find *dawau;* as *suk-dawau*, "I am wont to turn," which is easily recognised as an appended auxiliary verb. It answers tolerably well to *dawyau* (from *dûmi*), "I gave," "have given," from which it is distinguished only in this point, that it is inflected like *buwau* and *kirtau*, while the simple *dawyau, dawei, dawẽ, dawẽwa*, &c., follows the conjugation of *weźiau, sekiau*, which has just (§. 524.) been presented, with this single trifling point of difference, that, in the first person singular, instead of *i*, it employs a *y*; thus, *dawyau* for *dawiau.* As in Sanscrit, together with *dâ*, "to give," on which is based the Lithuanian *dûmi*, a root धा *dhâ*, "to place" (with the preposition वि *vi*, "to make") occurs, which is similarly represented in Lithuanian, and is written in the present *demi* ("I place"); so might also the auxiliary verb which is contained in *suk-dawau*, be ascribed to this root, although the simple preterite of *demi* (from *dami* = Sanscrit *dadhâmi*, Greek *τίθημι*), is not *dawyau*, or *dawiau*, but *dẽyau.* But according to its origin, *demi* has the same claim as *dûmi* upon the vowel *a*, and the addition of an unorganic *w* in the preterite, and the adjunction of the auxiliary verb in *suk-dawau* might proceed from a period when *dûmi*, "I give," and *demi*, "I place," agreed as exactly in their conjugation as the corresponding old Indian forms *dadâmi* and *dadhâmi*, which are distinguished from one another only by the aspirate, which is abandoned by the Lithuanian. As *dadhâmi*, through the preposition *vi*, obtains the meaning "to make," and, in Zend, the simple verb also signifies "to make," *demi* would, in this sense, be

more proper as an auxiliary verb to enter into combination with other verbs; and then *suk-dawau*, "I was wont to turn," would, in its final portion, coincide with that of the Gothic *sôk-i-da*, "I sought," *sôk-i-dêdum*, "we sought," which last I have already, in my System of Conjugation, explained in the sense of "we sought to do," and compared with *dêds*, "deed." I shall return hereafter to the Gothic *sôk-i-da*, *sôk-i-dêdum*. It may, however, be here further remarked, that, exclusive of the Sanscrit, the Lithuanian *dawau* of *suk-dawau* might also be contrasted with the Gothic *tauya*, "I do" (with which our *thun* is no way connected); but then the Lithuanian auxiliary verb would belong rather to the root of "to give," than to that of "to place"; for the Gothic requires *tenues* for primitive medials, but not for such as the Lithuanian, which possesses no aspirates, opposes to the Sanscrit aspirated medials, which, in Gothic, appear likewise as medials. But if the Gothic *tauya*, "I do," proceeds from the Sanscrit root, *dâ*, "to give," it then furnishes the only example I know of, where the Gothic *au* corresponds with a Sanscrit *â*; but in Sanscrit itself, *âu* for *a* is found in the first and third person singular of the reduplicated preterite, where ददौ *dadâu*, "I" or "he gave," is used for *dadâ* (from *dadâ-a*). The relation, however, of *tau* to *dâ* (and this appears to me better) might be thus regarded, that the *â* has been weakened to *u*, and an unradical *a* prefixed to the latter letter; for that which takes place regularly before *h* and *r* (see §. 82.) may also for once have occurred without such an occasion.

526. The idea that the Latin imperfects in *bam*, as also the futures in *bo*, contain the verb substantive, and, in fact, the root, from which arise *fui*, *fore*, and the obsolete conjunctive *fuam*, has been expressed for the first time in my System of Conjugation. If it is in general admitted, that grammatical forms may possibly arise through composi-

tion, then certainly nothing is more natural than, in
conjugation of attributive verbs, to expect the introduct
of the verb substantive, in order to express the copula,
the conjunction of the subject which is expressed by
personal sign with the predicate which is represented
the root. While the Sanscrit and Greek, in that p
tense which we term aorist, conjoin the other roots of
verb substantive, viz. *AS*, *ES*, with the attributive ro
the Latin betakes itself, so early as the imperfect, to
root *FU;* and I was glad to find, what I was not aw
of on my first attempt at explaining the forms in *bam*
bo, that this root also plays an important part in gra
mar in another kindred branch of language, viz. in Cel
and exhibits to us, in the Irish dialect of the Gaelic, fo
like *meal-fa-m*, or *meal-fa-mar*, or *meal-fa-moid*, "we
deceive," *meal-fai-dhe*, or *meal-fa-bar*, "ye will decei
meal-fai-d, "they will deceive," *meal-fa-dh me*, "I
deceive" (literally "I am who will deceive"), *meal-fa*
"thou wilt deceive," *meal-fai-dh*, "he will deceive."
abbreviated form *fam* of the first person plural, as i
wanting in the plural affix, answers remarkably to
Latin *bam*, while the full form *fa-mar* (*r* for *s*) comes v
near the plural *ba-mus*. The circumstance, that the L
bam has a past meaning, while that of the Irish *fam*
future, need not hinder us from considering the two for
in respect to their origin, as identical, partly as *bam*, si
it has lost the augment, bears in itself no formal exp
sion of the past, nor *fam* any formal sign of the fut
The Irish form should be properly written *fiam* or *b*
for by itself *biad me* signifies "I will be" (properly "I
what will be"), *biodh-maod*, "we will be," where the
racter of the third person singular has grown up with
root, while the conditional expression *ma bhiom*, "if I
be," is free from this incumbrance. In these forms,
exponent of the future relation is the *i*, with which, th

ore, the Latin *i* of *ama-bis*, *ama-bit*, &c., and that of *eris*, *rit*, &c., is to be compared. This characteristic *i* is, owever, dislodged in composition, in order to lessen the eight of the whole form, and at the same time the *b* is eakened to *f*; so that, while in Latin, according to the orm of the isolated *fui*, *fore*, *fuam*, in the compound forma- ions, *fam*, *fo*, might be expected, but in Irish *bam* the rela- ion is exactly reversed. The reason is, however, in the Ro- an language, also an euphonic one; for it has been before emarked (§. 18.), that the Latin, in the interior of a word, refers the labial medial to the aspirates; so that, while the anscrit *bh*, in the corresponding Latin forms, always appears s *f* in the initial sound, in the interior, *b* is almost as con- antly found: hence, *ti-bi* for तुभ्यम् *tu-bhyam*; *ovi-bus*, or अविभ्यस् *avi-bhyas*; *ambo* for Greek ἄμφω, Sanscrit उभौ *ubhau*; *nubes* for नभस् *nabhas*, νέφος; *rabies* from रभ् *rabh*, hence संरब्ध *sanrabdha*, "enraged," "furious"; *lubet* for *lubhyati*, "he wishes"; *ruber* for ἐρυθρός, with which t has been already rightly compared by Voss, the labial eing exchanged for a labial, and the ε dropped, which letter vinces itself, from the kindred languages, to be an unor- anic prefix. The Sanscrit furnishes for comparison *udhira*, "blood," and, with respect to the root, also *rôhita* or *rôdhita*, "red." In *rufus*, on the contrary, the aspirate as remained; and if this had also been the case in the uxiliary verb under discussion, perhaps then, in the inal portion of *ama-fam*, *ama-fo*, derivatives from the root, whence proceed *fui*, *fuam*, *fore*, *fio*, *facio*, &c., would have been recognised without the aid of the light thrown upon the subject by the kindred languages. From the Gaelic dialects I will here further cite the form *ba*, "he was," which wants only the personal sign to be the same as the Latin *bat*, and, like the latter, ranks under the Sanscrit-Zend imperfect *abhavat*, *bavat*. The Gaelic *ba* is, however, deficient in the other persons; and in order to say "I

was." for which, in Irish, *bann* might be expected, *ba me* is used, *i.e.* "it was I."

527. The length of the class-vowel in the Latin third conjugation is surprising: as in *leg-ê-bam*, for the third conjugation, is based, as has been remarked (§. 109ª. 1.) on the Sanscrit first or sixth class, the short *a* of which it has corrupted to *i*, before *r* to *ĕ*. Ag. Benary believes this length must be explained by the concretion of the class vowel with the augment.* It would, in fact, be very well, if, in this manner, the augment could be attributed to the Latin as the expression of the past. I cannot, however, so decidedly assent to this opinion, as I have before done,† partly as the Zend also, to which I then appealed as having occasionally preserved the augment only under the protection of preceding prepositions, has since appeared to me in a different light (§. 518.). There are, it cannot be denied, in the languages, unorganic or inflective lengthenings or diphthongizations of vowels, originally short; as, in Sanscrit, the class vowel just under discussion before *m* and *v*, if a vowel follows next, is lengthened (*vah-â-mi, vah-â-vas, vah-â-mas*); and as the Gothic does not admit a simple *i* and *u* before *r* and *h*, but prefixes to them, in this position, an *a*. The Latin lengthens the short final vowel of the base-words of the second declension (which corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* and Greek *o*) before the termination *rum* of the genitive plural *lupô-rum*), just as before *bus* in *ambô-bus, duô-bus*; and it might be said that the auxiliary verb *bam* also felt the necessity of being supported by a long vowel, and

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* System of Latin sounds, p. 29. It being there stated that the coincidence of the Latin *bam* with the Sanscrit *abhavam* had not as yet been noticed, I must remark that this had been done in my Conjugation System, p. 97.

† Berlin Jahrb. January 1838. p. 13.

efore, *leg-ē-bam*, not *leg-ĕ-bam*, or *leg-i-bam*, is

n the fourth conjugation, the *ê* of *audiêbam* corre-
the final *a* of the Sanscrit character of the tenth
, which *a* has been dropped in the present, with
tion of the first person singular and third person
ut in the conjunctive and in the future, which,
to its origin, is likewise to be regarded as a
ve (*audiam, audiâs, audiês*), has been retained in
n with the mood exponent (see §. 505.). As the
equently coincides with the Sanscrit diphthong *ê*,
and, the future *tundês, tundêmus, tundêtis*, an-
the Sanscrit potential *tudês, tudêma, tudêta* (from
.), so might also the *ê* of *tund-ê-bam, aud-iê-bam*,
d into the elements *a* + *i*: thus, *tundêbam* might
ined from *tundaïbam*, where the *a* would be the
vel, which in the present, as remarked above
.), has been weakened to *i*; so that, *tund-i-s*,
nswers to the Sanscrit *tud-a-si, tud-a-ti*. The *i*
in the *ê* of *tund-ê-bam* would then be regarded as
nctive vowel for uniting the auxiliary verb; thus,
would be to be divided into *tunda-i-bam*. This
he matter might appear the more satisfactory, as
rit also much favours the practice of uniting the
stantive in certain tenses with the principal verb,
s of an *i*, and, indeed, not only in roots ending in
ant, where the *i* might be regarded as a means
ting the conjunction of opposite sounds, but also
which terminate in a vowel, and have no need
f any such means; *e.g. dhav-i-shyâmi*, "I will
and *adhâv-i-sham*, "I moved"; *dhô-shyâmi* and
m might be used, and would not be inconvenient
nce.

n favour of the opinion that the augment is con-
n the *ê* of *audiêbam*, the obsolete futures of the

fourth conjugation in *ibo* might be adduced (*expedibo*, *scibo*, *operibo*, and others in Plautus), and the want of a preceding *e* in these forms might be explained by the circumstance, that the future has no augment. But imperfects in *îbam* also occur, and thence it is clear, that both the *î* of *-îbo*, and that of *-îbam*, should be regarded as a contraction of *iê*, and that the difference between the future and imperfect is only in this, that in the latter the full form (*iê*) has prevailed, but in the former has been utterly lost. In the common dialect *îbam*, *îbo* from *eo*, answer to those obsolete imperfects and futures, only that here the *î* is radical. From the third person plural *eunt* (for *iunt*), and from the conjunctive *eam* (for *iam*), one would expect an imperfect *iêbam*.

530. Let us now consider the temporal augment, in which the Sanscrit agrees with the Greek, just as it does in the syllabic augment. It is an universal principle in Sanscrit, that when two vowels come together they melt into one. When, therefore, the augment stands before a root beginning with *a*, from the two short *a* a long *â* is formed, as in Greek, from ε, by prefixing the augment for the most part, an ἠ is formed. In this manner, from the root of the verb substantive अस् *as*, ΕΣ, arise आस् *âs*, ΗΣ, whence, in the clearest accordance, the third person plural आसन् *âsan*, ἦσαν; the second आस्त *âsta*, ἦστε; the first आस्म *âsma*, ἦμεν, the latter for ἦσμεν, as might be expected from the present ἐσμέν. In the dual, ἦστον, ἤστην, answer admirably to आस्तम् *âs-tam*, आस्ताम् *âs-tâm*. The first person singular is, in Sanscrit, *âsam*, for which, in Greek, ἦσαν might be expected, to which we are also directed by the third person plural, which generally is the same as the first person singular (where, however, ν stands for ντ). The form ἦν has passed over a whole syllable, and is exceeded by the Latin *eram* (from *esam*, see §. 22.) in true preservation of the original form, as in general the Latin has, in the

verb substantive, nowhere permitted itself to be robbed of the radical consonant, with the exception of the second person present, but, according to its usual inclination, has weakened the original *s* between two vowels to *r*. It is highly probable that *ĕram* was originally *êram* with the augment. The abandonment of the augment rests, therefore, simply on the shortening of the initial vowel.

531. In the second and third person singular the Sanscrit introduces between the root and the personal sign *s* and *t* an *î* as the conjunctive vowel; hence *âsîs*, *âsît*. Without this auxiliary vowel these two persons would necessarily have lost their characteristic, as two consonants are not admissible at the end of a word, as also in the Vêda dialect, in the third person, there really exists a form आस् *âs*, with which the Doric ἦς agrees very well. But the Doric ἦς, also, might, with Krüger (p. 234), be deduced from ἦτ, so that ς would be the character of the third person, the original τ of which, as it cannot stand at the end of a word, would have been changed into the cognate ς, which is admissible for the termination. According to this principle, I have deduced neuters like τετυφός, τέρας, from τετυφότ, τέρατ, as πρός from προτί = Sanscrit *prati* (see §. 152. end). If ἦς has arisen in a similar manner from ἦτ, this form would be the more remarkable, because it would then be a solitary example of the retention of the sign of the third person in secondary forms. Be this how it may, still the form ἦς is important for this reason, as it explains to us the common form ἦν, the external identity of which with the ἦν of the first person must appear surprising. In this person ἦν stands for ἦμ (middle ἦμην); but in the third, ἦν has the same relation to the Doric ἦς that τύπτομεν has to τύπτομες, or that, in the dual, τέρπετον, τέρπετον have to the Sanscrit *tarpathas*, *tarpatas* (§. 97.); and I doubt not, also, that the ν of ἦν, "he was," is a corruption of ς.

"Remark.—In Sanscrit it is a rule, that roots in *s*, when

they belong, like *as*, to a class of conjugation which, in the special tenses, interposes no middle syllable between the root and personal termination, changes the radical *s* in the third person into *t*; and at will in the second person also, where, nevertheless, the placing an *s* and its euphonic permutations is prevalent (see my smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §. 291.): शास् *śâs*, "to govern," forms, in the third person, solely *aśât*; in the second *âśâs* (अशाः *aśâḥ*), or likewise *aśât*. As regards the third person *aśât*, I believe that it is better to regard its *t* as the character of the third person than as a permutation of the radical *s*. For why else should the *t* have been retained principally in the third person, while the second person prefers the form *aśâs*? At the period when the Sanscrit, like its sister languages, still admitted two consonants at the end of a word, the third person will have been *aśâs-t*, and the second *aśât-s*, as *s* before another *s* freely passes into *t* (see §. 517. Rem.): in the present state of the language, however, the last letter but one of *aśâs-t* has been lost, and *aśât-s* has, at will, either in like manner dropped the last but one, which it has generally done—hence, *aśâ(t)s*—or the last, hence *aśât(s)*."

532. With आसीस् *âsî-s*, "thou wast," आसीत् *âsî-t*, "he was," the forms *âsas*, *âsat*, may also have existed, as several other verbs of the same class, in the persons mentioned, assume at will *a* or *i*; as *arôdîs*, *arôdît*, "thou didst weep," "he did weep"; or *arôdas*, *arôdat*, from *rud* (the Old High German *riuzu*, "I weep," pre-supposes the Gothic *riuta*, Latin *rudo*). I believe that the forms in *as*, *at*, are the elder, and that the forms in *îs*, *ît*, have found their way from the aorist (third formation), where the long *î* of *abôdhîs*, *abôdhît* is to be explained as a compensation for the sibilant which has been dropped, which, in the other persons, is united with the root by a short *i* (*abôdh-i-sham*, *abôdh-i-shva*, *abôdh-i-shma*). The pre-supposed forms *âsas*, *âsat*, are confirmed by the Zend,

also, where, in the third person, the form [illegible] *aṇhaṭ** occurs, with suppression of the augment (otherwise it would be *âoṇhaṭ*) and the insertion of a nasal, according to §. 56[a]. I am not able to quote the second person, but it admits of no doubt that it is *aṇhô* (with *cha*, "and," *aṇhaś-cha.*) The originality of the conjunctive vowel *a* is confirmed also by the Latin, which nevertheless lengthens the same unorganically (but again, through the influence of a final *m* and *t*, shortens it), and which extends that letter, also, to those persons in which the Sanscrit and Greek, and probably, also, the Zend, although wanting in the examples which could be desired, unite the terminations to the root direct. Compare—

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
âsam,	ἦν,	*eram.*
âsîs,	ἦς,	*erâs.*
âsît (Zend *aṇhat*, *âs*,* Vêda *âs*),	ἦς, ἦν,	*erat.*

DUAL.

âsva,	....	...
âstam,	ἦστον,	...
âstâm,	ἤστην,	...

* I cannot, with Burnouf (Yaçna, Notes, p. CXIV.), explain this *aṇhaṭ*, and its plural *aṇhĕn*, as a conjunctive (*Lêṭ*) or as an aorist; for a *Lêṭ* always requires a long conjunctive vowel, and, in the third person plural, *aṅn* for *ân*. And Burnouf actually introduces as *Lêṭ* the form *âoṇhaṭ* (Yaçna, p. CXVIII.), which is superior to *aṇhaṭ* in that it retains the augment. But it need not surprise us, from what has been remarked in §. 520., that *aṇhaṭ* and *aṇhĕn* occur with a conjunctive signification. And Burnouf gives to the form *nipârayanta*, mentioned in §. 536. Rem., a conjunctive meaning, without recognising in it a formal conjunctive. The difference of the Zend *aṇhaṭ* from the Sanscrit *âsît*, with regard to the conjunctive vowel, should surprise us the less, as the Zend not unfrequently differs from the Sanscrit in more important points, as in the preservation of the nominative sign in bases ending with a consonant (*âfs*, *drucs*, see §. 138.).

† See §. 518.

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
âsma,	ἦ(σ)μεν,	*erâmus.*
âsta,	ἦστε,	*erâtis.*
âsan,	ἦσαν,	*erant.*

"Remark.—The analogy with *bam, bâs,* may have c sioned the lengthening unorganically of the conjun vowel in Latin, where the length of quantity appears a unconscious result of contraction, since, as has been sl above (see §. 365), *bam, bâs,* &c., corresponds to the Sansc *bhavam, a-bhavas.* After dropping the *v,* the two short vc coalesced and melted down into a long one, in a similar ner to that in which, in the Latin first conjugation, the scrit character *aya* (of the tenth class), after rejecting *y* has become *â* (§. 504.); and hence, *amâs, amâtis,* c sponds to the Sanscrit *kâmayasi,* "thou lovest," *kâmay* "ye love." The necessity of adjusting the forms *eram,* &c., to those in *bam, bâs,* and of placing throughout a lo where the final consonant does not exert its shortening i ence, must appear so much the greater, as in the fu also, *eris, erit, erimus, eritis,* stand in the fullest agree with *bis, bit, bimus, bitis;* and for the practical use o language the difference of the two tenses rests on the c rence of the vowel preceding the personal termination contrast so strong as that between the length of the gr and the shortness of the lightest vowel makes its appear therefore, here very desirably. That the *i* of the futu not simply a conjunctive vowel, but an actual expressi the future, and that it answers to the Sanscrit *ya* of - *-yati,* &c.; or, reversing the case, that the *â* of the impe is simply a vowel of conjunction, and has nothing to do the expression of the relation of time, this can be fel longer from the particular point of view of the Latin.

533. In roots which begin with *i, î, u, û,* or *ṛi,* Sanscrit augment does not follow the common rule

sound, according to which *a* with *i* or *î* is contracted into *é* (= *a* + *i*), and with *u* or *û* to *ó* (= *a* + *u*), and with *ṛi* (from *ar*) becomes *ar*, but for ए *é* ऐ *âi* is employed; for ओ *ó*, औ *âu*; and for अर् *ar*, आर् *âr*: as from *ichh*, "to wish" (as substitute of *ish*), comes *âichham*, "I wished"; from *uksh*, "to sprinkle," comes *âuksham*, "I sprinkle." It cannot be ascertained with certainty what the reason for this deviation from the common path is. Perhaps the higher augment of the vowel is to be ascribed to the importance of the augment for the modification of the relation of time, and to the endeavour to make the augment more perceptible to the ear, in roots beginning with a vowel, than it would be if it were contracted with *i*, *î*, to *é*, or with *u*, *û*, to *ó*, thereby giving up its individuality. Perhaps, too, the preponderating example of the roots of the first class, which require Guna before simple radical consonants, has operated upon the roots which possess no Guna, so that *âichham* and *âuksham* would be* to be regarded as regular contractions of *a-échham*, *a-ókshaṁ*, although *ichh*, as it belongs to the sixth class, and *uksh* to class one, on account of its length by position, admits of no other Guna.

534. In roots which begin with *a*, the augment and reduplication produce, in Sanscrit, an effect exactly the same as if to the root अस् *as* ("to be") *a* was prefixed as the augment or the syllable of reduplication; so in both cases from *a-as* only *âs*

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* As *é* consists of *a* + *i*, and *ó* of *a* + *u*, so the first element of these diphthongs naturally melts down with a preceding *a* to *â*, and the product of the whole is *âi*, *âu*. In roots which begin with *ṛi*, we might regard the form *âr*, which arises through the augment, as proceeding originally not from *ṛi*, but from the original *ar*, of which *ṛi* is an abbreviation, as, also, the reduplication syllable of *bibharmi* has been developed not from *bhri*, which the grammarians assume as the root, but from the proper root *bhar* (see Vocalismus, p. 158, &c.), by weakening the *a* to *i*, while in the reduplicated preterite this weakening ceases, and *babhara* or *babhâra* means "I bore."

can arise, and *âsa* is the first and third person of the p
In roots, however, which begin with *i* or *u* the operati
the augment and of reduplication are different; for *i*
wish," and *ush*, "to burn" (Latin *uro*), form, through th
ment, *âish*,* *âush*, and, by reduplication, *îsh*, *ûsh*, as the
lar contraction of *i-ish*, *u-ush*. In the persons of the sin
however, with Guna, the *i* and *u* of the reduplication s
before the vowel of the root, which is extended by
passes into *iy* and *uv*; hence, *iy-êsha*, "I wished," *uv-ôs*
burned," corresponding to the plural *îshima*, *ûshima*, w
Guna.

535. In roots beginning with a vowel the tenses
have the augment or reduplication are placed, by the
exactly on the same footing. The reduplication, ho
cannot be so much disregarded, as to be overlooked wl
is as evidently present as in the just-mentioned (§
Sanscrit *îshima*, *ûshima* (=*i-ishima*, *u-ushima*). Whe
an originally short ι and υ a long ῑ and ῡ arise, as
τεουν, ἱκέτευκα, ὕβριζον, ὕβρισμαι, I regard this, as
already done elsewhere,† as the effect of the redupli

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* Aorist *âishisham*; the imperfect is formed from the substitut

† Annals of Oriental Literature (London, 1820. p. 41). When, th
Krüger (Crit. Gramm. §. 99.) makes the temporal augment consist
that the vowel of the verb is doubled, this corresponds, in regard to i
ὕβριζον, ὕβρισμαι, ὡμίλεον, ὡμίληκα, with the opinion expressed, l. c.
but M. Krüger's explanation of the matter seems to me too
in that, according to it, verbs beginning with a vowel never had
ment; and that therefore, while the Sanscrit *âsan*, "they were,"
pounded of *a-asan*, *i.e.* of the augment and the root, the Gre
would indeed have been melted down from *ἐ-εσαν*, but the first ε w
only be to the root a foreign element accidentally agreeing with it
sound, but the repetition or reduplication of the radical vowel.
ἦσαν, in spite of its exact agreement with the Sanscrit *âsan* would
be regarded, not as one of the most remarkable transmissions from
mitive period of the language, but the agreement would be mai
tuitous, as *âsan* contained the augment, ἦσαν, however, a syllable

ɔon the long vowel as proceeding from the repeti-
· short one, as, in the Sanscrit, *îshima*, *ûshima*.
ıould an $\bar{\imath}$ or $\bar{\upsilon}$ arise out of $\epsilon + \iota$ or υ, when this
occurs nowhere else, and besides when $\epsilon\iota$ is so
. diphthong in Greek, that even $\epsilon + \epsilon$, although of
rence in the augment, is rather contracted to $\epsilon\iota$
ınd the diphthong $\epsilon\upsilon$ also accords well with that

As to o becoming ω in the augmented tenses,
if required, recognise therein the augment, since
: originally one, and both are corruptions from α.
:ss, I prefer seeing in *ὠνόμαζον* the reduplication,
ın the augment, since we elsewhere find $\epsilon + o$
ıtracted to $o\upsilon$, not to ω, although, in dialects, the ω
ı compensation for $o\upsilon$ (Doric *τῶ νόμω*, *τως νόμως*).
ıe middle, the imperfect of which is distinguished
regular active only by the personal terminations,
in §§. 468. &c., exhibits only in the third person
ıd plural a resemblance between the Sanscrit, Zend,
which strikes the eye at the first glance: compare
ἐφέρ-ο-ντο, with the Sans. *abhar-a-ta*, *abhar-a-nta*,
nd *bar-a-ta*, *bar-a-nta*. In the second person singu-
like *ἐδείκ-νυ-σο* answer very well to the Zend, like
"thou didst praise" (§. 469.); while in the first con-
he agreement of the Greek and Zend is somewhat
in that the Zend, according to a universal law of
ɜ changed the original termination *sa* after a pre-
:o *ha* (see §. 56[a].), and attached to it a nasal sound
e Greek has contracted ϵ-σo to $o\nu$; thus, *ἐφέρον* from
answering to the Zend *bar-aṇ-ha*, for which, in
ı-*bhar-a-thâs* (see §. 469.). In the first person sin-

I should certainly, however, prefer recognising, in all Greek
ıing with a vowel, the reduplication alone rather than the
ɔne; and from the Greek point of view, without reference to
, this view would appear more correct.

gular अभरे *abharê* from *abhar-a-i* for *abhar-a-ma* (see §. 471.) appears very disadvantageously compared with ἐφερ-ό-μην In the first person plural, ἐφερ-ό-μεθα answers, in respect to the personal termination, better to the Zend *bar-â-maidhi* than to the Sanscrit *abhar-â-mahi*, the ending of which, *mahi*, is clearly abbreviated from *madhi* (see §. 472.). In the second person plural, ἐφέρ-ε-σθε* corresponds to the Sanscrit *abhar-a-dhvam*,* and Zend *bar-a-dhwĕm*:* in the dual, for the Greek ἐφέρ-ε-σθον, ἐφερ-έ-σθην (from ἐφερ-ε-ττον, ἐφερ-έ-ττην, see §. 474.), stand, in Sanscrit, *abharêthâm*, *abharêtâm* from *abhar-a-âtâm*, *abhara-â-tâm* (according to the third class *abibhr-âthâm*, *abibhr-âtâm*), and this, according to the conjecture expressed above (§. 474.), from *abhar-a-thâthâm*, *abar-a-tâtâm*.

"Remark.—I can quote in Zend only the third person singular and plural, the latter instanced in *nipârayanta*, which occurs in the Vend. S. p. 484 in the sense of a conjunctive present† (*nipârayanta âpĕm*, '*transgrediantur aquam*') which, according to what has been remarked at §. 520., need not surprise us. The third person singular can be copiously cited. I will here notice only the frequently recurring 𐬀𐬊𐬑𐬙𐬀 *aôcta*, 'he spoke,' 𐬞𐬁𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬀𐬊𐬑𐬙𐬀 *paiti-aôcta*, 'he answered,' the *a* of which I do not regard as the augment, as in general the augment has almost disappeared in Zend (see §. 518.), but as the phonetic prefix mentioned in §. 28. But how is the remaining *ôcta* related to the Sanscrit? The root वच् *vach* is not used in the middle; but if it were, it would, in the third person

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* From ἐφερ-έ-ττε, *abhar-a-ddhvam*, *bhar-a-ddhwĕm*? see §. 474.

† Compare Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 518. In Sanscrit the verb *pârayâmi*, mid. *pârayê*, corresponds, which I do not derive with the Indian grammarians from the root पॄ *pṛi*, "to fulfil," but regard as the denominative of *pâra*, "the farther shore": this *pâra*, however, is best derived from *para*, "the other."

singular of the imperfect, form *avakta*, without the augment *vakta;* and hence, by changing *va* to *a* + *u* (for *a* + *v*), the Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬑𐬙𐬀 *ôcta* might be deduced, with the regular contraction of the *a* + *u* to *ô*.* As, in Sanscrit, the root *vach*, in many irregular forms, has laid aside *a*, and vocalized the *v* to *u*,† we might, also, for *a-vakta*,

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* On the value of 𐬬 as long *ô* see §. 447. Note.

† As regards my explanation of the *u* which takes the place of *va* in the root *vach*, and many others, in certain forms devoid of Guna, Professor Höfer (Contributions to Etymology, p. 384), finds it remarkable that we so often overlook what is just at hand, and thinks that in the case under discussion the *u* is not to be deduced from the *v* of *va*, but that from *va* *vu* has been formed; and of this, after rejecting the *v*, only the *u* has remained. In this, however, M. Höfer has, on his part, overlooked, that the derivation of *u* from *vu* cannot be separated from the phenomena which run parallel thereto, according to which *i* proceeds from *ya* and *ṛi* from *ra*. It is impossible to deduce *gṛihyate*, "*capitur*," for *grahyatê*, in such a manner that from *ra* *rṛi* can be derived, as from *va* *vu*, and thus pre-suppose for *gṛihyatê* a *grṛihyatê*, and hence drop the *r*. But what is more natural than that the semi-vowels should at times reject the vowel which accompanies them, as they themselves can become a vowel? Is not the relation of the Old High German *ir*, "ye," to the Gothic *yus* founded on this? and even that of the Gothic genitive *i-zvara* to the to be expected *yu-zvara?* Or may not from *yus* be next formed *yir*, and hence *ir* by rejecting the *y?* Can it be that the Gothic nominative *thius*, "the servant," has arisen from the theme *thiva*, not, which is the readiest way of deriving it, by the *v* becoming *u* after the *a* has been rejected, but by forming from *thiva* first *thivu*, and then, by dropping the *v*, in the nominative *thius*, and in the accusative *thiu?* I fully acknowledge M. Höfer's valuable labours with regard to the Prakrit, but believe that, in the case before us, he has suffered himself to be misled by this interesting and instructive dialect. It is true that the Prakrit is more frequently founded on forms older than those which come before us in classic Sanscrit. I have shewn this, among other places, in the instrumental plural (§. 220.), where, however, as usual, the Prakrit, in spite of having an older form before it, has nevertheless been guilty of admitting, at the same time, a strong corruption. This is the case with the Prakrit *vachchadi*, "*dicitur*." I willingly concede to M. Höfer, that this form is based

suppose a form *a-ukta* (without the euphonic contractio and hence, in Zend, deduce, according to the comm contraction, the form *ôcta*, to which *ôcta* then, accordi to §. 28., an *a* would be further prefixed; so that *aôcta* an augment would in reality lie conceale without being contained in the initial *a*. This speci case is here, however, of no great importance to us; b this alone is so, that *aôcta*, in its termination, is identic with the Sanscrit, and comes very near the Greek το *ἐφέρ-ε-το*, *ἐδείκ-νυ-το*. To the latter answers the often r curring *hu-nû-ta*, 'he praised' (compare Greek *ὕ-μνος*), wit an unorganic lengthening of the *u*. From the latter ma with certainty, be derived the abovementioned secon person *hu-nu-sha*, after the analogy of the aori *urûrudhusha* (see §. 469.). In the first person plural have contrasted the form *bar-a-maidhê*, which is not di tinguishable from the present, with the Greek *ἐ-φερ-όμεθα* for it is clear, from the abovementioned (§. 472.) potentia *bûidhyôimaidhê*, that the secondary form are not distinguished, in the first person plural, from the primary ones; after dropping the augment, therefore, n difference from the present can exist. The form *bar-a-dhwĕm* of the second person plural follows from the imperative quoted by Burnouf (Yaçna, Notes, p. XXXVIII.) as *zayadhwĕm*, 'live ye,' and the precative *dayadhwĕm*, 'may he give.'"*

based on some other older one than the present Sanscrit *uchyatê*, but I do not thence deduce a *vuchyatê*, but merely *vachyatê*, for which the Prakrit is not at all required. The Prakrit, like many other languages, has, in very many places, weakened an original *a* to *u* (see p. 363.): why, then, should it not have occasionally done so after the *v*, which is homogeneous to the *u*, as the Zend, according to Burnouf's conjecture, has sometimes through the influence of a *v*, changed a following *a* to *ô*?

* In my opinion, this form (of which more hereafter) must be taken for a precative, not for an imperative.

ORIGIN OF THE AUGMENT.

537. I hold the augment to be identical in its origin with the *a* privative, and regard it, therefore, as the expression of the negation of the present. This opinion, which has been already brought forward in the "Annals of Oriental Literature," has, since then, been supported by Ag. Benary* and Hartung (Greek Particles, II. 110.), but opposed by Lassen. As, however, Professor Lassen will allow of no explanation whatever of grammatical forms by annexation, and bestows no credit on the verb substantive, clearly as it manifests itself in many tenses of attributive verbs, treating it like the old "everywhere" and "nowhere," I am not surprised that he sees, in the explanation of the augment just given, the culminating point of the agglutination system, and is astonished that the first ancestors of the human race, instead of saying "I saw," should be supposed to have said "I see not." This, however, they did not do, since, by the negative particle, they did not wish to remove the action itself, but only the present time of the same. The Sanscrit, in general, uses its negative particles in certain compounds in a way which, at the first glance and without knowing the true object of the language, appears very extraordinary. Thus, *uttama-s*, "the highest," does not lose its signification by having the negative particle *a* prefixed to it (which, as in Greek before vowels, receives the addition of a nasal): *an-uttamas*, is not "the not highest," or "the low," but in like manner "the highest," nay, even emphatically "the highest," or "the highest of all." And yet it cannot be denied that, in *anuttama-s*, the particle *an* has really its negative force, but *anuttama-s* is a possessive compound, and *abala-s* (from *a* and *bala*), "not having strength," means, therefore, "weak"; thus, *anuttama-s* signifies properly "*qui altissimum non habet*," and

* Berlin Jahrb. July 1833, pp. 36, &c.

hence, "*quo nemo altior est.*" It might be expecte every superlative or comparative would be used sim that also *apuṇyatama-s* or *apuṇyatara-s* would signify purest"; but the language makes no further use capability; it does not a second time repeat this we would so call it; at least I am unacquainted wi other examples of this kind. But what comes nearer this use of the augment, as a negative p than the just cited *an* of *anuttama*, is this, that *êka*, by the prefixing negative particles, just as little re the meaning not one (*οὐδείς*), "none," as वेद्मि *vêd-* know," through the *a* of *a-vêd-am*, gets that of "I not." By the negative power of the augment, loses only a portion of its meaning, a secondary ide of present time, and thus *êka-s*, "one," by the pre or *na* (*anêka*, *nâika*), does not lose its existence or i sonality (for *êka* is properly a pronoun, see §. 308. even the idea of unity, inasmuch as in 6, 7, 8, & idea of "one" is also contained, but only the lim to unity, as it were the secondary idea, "simply would not be surprising if *anêka* and *nâika* expres the dual, "two," or, in the plural, "three," or any higher number, or also, "a few," "some"; but it si such is the decision of the use of language, "many." cannot, therefore, be matter of astonishment, that *a* through its negative *a*, receives the signification "I

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* When Vorländer, in his Treatise, which I have just seen, "Basis of an organic acquaintance with the human soul," p. 3 "Negation of the present is not past," he is in the right; bu be said with equal right, "negation of one is not plurality" (i in fact, be two, three, or nothing), and yet the idea "many" is cle pressed by the negation of unity, or limitation to unity; and in de the language it may be said, that though the negation of present not past time, and that of unity not plurality, still the past i a negation of the present, plurality a negation, an overleaping o and hence both ideas are adapted to be expressed with th

hat of "I shall know." For the rest, also, the
h is irrevocably lost, forms a far more decided
› the present, than the future does, to which we
in the same degree the farther we depart from

And in form, too, the future is often no way
ıed from the present.

om the circumstance that the proper *a* privative,
ırly manifests a negative force, assumes, both in
nd Greek, an euphonic *n* before a vowel initial
le the *a* of the augment, in both languages, is con-
th the following vowel (§. 530.), we cannot infer a
›rigin for the two particles. Observe, that *svâdu*,
as feminine, forms, in the instrumental, *svâdv-â*,
the masculine and neuter it avoids the hiatus,
ıanging *u* into *v*, but by the insertion of an
n (compare §. 159.). And the augment and the
a privative are distinguished in the same way,
y both apply different means to avoid the hiatus.

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ticles. *Vice versâ*, in certain cases negation can also be ex-
n expression for the past:

"*Besen, Besen,*
Seid's gewesen!"

en means the same as "no more." Language never expresses
erfectly, but everywhere only brings forward the most con-
ark, or that which appears so. To discover this mark is
s of etymology. A "tooth-haver" is not an "elephant," a
" does not fully express a "lion"; and yet the Sanscrit calls
t *dantin*, the lion *kéśin*. If, then, a tooth, *danta*, is derived
o eat" (dropping the *a*), or from *daṅś*, "to bite" (dropping
), we may again say, "an eater or biter is not exclusively a
ght also be a dog or a mouth);" and thus the language revolves
f incomplete expressions, and denotes things imperfectly, by
whatever which is itself imperfectly pointed out. It is, how-
ı that the most prominent quality of the past is what may be
"non-present," by which the former is denoted more correctly
phant is expressed by "tooth-haver."

The division may have arisen at a period when, though early so early, in fact, as when the Greek and Sanscrit were one, the augment was no longer conscious of its negative power, and was no more than the exponent of past time: but the reason why was forgotten, as, in general, the portions of words which express grammatical relations then first become grammatical forms, when the reason of their becoming so is no longer felt, and the *s*, which expresses the nominative, would pass as the exponent of a certain case relation only when the perception of its identity with the pronominal base *sa* was extinguished.

339. From the Latin privative prefix *in*, and our German *un*. I should not infer—even if, as is highly probable, they are connected with the *a* privative—that the nasal originally belonged to the word; for here three witnesses —three languages in fact—which, in most respects, exceed the Latin and German in the true preservation of their original state, speak in favour of the common opinion, that the nasal, in the negative particle under discussion, in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, is not a radical. It cannot, however, surprise us, if a sound, which is very often introduced for the sake of euphony, has remained fixed in one or more of the cognate dialects, since the language has, by degrees, become so accustomed to it that it can no longer dispense with it. We may observe, moreover, as regards the German languages, the great disposition of these languages, even without euphonic occasion, to introduce an unorganic *n*, whereby so many words have been transplanted from the vowel declension into one terminating with a consonant, viz. into that in *n*, or, as Grimm terms it, into the weak declension; and the Sanscrit *vidhavâ* "widow," Latin *vidua*, Sclavonic *vdova* (at once theme and nominative), in Gothic is in the theme *viduvôn* (genitive *viduvôn-s*), whence is formed, in the nominative, according to §. 140., by rejecting the *n*, *viduvô*. If *an* was,

nscrit, the original form of the prefix under discus-
its *n* would still be dropped, not only before conso-
, but also before vowels; for it is a general rule in
rit, that words in *n* drop this sound in the beginning
mposites; hence, *râjan*, "king," forms, with *putra*,
utra, "king's son," and, with *indra*, "prince," *râ-*
, "prince of kings," since the *a* of *râjan*, after drop-
the *n*, is contracted with a following *i* to *é* (= *a* + *i*).
inseparable prefixes, however, in respect to the laws
und, follow the same principles as the words which
also in an isolated state. If *an*, therefore, were the
al form of the above negative particle, and of the
ent identical with it, then the two would have become
ated in the course of time, for this reason, that the
, following strictly the universal fundamental law,
have rejected its *n* before vowels as before conso-
; the former only before consonants.

. In §. 317. we have deduced the Sanscrit negative
les *a* and *na* from the demonstrative bases of the same
, since the latter, when taken in the sense of "that,"
ry well adapted for the putting off of a thing or quality
removing it to a distance. If *an* were the original
of the *a* privative and of the augment, then the demon-
ve base अन *ana*, whence the Lithuanian *ana-s* or *an-s*,
e Sclavonic *on*, "that," would aid in its explanation. The
ty of the augment with the privative *a* might, however,
o explained, which, indeed, in essentials would be the
by assuming that the language, in prefixing an *a* to
rbs, did not intend the *a* negative, nor to deny the
ce of the action, but, under the *a*, meant the actual pro-
in the sense of "that," and thereby wished to transfer
tion to the other side, to the distant time already past;
at it therefore only once more repeated the same course
s as it followed in the creation of negative expres-

According to this explanation, the augment and the *a*

privative would rather stand in a fraternal relation t
that of offspring and progenitor. The way to both
lead directly from the pronoun, while in the first met
explanation we arrive, from the demonstrative of dis
first to the negation, and thence to the expression o
time, as contrary to present. According to the last e
tion, the designation of the past through the augment
be in principle identical with that in which, throug
isolated particle स *sma*, the present receives a past sig
tion. I hold, that is to say, this *sma* for a pronoun
third person, which occurs declined only in certain ca
composition with other pronouns of the third person (§
&c.), and in the plural of the two first persons, where
means (in the Vêda dialect) properly "I and she" (
that woman"), *yu-shmê*, "thou and she" (§. 333.).* .
expression of past time, *sma*, which also often occurs w
a perceptible meaning, must be taken in the sense of
person," "that side," "there," as W. von Humboldt re
the Tagalish and Tongian expression for past time *na*,
I have compared with the Sanscrit demonstrative
na, and thus indirectly with the negative particle *na*;† ·
I will further remark that I have endeavoured to carry
the expression for the future also, in Tongian and Mad
carian, to demonstrative bases; viz. the Tongian *te* t
Sanscrit base त *ta* (which the languages of New Zealan
Tahiti use in the form *te* as article), and the Madag
ho to the base स *sa* (§. 345.), which appears in the To
he, as in the Greek ὁ, as the article.‡

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* To the derivation of *sma*, given at p. 464, Rem. †, it may be
added, that it may also be identified with the pronominal base s
§. 341.), either by considering its *m* as a hardened form of *v* (comp. p
or *vice versâ* the *v* of *sva* a weakening of the *m* of *sma*.

† See my Treatise "On the Connection of the Malay-Polynesia
guages with the Indo-European," pp. 100, &c.

‡ L. c. pp. 101, 104.

541. No one would consider the circumstance that, in Greek, the augment appears in the form ε, but the negative particle in the form α, which is identical with the Sanscrit, as a valid objection against the original identity or relationship of the two particles; for it is extremely common in Greek for one and the same α to maintain itself in one place, and be corrupted in another to ε; as τέτυφα and τέτυφε both lead to the Sanscrit *tutôpa*, which stands both in the first and in the third person, as the true personal termination has been lost, and only the conjunctive vowel has remained; which in Greek, except in the third person singular, appears everywhere else as α. It is, however, certain, that, from the point of view of the Greek, we should hardly have supposed the augment and the α privative to be related, as the spiritual points of contact of the two prefixes lie much too concealed. Buttmann derives the augment from the reduplication, so that ἔτυπτον would be an abbreviation of τέτυπτον. To this, however, the Sanscrit opposes the most forcible objection, in that it contrasts with the imperfect ἔτυπτον its *atôpam*, but with the really reduplicated τέτυφα its *tutôpa*. The Sanscrit augmented tenses have not the smallest connection with the reduplicated perfect, which, in the repeated syllable, always receives the radical vowel (shortened, if long), while the augment pays no regard to the root, and always uses *a*. If *i* were the vowel of the augment, then in the want of a more satisfactory explanation, we might recognise in it a syllable of reduplication, because the syllables of reduplication have a tendency to weakening, to a lightening of their weight; and *i*, as the lightest vowel, is adapted to supply the place of the heaviest a, and does, also, actually represent this, as well as its long vowel, in the reduplication-syllable of desideratives,* and,

* Hence *pipâs*, "to wish to drink," for *papâs* or *pâpâs*, from *pâ; pipaṭish*, "to wish to cleave," for *papaṭish*, from *pat;* so, also, *bibharmi*, "I carry,"

in a certain case. supplies the place of the vowel *u* too, which is of middling weight, viz. where, in the second aorist in verbs beginning with a vowel, the whole root is twice given; *e.g.* चौनिनम् *âuninam* for चौनूनम् *âunûnam*, from *ûn*, "to diminish." I cannot, however, see the slightest probability in Pott's opinion (Etym. Forsch. II. 73.), that the *a* of the augment may be regarded as a vowel absolutely, and as the representative of all vowels, and thus as a variety of the reduplication. This explanation would be highly suitable for such verbs as have weakened a radical *a* to *u* or *i*, and of which it might be said, that their augment descends from the time when their radical vowel was not as yet *u* or *i* but *a*. But if, at all hazards, the Sanscrit augment should be considered to be the reduplication, I should prefer saying that a radical *i*, *î*, *u*, *û* has received Guna in the syllable of repetition, but the Guna vowel alone has remained; and thus *aivêdam* for *êvêdam* (=*aivaidam*), this from *vêvêdam*; *abôdham* for *âbôdham* (=*aubaudham*), and this from *bôbôdham*.

"Remark.—According to a conjecture expressed by Höfer (Contributions, p. 388), the augment would be a preposition expressing 'with,' and so far identical with our *ge* of participles like *gesagt*, *gemacht*, as the German preposition, which, in Gothic, sounds *ga* and signifies 'with,' is, according to Grimm's hypothesis, connected with the Sanscrit स *sa*, सम् *sam* (Greek σύν, Latin *cum*). Of the two forms स *sa*, सम् *sam*, the latter occurs only in combination with verbs, the former only with substantives.* In order, therefore, to arrive from *sam* to the augment *a*, we must assume that, from the earliest

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"I carry," for *babharmi*, from *bhar* (*bhṛi*); *tishṭhâmi*, "I stand," for *tashṭâmi*, see §. 508.; in Greek, δίδωμι for δόδωμι (Sanscrit *dadâmi*); and others.

* This seems to require qualification. *Sam* is found constantly in combination with substantives, as in संवत्सर, संस्थिति, समना, &c. In some cases the form may be considered as derived through a compound verb, but not in all, as in the instance of *samanta*.—H. H. W.

period, that of the identity of the Sanscrit and Greek, the said preposition, where used to express time, has laid aside its initial and terminating sound, like its body, and only preserved the soul, that is, the vowel; while, in the common combination with verbs the *s* and *m* of *sam* has lived as long as the language itself, and while, in German, we make no formal distinction between the *ge* which, merely by an error, attaches itself to our passive particles, and that which accompanies the whole verbs and its derivatives, as in *gebären, Geburt, geniessen, Genuss.* If, for the explanation of the augment, so trifling a similarity of form is satisfactory, as that between *a* and *sam*, then other inseparable prepositions present themselves which have equal or greater claim to be identified with the expression of past time; for instance, अप *apa*, "from," "away," and अव *ava*, "from," "down," "off"; अति *ati*, "over" (*atikram*, "to go over," also "to pass," "to elapse," used of time). We might also refer to the particle स्म *sma*, mentioned above, which gives past meaning to the present, and assume the rejection of its double consonant. It is certain, however, that that explanation is most to the purpose, by which the past prefix has suffered either no loss at all, or, if *an* is assumed to be the original form of the negative particle, only such as, according to what has been remarked above (§. 539.), takes place regularly at the beginning of compounds. It is also certain that the past stands much nearer to the idea of negation than to that of combination, partly as the augmented preterites in Greek stand so far in contrast to the perfect, as their original destination is, to point to past time and not to express the completion of an action. We will not here decide how far, in Gothic and Old High German, an especial preference for the use of the particle *ga, ge*, is to be ascribed to the preterite; but F. Grimm, who was the first to refer this circumstance to the language (II. 843, 844), adds to the examples given this remark: 'A number of passages in Gothic, Old

High German, and Middle High German, will exhibit
preposition under discussion) as well before the pres
wanting before the preterite, even where the action
be taken as perfect. I maintain only a remarkable
lection of the particle for the preterite, and for the
believe that, for the oldest state of the language, as i
High German, the *ge* became independent of tempora
rences. It had then still its more subtle meaning,
could not be separated from any tense.' This obser
says little in favour of Höfer's opinion, according to
so early as the period of lingual identity, we should
nise in the expression of the past the preposition *sam*,
is hypothetically akin to our preposition *ge*. Here w
to remark, also, that though, in Gothic and Old High Ge
a predominant inclination for the use of the prepositi
ge, must be ascribed to the preterite, it never possess
se the power of expressing past time alone; for in *gavasi*
dressed,' *gavasidêdun*, 'they dressed' (made to dress), t
lation of time is expressed in the appended auxiliary
and the preposition *ga*, if not here, as I think it is, e
without meaning, and a mechanical accompaniment o
of the root, which, through constant use, has become i
rable, can only at most give an emphasis to the idea
verb. At all events, in *gavasida* the signification whi
preposition originally had, and which, however, in
combinations appears but seldom (as in *ga-gri-man*, 'to
together'), can no longer be thought of."

THE AORIST.

542. The second Sanscrit augmented-preterite, whi
account of its seven different formations, I term the
form, corresponds in form to the Greek aorist, in such
that four formations coincide more or less exactly wi
first aorist, and three with the second. The forms
coincide with the first aorist all add *s* to the root,

irectly, or by means of a conjunctive vowel *i*. I recognise
ı this *s*, which, under certain conditions, becomes ष् *sh* (see
21. and Sanscrit Grammar, §. 101[a].), the verb substantive,
ith the imperfect of which the first formation agrees quite
actly, only that the *â* of *âsam*, &c., is lost, and in the third
erson plural the termination *us* stands for *an*, thus *sus* for
an. The loss of the *â* need not surprise us, for in it the aug-
ent is contained, which, in the compound tense under dis-
ussion, is prefixed to the root of the principal verb: the
hort *a* which remains after stripping off the augment might
e dropped on account of the incumbrance caused by com-
osition, so much the easier, as in the present, also, in its
olated state before the heavy terminations of the dual and
lural, it is suppressed (see p. 670). Thus the *sma* of *akshâip-
ma*, "we did cast," is distinguished from *smas*, "we are,"
nly by the weakened termination of the secondary forms
elonging to the aorist. In the third person plural, when *us*
tands for *an*, this happens because *us* passes for a lighter ter-
ination than *an*; and hence, in the imperfect also, in the
oots encumbered with reduplication, regularly takes the place
f *an*; hence, *abibhr-us*, "they bore," for *abibhr-an*; and, ac-
ording to the same principle, *akshâip-sus* for *akshâip-san*, on
ccount of the encumbering of the root of the verb substan-
ive by the preceding attributive root.

543. Before the personal terminations beginning with *t*,
th, and *dh*, roots which end with a consonant other than
n, reject the *s* of the verb substantive in order to avoid the
harsh combination of three consonants; hence, *akshâip-ta*,
"ye did cast," for *akshâip-sta*, as in Greek, from a similar
euphonic reason, the roots terminating with a consonant ab-
breviate, in the perfect passive, the terminations σθον, σθε, to
θον, θε; τέτυφθε, τέταχθε, for τέτυφσθε; τέταξθε: and in
Sanscrit, from a similar reason, the root *sthâ*, "to stand,"
loses its sibilant, if it would come directly in contact with
the preposition *ut*; hence *ut-thita*, "up-stood," for *ut-sthita*.

544. For a view of the middle voice, we here give the imperfect middle of the verb substantive, which is scarcely to be found in isolated use—

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
âsi,	*âsvahi,*	*âsmahi.*
âsthâs,	*âsâthâm,*	*âddhvam* or *âdhvam.*
âsta,	*âsâtâm,*	*âsata.*

545. As an example of the aorist formation under discussion, we select, for roots terminating with a vowel, नी *nî,* "to lead;" and, for roots ending with a consonant, क्षिप् *kship,* "to cast." The radical vowel receives, in the former, in the active, Vṛiddhi; in the middle, only Guṇa, on account of the personal terminations being, on the average, heavier; in the latter, in the active, in like manner, Vṛiddhi; in the middle, no increase at all,

ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
anâisham,	*akshâipsam,*	*anâishva,*	*akshâipsva,*	*anâishma,*	*akshâipsma,*
anâishîs,	*akshâipsîs,*	*anâishṭam,*	*akshâiptam,*[1]	*anâishṭa,*	*akshâipta.*
anâishît,	*akshâipsît,*	*anâishṭâm,*	*akshâiptâm,*[1]	*anâishus,*	*akshâipsus.*

MIDDLE.

anêshi,[2]	*akshîpsi,*	*anêshvahi,*	*akshipsvahi,*	*anêshmahi,*	*akshipsmahi.*
anêshṭhâs,	*akshipthâs,*[1]	*anêshâthâm,*	*akshipsâthâm,*	*anêddhvam,*[3]	*akshiḍḍhvam.*
anêshṭa,	*akshipta,*[1]	*anêshâtâm,*	*akshipsâtâm,*	*anêshata,*[4]	*akshipsata.*

[1] Regarding the loss of the *s* see §. 543. [2] *Sh* for *s*, see §. 21.
[3] Or *anêḍhvam*, also *anêḍhvam*, for *s* before the *dh* of the personal terminations either passes into *d*, or is rejected; and for *dhvam*, in this and the third formation, *ḍhvam* also may be used, probably from the earlier *ḍḍvam*, for *shdvam*. [4] Regarding the loss of the *n*, which belongs to the personal termination, see §. 459.

546. The similarity of the middle *akshipsi* to Latin perfects like *scripsi* is very surprising; for only the aug-

ment is wanting to complete a perfect countertype of the anscrit form. The third person *scripsit* answers better the active form *akshâipsît*, which, without Vṛiddhi, ould sound *akshipsît*: the Latin *vex* (*vec-sit*) answers to e Sanscrit अवाक्षीत् *avâkshît* of the same import; and ain, *vexi* corresponds to the middle *avakshi*. The two nguages have, from a regard to euphony, changed their before the *s* of the verb substantive into the guttural uis, and *k* requires, in Sanscrit, ष् *sh* for स् *s* (see p. 21). e comparison of *vexi* with *avakshi* may appear the tter substantiated, as the second person also *vexisti* can traced back to a middle termination; viz. to *thâs* of *hip-thâs* (for *akshipsthâs*); so that the final *s* would have en dropped, and *â* have been weakened to *i*. I now efer this explanation to that according to which I have merly identified the termination *sti* with the Sanscrit rfect termination *tha*; and in general I consider the tin perfect, which, according to its meaning, might just well have been called aorist, entirely independent of e Greek and Sanscrit perfect, in order that, in all its rms, I may refer it to the aorist. In this no great stacles stand in our way; for while perfects in *si*, at e first glance, shew themselves to be aorists, although not readily by comparison with the Greek as with the nscrit, even *cucurri*, *momordi*, *cecini*, and similar forms, spite of their reduplication, do not oppugn the theory the aorist formation, and very well admit of being aced beside forms like *achûchuram*, middle *achûchurê* (from *chûchuraï*), from *chur*, "to steal," and Grecian forms, as ἔφραδον, ἔπεφνον, of which more hereafter. They would, herefore, like the imperfect and the aorists, as *scripsi*, *xi*, *mansi*, have merely lost the augment, and have thus een associated with the Sanscrit and Greek perfect.

547. Perfects like *scâbi*, *vîdi*, *lêgi*, *fûgi*, *fôdi*, exclusive of he lengthening of their vowel, might be compared with

Sanscrit aorists like अलिपम् *alipam*, middle *alipê* *alipaï*), and Greek as ἔλιπον. On account of the l ening of the vowel, however, this comparison a inadmissible; and I believe that, in their origin agree with forms like *scripsi*, *vexi*, or with such as *tutudi*. In the first case, the lengthening of the must pass as compensation for the *s* of the verb su tive, which has been dropped, on the same princi that on which *divîsi*, from *dividsi*, on account of th of the *d*, has lengthened its short radical vowel, o Greek, forms like μέλᾱς, ἱστᾱς, διδόυς, δεικνῦς, πόυς, in compensation for the loss of a consonant, ha ceived an indemnification in preceding vowel. Still lies the comparison with aorists like ἔφηνα, ἔψηλ φρᾱνα, ἔστειλα, ἔμεινα. It is certain that the l also, must, in the aorist, have originally admitted th bination with σ, and that forms like ἔφανσα (as in Sa *amaṅsi*, in Latin, *mansi*), ἔψαλσα, ἔστελσα, have existe that in these aorists the length of the vowel is in quence of the suppression of the σ. But if Latin p like *lêgi*, *fugi*, according to their origin, should fall Sanscrit seventh aorist formation (*achûchuram*, *a* or *aśiśîlam* from *śîl*), they then contain a concealed r cation, as, according to Grimm, do our preterites, a Old High German *hiaz*, (=Gothic *haihait*), and *lêgi* *fûgi*, *fôdi*, *le-egi*, *sca-abi*, *fu-ugi*, *fo-odi*, for *leleyi*, *scacal* with suppression of the consonant of the second s by which that of the first loses the appearance of sonant affixed by reduplication, as is the case in the γῑνομαι from γίγνομαι (for γι-γεν-ο-μαι), where, af

548. I must decidedly pronounce forms like *cêpi*, *frêgi*, *fĕci*, to be reduplicated, and I have already done this, when I recognised in them true perfects.* As perfects, they would be analogous to Sanscrit forms like तेपिम *tépima*, "we atoned," of which hereafter. As aorists, they have अनेशम् *anêśam*, "I was ruined," for their prototype, which I deduce from *ananiśam*, by dropping the *n* of the second syllable; and I refer it to the seventh aorist formation, while the Indian grammarians regard it as an anomaly of the sixth. Therefore, like अनेशम् *anêśam* from *na(n)iśam*, I regard *cêpi* as a contraction of *cacipi*, as the Latin *ĕ* as a colliquidation of *a* + *i* frequently answers to the Sanscrit *ĕ*; *e.g.* in *lĕvir*, corresponding to the Sanscrit *dêvar* (*dêvṛi*). With regard to the second syllable of the pre-supposed forms like *cacipi*, *fafici*, we may compare such perfects as *cecini*, *tetigi*, which in like manner, on account of the root being loaded with the reduplication, have weakened the radical *a* to *i*. The forms *cêpi*, *fêci*, &c., must, however, have arisen at a period where the law had not as yet been prescribed to the syllables of reduplication of replacing the heaviest vowel *a* by *e*, but when as yet the weakening of the radical vowel in the syllable of the base was sufficient. But if the previous existence of forms like *cacipi*, *fafici*, is not admitted, and *cecipi*, *fefici*, are made to precede the present *cêpi*, *fêci*, we must then

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forms like *fŏdi*, *fūdi*, from reduplication, but assumes the dropping of the syllable of reduplication and the lengthening of the radical syllable in compensation for its loss, against which I have expressed my opinion in the Berlin Jahrb. (Jan. 1838, p. 10); since this explanation, unlike the retroactive effect of a suppression, by compensation in the preceding syllable, has no other analogous case to corroborate it.

* In my Review of Benary's System of Roman Sounds (Berlin Jahrb. l. c. p. 10). Since then, Pott, also, in his Review of the same book (in the Hall. Jahrb.) has mentioned this case, but declared himself, without sufficient grounds in my opinion, against my view of the matter.

deduce *cêpi* from *cëipi*. *fêci* from *feïci*, in such wise that the first vowel absorbs the second, and thereby becomes long, just as I have already, in my System of Conjugation, deduced conjunctives like *legâs*, *legâmus*, from *legaïs*, *legaïmus*. The form *égi* has this advantage over other perfects of the kind, that it has not lost a consonant between the two elements of which its *é* is composed, *i.e.* between the syllable of repetition and that of the base: it is the contraction of *a-igi* or *e-igi*, and therefore, together with *édi*, *émi*, if the latter are likewise regarded as reduplicated forms (from *e-edi*, *e-emi*), deserves particular notice. As we ascribe an aoristic origin to the Latin perfects, we might also see in *égi*, *édi*, *émi*, a remnant of the augment.

549. I return to the second person singular in *sti*. If in *ti*. of *serpsisti*, *vexisti*, *cucurristi*, *cêpisti*, we recognise the Sanscrit medial termination *thâs*, and in the whole an aorist, then *serpsisti* does not answer so exactly to *akshipthâs* for *akshipstâs* as to the fourth aorist formation, which, indeed, is not used in the middle, and in roots ending with a consonant, not in the active also, but which originally can scarcely have had so confined a use as in the present state of the language; and, together with the active *ayâsisham* (from *yâ*, "to go"), we might expect the previous existence of a middle, whence the second person would be *ayâ-sishṭhâs*, in which forms like *serpsisti* are, as it were, reflected. The Sanscrit सृप् *sṛip* (from *sarp*), would, according to this formation, if it were used in the middle, produce *asṛip-sishṭhâs*. We may notice, also, with regard to the *s* which precedes the *t* in the forms *serpsisti*, *serpsistis* which, in §. 454., has been explained as an euphonic addition, that the Sanscrit precative, which in the middle likewise unites the *s* of the verb substantive with the root (either directly, or through a conjunctive vowel *i*), prefixes another *s*, which is, perhaps, merely euphonic, to the personal terminations beginning with *t* or *th*, which *s*

gh the influence of the preceding *î*, becomes *sh*. The d person singular of the root *ṛip*, if it were used in niddle, would be *ṛipsîshthâs*, to which the Latin *sti* approaches closely, where, however, it is to be ved, that the *i* of the Latin *serp-s-i-sti* is only a con- ve vowel, while the *î* of तृप्सीष्ठास् *ṛipsîshṭhâs* expresses elation of mood. The third person singular is *shṭa*, the second and third person dual, *ṛipsîyâsthâm*, *yâstâm*; but the second sibilant does not extend r; *e.g.* the first person plural is no more *ṛipsîsh-* than, in Latin, *serpsismus*, but *ṛipsîmahi*, like *serp-*

Yet the Sanscrit readily admits the combination for it uses, according to the third aorist formation, *ishma*, "we knew," middle, *abôdhishmahi*.

). In support of the opinion, that, in the second n singular of the Latin aorists, which are called :ts, a middle termination is contained, which, however, ost sight of this origin, and passes as a common

, I will call attention to the fact, that even in Greek, te of its possessing a perfect middle voice, an original e form has, in a particular case, taken its position in ctive voice; for, in the third person plural imperfect, ντων corresponds almost as exactly as possible to lanscrit middle *tarpantâm*. In languages in which niddle, as a voice, is wanting, individual formal rem- of that voice can have been only maintained, where fill up the place of any hiatus, which has arisen in ctive, or stand beside an active termination, which een likewise retained, bearing the same meaning as es, and being, as it were, a variation of it; as in Irish, e first person plural, together with the form *mar* nscrit *mas*, Latin *mus*, Greek μες), a *maoid* exists, h at will assumes its place, and which I have already here compared with the Zend *maidhê*, and Greek

μεθα, for which the Sanscrit gives *mahê*, as an abbre of *madhê* (§. 472.).

551. As regards the Latin first person singula in spite of the striking resemblance of forms like *a amarisi*, the coincidence may so far be said to b dental, as their *i* may be explained as a weakenin so that the termination *si* of Latin perfects would spond to the Greek σα of ἔλυ-σα, ἔτυπ-σα. I am r opinion, that the Latin forms in *si* do not corres the Sanscrit first aorist formation, but, at least majority of persons, to the second, which, like the first aorist, inserts an *a* between the *s* of the ve stantive and the personal terminations. This *a* is nearly as, in the special tenses, the *a* of the first an class (see §. 109ª. 1.), viz. lengthened, in the first dual and plural, before *va* and *ma*. As, then, the *a a-si, vah-a-ti, vah-a-tha*, appears in the Latin *veh-i-s, veh-i-tis*, as *i*, in like manner the *â* of *vah-â-mus* as *i* in *veh-i-mus*; so that we soon arrive at the co that the *i* of *dic-si-sti, dic-si-t, dic-si-mus, dic-si-s* weakening of *a*, and that therefore *si* correspond Greek σα, the Sanscrit *sa, sâ* (euphonic *sha, shâ*); t *si-mus* = ἐδέικ-σα-μεν, *adik-shâ-ma*; *dic-si-stis* = ἐδέι *adik-sha-ta*. The connection, therefore, between and the Sanscrit *avâk-shî-t* would not be so clos before assumed, and for *avâk-shî-t* we should imagine a form of the second formation—thus *avak* in order to compare with it *vec-si-t*, as *dic-si-t* answers to *adik-sha-t* (Greek ἔδεικ-σε from ἔδείκ-σα pare ἐδείκ-σα-το). In the second person, *dic-si-sti* to the Sanscrit middle *adik-sha-thâs*, "thou shev the *s*, which precedes the *t*, is only of a euphonic and introduced by the inclination of the *t* to a prec

552. But even if the Latin perfect forms in

llotted to the Sanscrit second and Greek first aorist for-
nation, still it remains most highly probable that the
rst person singular belongs to the middle voice; for the
owel *a* of the aorist formation under discussion is rejected
Sanscrit before the termination *i* of the first person
iddle; and while, according to the analogy of the imper-
ct, *adikshê* (=*adik-sha-i*) might be expected, instead of
is found *adik-shi* in most exact accordance with the
atin *dic-si*. From the active form *adiksham* it is a dif-
:ult step to the Latin *dixi;* for although, in Greek, a
nal *m* is sometimes entirely lost, and, for example, ἔδειξα
)rresponds to the Sanscrit *adiksham*, and, in the accusative
ngular of bases ending with a consonant, α answers to
ıe Sanscrit *am* (*πόδα, padam, pedem*); yet, in Latin, the
nal *m* of the Sanscrit has, in similar cases, always been
:tained; for example, in the first person the blunt ter-
ination of the secondary forms has been, without excep-
on, maintained, in preference to the more full *mi* of the
rimary forms; thus, *dicêbam, dicam, dicerem, dixerim:* and
) it is highly probable that, in the perfect also, *dixim*
'ould be said, if the first person was based on the Sanscrit
ctive *adiksham*, and not on the middle. It is certain that,
t the period of the unity of the languages, the abbreviated
)rms *adikshi* could not as yet have existed, but for it, per-
aps, *adikshama* or *adikshamâm* (=ἐδειξάμην, see §. 471.). But
ven these forms conduct us more readily than *adiksham*
) the Latin *dixi*, since the first person singular in Latin
as lost its termination exactly where another vowel stood
fter the *m*.

553. In the third person plural, the Latin *dixêrunt* ap-
arently corresponds to the Sanscrit and Greek *adikshan*,
δειξαν. It scarcely admits of any doubt, that the *r* has pro-
eeded from *s* (as is common between two vowels), and
hat, therefore, in *dic-sêrunt* for *dic-sêsunt* (as *eram, ero*, for
:sam, *eso*), the auxiliary verb is twice contained, or is

reduplicated, whether this form belongs to the
scrit fourth formation, where *a-yâ-sishus* has pro
from *a-yâ-sishant*, or, as is more probable, the third p
first on Roman ground, and after the aim and
of the *s* of *dic-si* had been forgotten, felt the necess
being clearly invested with the verb substantive.
distinctness, however, subsequently became ind
As regards this superiority of the third person
to the other persons, it is in accordance with th
nomenon, that, in Greek, ἐτίθε-σα-ν, ἔθε-σα-ν, are us
not ἐτιθέ-σα-μεν; ἐτιθέ-σα-τε, not ἐθέ-σα-μεν, ἐθέ-σα-τ
short termination not forming a syllable may have fa
the annexation of the auxiliary verb: this reason
ever, did not exist in the middle passive; hence, ἐτ
not ἐτιθέ-σα-ντο. The Prakrit regularly annexes, in t
person plural of the present and imperative, the ver
stantive, without extending it to the second and
person, as, गच्छम्ह *gachchhamha* (*mha* from स्म *sma*), "we

554. To return to the Latin *dixĕrunt*, we might, i
of it, expect *dixĕrunt*, with short ĕ, as *i* before *r* is
replaced by ĕ: the long *e*, however, is just as sur

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* See p. 110; and comp. Lassen *Institutiones Ling. Pracr.*,
325; *Essai sur le Pali*, p. 181; Höfer *De Pracr. Dial.*, p. 184.
fessor Lassen has, in this place, recognised the verb substantive, a
the first to remark it, although it is in like manner represented
a single letter, it is difficult to conceive why he prefers to recogni
s, which, in several Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin tenses, extends to
persons of the three numbers, rather the old "everywhere" a
where," than the verb substantive (Ind. Biblioth. III. p. 76). S
tradiction must appear to me more flattering than to hear that
substantive was so palpable in the places mentioned, especially
scrit, that it could not escape even the most short-sighted eye.
certainly consider it honourable to me to have perceived so lon
the year 1816 that which astonishes Professor Lassen in 1830
acuteness has been so abundantly testified in other departments
scrit philology.

f *dic-ê-bam* for *dic-i-bam;* and it may be added to s remarked in §. 527., that the *ê* of *legê-bam* and *legê-runt* probably rest on the same principle, oth forms the originally short vowel has been d, that the whole might gain more power, to appended auxiliary verb. From this principle be explained the Vṛiddhi increase of अक्षैप्सम् *m*, which does not prevent the assumption, that int of the preponderating weight of the middle ons, this vowel increase has been withdrawn, in to make the whole too unwieldy. Remark the ady mentioned, that the imperative termination is preserved its full form only under the pro- f a preceding consonant; and in the Gothic pre- verbs which have a long vowel or diphthong ot, and a part of those with *a* before a doubled t, on account of this powerful formation can bear le of reduplication. But if only powerful forms certain burthens, it need not surprise us, if the , in order to extend to its vocables the requisite introduces a lengthening of vowels, or diphthongi- which have this object alone. It is probable Sanscrit, a middle also, with *âi* for *i*, corresponded ovementioned *akshâipsam* (§. 544.), and the abbre- nay have commenced, through the re-acting in- f the personal terminations of the middle, which vy at the time when no abbreviation existed—at when the language was no longer conscious that t vowel fulness of *akshâipsam* was occasioned for reason, in order to afford a more powerful sup- the burthen of the auxiliary verb.

The formation of the aorist under discussion, in its wide diffusion in Greek and Latin, is, in San- only limited use, and has been retained only in *ś*, *sh*, and *h*, without, however, necessarily

belonging to those letters, or extending to all roots with these terminations, as before *s* they all pass into *k*. On account of the *k*, according to §. 21., the *s* of the auxiliary verb is changed into *sh*; and thus *ksh* of *adiksham*, *adiksha* "I shewed," corresponds to the Greek and Latin *x* (=*ks*) of ἔδειξα, *dixi*.* I annex a general view of the complete conjugation of the two active forms—

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.		GREEK.		LATIN.
adik-sha-m,	*adik-shi,*	ἔδεικ-σα,	ἐδεικ-σά-μην,	*dic-si.*
adik-sha-s,	*adik-sha-thâs,*	ἔδεικ-σα-ς,	ἐδείκ-σω,	*dic-si-s*
adik-sha-t,	*adik-sha-ta,*	ἔδεικ-σε,	ἐδείκ-σα-το,	*dic-si-t*

DUAL.

adik-shâ-va,	*adik-shâ-vahi,*	. . . .	ἐδεικ-σά-μεθον,	. . . .
adik-sha-tam,	*adik-shâ-thâm,*[1]	ἐδείκ-σα-τον,	ἐδείκ-σα-σθον,	. . . .
adik-sha-tâm,	*adik-shâ-tâm,*[2]	ἐδεικ-σά-την,	ἐδεικ-σά-σθην,	. . . .

PLURAL.

adik-shâ-ma,	*adik-shâ-mahi,*	ἐδείκ-σα-μεν,	ἐδεικ-σά-μεθα,	*dic-si-mus*
adik-sha-ta,	*adisk-sha-dhvam,*	ἐδείκ-σα-τε,	ἐδείκ-σα-σθε,	*dic-si-tis*
adik-sha-n,	*adik-sha-nta,*	ἔδεικ-σα-ν,	ἐδείκ-σα-ντο,	*dic-si-nt*

[1] From *adik-sha-âthâm.* [2] From *adik-sha-âtâm.*

556. As the Sanscrit, in its periphrastic formation of the reduplicated preterite, of which we will speak more in detail hereafter, together with *kṛi*, "to make," applies the two roots of "to be," since *chôrayâm-âsa*, like *chôrayâm-babhûva*, signifies "I" and "he stole;" so the Latin, also for its aorist perfects, has called in the aid both of *ES* and *FU*. From *FU* I have already, in my System of Conjugation, derived the syllable *vi*, *ui*, of *ama-vi*, *audi-vi* and *mon-ui*. I think, however, I have been wrong in com-

* The connection of *dico* with δείκνυμι is unacknowledged: remark the mode of expression *dicis causa*.

the *v* and *u* of *vi, ui,* with the *f* of *fui.* It appears instead of rejecting the *u* of *fui,* to assume that the been dropped; just as in *duo* the *d,* in *viginti, bis,* es), has been lost, or as, in Tongian, *ua* corresponds New Zealand *dúa,* "two" (=Sanscrit *dva*).

The *u* of (*f*)*ui,* according to the prevailing principle, n changed between two vowels into *v,* but with a con- preceding it is retained; hence *amavi, audivi,* con- with *monui.* *Fui* found occasion for abbreviation in mbrance of the preceding principal verb, according ame principle as that by which the first syllable of in *decem, decim* (*undecim, duodecim*), has escaped the contractions like *douze, treize,* or as the *d* of the num- n," in several Asiatic and European-Sanscrit dialects, ened to *r* or *l.**

The most convincing proof that in *amavi, audivi,* is contained the verb substantive, is furnished by for this form belongs to a verb, throughout which the ation with the verb substantive prevails. The tenses S, which are in use, select this root; thus, *pos-sum* pot-sum), *pot-eram, pot-ero, pos-sim, pos-sem;* but the must betake itself to *FU, fui;* hence *pot-ui,* for *pot-* ch would be inadmissible. *Pof-fui* might have been d, but the language preferred abandoning one of the cileable consonants; and it would be difficult for any account of the loss of the *f,* to declare the form *potui,* y to the analogy of all the other tenses, to be simple. pot-ui is compounded, then the application of this un- able hint of the language with regard to *mon-ui, ama- -vi, sê-vi, sî-vi, mô-vi,* is apparent of itself. We may , that this *vi,* also, just as *bam* and *runt* (*legê-bam, legê-*

35, &c. From the same come the Mal. and Javan. *las* and Mal- s of forms like *dûa-b-las* (Mal.), *ro-las* (Jav.), *ro-los* (Maldiv.), "

runt, scripsê-runt), feels the necessity of being suppo a long vowel; and hence, in place of the short vowel *sătum, sĭno, sĭtum, mŏveo, mŏtum*, exhibits a long one pare §§. 527. 554.).

559. In order that the perfects in *ui, vi*, may, fro origin, appear as aorists, we must carry back the sin itself to an aorist, and this is easily done. It is only ne to observe the close connection between *fuit* and the S and Greek aorist *a-bhût*, ἔφῡ̄(τ). On account of its p sign *t*, *fuit* answers less to *babhûva*, πέφῡκε, if the loss syllable of reduplication is admitted as readily as the augment. I shall return hereafter to this subject.

560. The third Sanscrit aorist formation is disting from the second in this, that the auxiliary verb is co with the root of the attributive verb by means of a c tive vowel *i*. Through the influence of this *i* the *s* is c into *sh*, but is, at the same time, preserved from supp in those cases where the first formation, to avoid th mulation of three consonants, drops the sibilant (see § While *kship*, in the second person plural, exhibits *ak* for *akshâipsta*, from *budh*, "to know," comes, in th person, *abôdh-i-ṣtha*. On the other hand, in the third tion in the second and third person singular active, t lant is lost, and the conjunctive vowel is lengthened i pensation, as it appears to me, for this loss; hence, *ab* "thou knewest," *abôdh-î-t*, "he knew," in contras *abôdh-i-sham*, and all the other persons. I believe ceive the ground of this isolation in this, that, as the and third person singular have a simple *s* and *t* for th minations, the retention of the sibilant would occasi forms *abôdhiksh* (euphonic for *abodhîsh-s*), *abôdhiṣht*; w according to a universal law of sound (see §. 94.), t consonant would have to be rejected. In the case bef however, the language preferred, for the sake of pers rather to give up the auxiliary verb than the person

although, in the imperfect, the case frequently occurs that the second and third person singular are of the same sound, because they have lost their distinguishing mark; hence, *abibhar*, *avak*, signify both "thou didst carry," "thou didst speak," and "he did carry," "he did speak"; in the first case for *abibhar-sh*, *avak-sh* (*s* after *r* and *k* becomes *sh*), in the second for *abibhar-t*, *avak-t*. I annex the full formation of *abôdh-i-sham* and its middle, with the remark, that the radical vowel in roots ending with a consonant receives Guna in the two active forms; while roots ending with a vowel, as in the first formation, have in the active, Vṛiddhi, in the middle, Guna; *e. g. anâvisham*, *anavishi*, from *nu*, "to praise."

ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
abôdh-i-sham,	*abôdh-i-shva*,	*abôdh-i-shma*.
abôdh-î-s,	*abôdh-i-shṭam*,	*abôdh-i-shṭa*,
abôdh-î-t,	*abôdh-i-shṭâm*,	*abôdh-i-shus*,

MIDDLE.

abôdh-i-shi,	*abôdh-i-shvahi*,	*abôdh-i-shmahi*.
abôdh-i-shṭhâs,	*abôdh-i-shâthâm*,	*abôdh-i-ddhvam*.
abôdh-i-shṭha,	*abôdh-i-shâtâm*,	*abôdh-i-shata*.[2]

[1] According to the law of sound for *abôdisdhvam*. [2] Regarding the rejection of *n*, see §. 459., and compare Ionic forms like πεπαύαται.

561. The contrast of *abôdhîs*, *abôdhît*, with *abôdhisham* and all other forms combined with the verb substantive is very remarkably in accordance with the phenomenon, that the Old Sclavonic preterite, in which we have recognised the Indo-Greek aorist (see §. 255. *m.*), has likewise, in the second and third person singular, dropped the verb substantive, but retained it in all the other persons. But from forms like अबोधीस् *abôdhîs*, अबोधीत् *abôdhît*, the final consonant also, in Sclavonic, must be dropped, because the Sclavonic generally, according to the conjecture expressed in §. 255. *l.*, has

lost all the original final consonants; hence БЫДИ *bûdi*, "thou didst wake," answers to अबोधीस् *abôdh-î-s*, "thou didst know," or "didst awake"; БЫДИ *bûdi*, "he did awake," to अबोधीत् *abôdhît*, "he did know," "he did awake"; and on the other hand, БЫДИСТЕ, *bûd-i-ste*, "ye did awake," to अबोधिष्ट *abôdh-i-shṭa*, "ye did know," "ye did awake." I annex the whole for comparison, in which, however, the remarks of the following paragraph are not to be overlooked.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAV.	SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAV.
abôdh-i-sham,	*bûd-ikh*,[1]	*abôdh-i-shva*,	*bûd-i-chova*.[2]
abôdh-î-s,	*bûd-i-*`.	*abôdh-i-shṭam*,	*bûd-i-sta*.
abôdh-î-t,	*bûd-i-*`.	*abôdh-i-shṭâm*,	*bûd-i-sta*.

PLURAL.	
SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.
abôdh-i-shma,	*bûd-i-khom*.[2]
abôdh-i-shṭa,	*bûd-i-ste*.
abôdh-i-shus,	*bûd-i-sha*.

[1] See §. 255. *m*. [2] See §§. 255. *m*. 563.

562. The preceding comparison furnishes one of the fairest parallels which can be anywhere drawn between the Sanscrit and its European sister idioms. The agreement of the two languages, however, if we go back to their original forms, is not quite so perfect as might be at first glance believed. The *i* of the Sclavonic *bûd-i-kh* is, for instance, in its derivation, different from the *i* of the Sanscrit *abôdh-i-sham*; for *bûd-i-ti*, "to wake," does not correspond to the Sanscrit primitive verbs, whence proceeds *abôdh-i-sham*, but to the causal *bôdhayâmi*, "I make to know," "bring to consciousness," "wake"; on which account we have above compared (§. 447.) the second person present *bûd-i-s-i* with *bôdh-ayah-si*, and in §. 505. identified the middle *i* of *bûd-i-ti* with the character *aya* of the Sanscrit tenth

ı to the first Sanscrit aorist formation. Compare
ı-*kh*, "I gave," ДАСТЕ *da-ste*, "ye gave," with San-
ırms like *anâi-sham*, *anâi-shṭa*: दा *dâ*, "to give," fol-
ıe fourth formation, but would form *adâsam*, *adâsta*,
ıng to the first.

In the first person dual and plural the Old Sclavonic
between the auxiliary verb and the personal character
a conjunctive vowel, so that in this respect *da-kh-o-va*,
ı-*m*, agree more with the Sanscrit second and Greek
ırist formation (*adiksh-â-va*, *adiksh-â-ma*, ἐδείξ-α-μεν)
ith *anâishva*, *anâishma*; but the *o* is not an old heredi-
ɔssession brought from the East, but a subsequent in-
to avoid the combination *khv*, *khm*. The Servian, also,
has in its preterites (in the imperfect and in the so-
simple preterite) left the sibilant of the verb substan-
here it has not been entirely dropped) in its original
ıas kept free from the conjunctive vowel; as, *igrasmo*,
layed." For the most part, the aorist, in Old Scla-
is corrupted by the gutturalization of the sibilant in
ıt person of the three numbers. The relation to
ıscrit in this manner becomes similar to that of the
locative in *kh* to the Sanscrit in *su* or *shu*, as in

of *sha*, *khû* also is used, but only in the case where the preceding vowel is an *a* or Ѣ *ye*, and then both *sha* and *khu* (regarding *û* from *on* see §. 463.) are used at pleasure; *e.g.* МАЗАША *maʒasha*, or МАЗАХѴ *maʒakhû*, "they anointed"; ВѢХѴ *byekhû* or ВѢША *byesha*, "they were."*

565. In the second and third person singular, according to Dobrowsky, instead of the forms without termination, ending with the class or root vowel, those in ШЕ *she* also occur. He gives, indeed, in his first conjugation (p. 524) from *glagolakh*, "I spoke," *glagola* as second and third person; but from МАЗАХ *maʒakh*, "I anointed," he gives МАЗАШЕ *maʒashe* as second and third person, for which, in both persons, we find in Kopitar МАЗА *maʒa*. From the special point of view of the Sclavonic we might easily fancy we saw the personal sign in the ШЕ *she* of МАЗАШЕ *maʒashe*, "thou didst anoint," compared with the present МАЖЕШИ *maskheshi*, "thou anointest," with the slight alteration of *shi* to *she*; and then assume an unorganic transfer from the second to the third person, as our German *sind* has made its way, from its proper place, into the first person, or, in Old and Anglo-Saxon the termination of the second person plural has been imparted both to the first and third, and in the Gothic passive the third person plural has replaced both the second and first. But if, in the Old Sclavonic preterite, we have recognised the Sanscrit aorist and the euphonic law, which has destroyed all original final consonants (§. 255. *l.*), we easily perceive that the *she* of МАЗАШЕ *maʒashe*, "thou didst anoint," stands for *shes*, and that of МАЗАШЕ *maʒashe*, "he anointed," for *shet*; and

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* The difference of writing the third person plural between Kopitar and Dobrowsky had escaped me in §§. 463. and 465.; the former (Glagolita, pp. 61, 62) writes ША *shya*, the latter, whom I have followed, ША *sha*. Though Kopitar, as I doubt not, is right, still the form *sha*, if it never occurs even, or very rarely, is so far the elder, as the *y* of *shya* is to be considered an unorganic prefix, as in many other forms (see §. 255. *n.*).

this *she(s)*, *she(t)*, of the second and third person rests on ans. *sîs*, *sît*, of the abovementioned *akshâipsîs*, *akshâipsît* 4). I do not say on *shas*, *shat*, of *adik-shas*, *adik-shat* εικ-σας, ἔδεικ-σε (p. 782); for although the termination ЗАШЕ *maʒa-she* is nearly identical with that of ἔδεικ-σε, he second person plural МАЗАСТЕ *maʒaste* (not МАЗАШЕТЕ *shete*) teaches us that the Sclavonic aorist formation be- to the Sanscrit first, not to the second (=Greek first).

6. I believe, too, that forms like the abovementioned "thou didst wake," "he did wake," originally had ano- syllable *she;* thus *bûdi* from *bûdishe; nese*, "thou didst " "he bore," from *neseshe;* as in Servian all imperfects e second and third person singular actually terminate e. But in the said dialect the Sanscrit aorist has split two tenses, of which one is called in Wuk's Grammar slated by F. Grimm) "imperfect," the other "simple rite." The former carries the sibilant of the verb sub- ive, in the form of ш *sh* or с *s*, through all the persons, the exception of the first person singular and third plu- the latter has entirely lost it in the singular, but exhibits the plural also, in the third person. I annex for com- on the two tenses of ИГѢАМ *igram*, "I play," in full.

IMPERFECT.		SIMPLE PRETERITE.	
SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SING.	PLURAL.
*ìgrā,**	*ìgrâsmo,*	*ìgra,*	*ìgrasmo.*
ìgrashe,	*ìgrâste,*	*ìgrā,*	*ìgraste.*
ìgrashe,	*ìgrâu,*	*ìgrā,*	*ìgrashe.*

67. The Bohemian has a remnant of the preterite

The sign ⌢ occurs, according to Wuk, in syllables "in which the terminates roundly." Remark that in the first person singular and d person plural the simple preterite is distinguished from the imper- imply by the absence of this tone.

corresponding to the Sanscrit aorist, in the tense designated by Dobrowsky as the imperfect of the optative, in which *bykh*, which is distinguished from the Old Sclavonic БѢХ, *byekh*, "I was," only by a different form of the radical vowel, in combination with the past participle *byl;* thus, *byl-bykh* expresses the idea "I were," or "would be." If the participle preterite follow a second time this *byl-bykh*, this forms the pluperfect of this mood, and *bylbykh byl* signifies "I had been," or "would have been." Compare the conjugation of *byl-bykh* (feminine *byla-bykh*, neuter *bylo-bykh*), or rather that of *bykh* alone, with that of the Old Sclavonic БѢХ *byekh*, "I was."

BOHEMIAN.		OLD SCLAVONIC.	
SING.	PLURAL.	SING.	PLURAL.
bykh,	*bykhom,*	*byekh,*	*byekhom.*
bys,	*byste,*	*bye,*	*byeste.*
by	*by,*	*bye,*	*byeshu* (*byeshya*).

"Remark.—The second person singular *bys* has the advantage over the Old Sclavonic *bye* of retaining the sibilant of the auxiliary verb, while in the third person plural, БѢША *byesha* has, in this respect, the advantage over *by*. From the Bohemian, as our point of view, the *s* of *bys* can only mark a personal termination, partly as *s* in Bohemian actually expresses the second person. According to that, however, which was previously remarked regarding the *she* which occurs in Servian, and occasionally, also, in Old Sclavonic, in the second and third person singular, it can admit of no doubt that the *s* of *bys* is identical with that of the second person plural, and that it has preserved the first, and not the second sibilant of Sanscrit singular persons. The root भू *bhû*, 'to be,' according to the first aorist formation, would, in the second person singular, form *abhâushîs*, and, without Vriddhi,

, the middle part of which is contained in the
ın *bys*."

The Old Sclavonic *dakh*, "I gave," and analogous
›ns, remind us, through their guttural, which takes
e of a sibilant, of the Greek aorists ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα,
hat which, in Old Sclavonic, has become a rule in the
:son of the three numbers, viz. the gutturalization
›riginal *s*, may have occasionally taken place in
but carried throughout all the numbers. No con-
lies closer at hand, than that of regarding ἔδωκα as a
on of ἔδωσα, whether it be that the σ has with one
ssed into κ, or that a κ has placed itself beside the
of the verb substantive, as in the imperfect ἔσκον,
the old Latin future *escit*, and in the imperfects and
in ἐσκον, ἐσκομην, ἀσκον, ἀσκομην, as δινεύεσκε, καλέ-
αλέσκετο, ἔλασκε, δασάσκετο, in which the accession
erb substantive is not to be overlooked, which there-
doubly contained in the forms in σα-σκον, σα-σκομην.
ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἧκα, it being pre-supposed that they
›rmerly ἔδωσκα, &c., only the euphonic accompani-
f the σ would have remained, and thus an original
would have next become ἔδωσκα and then ἔδωκα.
s, also, a κ may have originally been prefixed to the
: pre-supposed ἔδωσα, as in ξύν from σύν = Sanscrit
with"; so that thus ἔδωκα would be an abbreviation of
as perhaps a form *xum* preceded the Latin *cum* if it
to ξύν, σύν, सम् *sam*.

The Lithuanian also presents a form which is
› the Greek and Sanscrit aorist, in which, as it
s to me, *k* assumes the place of an original *s*; I
he imperative, in which I recognise that Sanscrit
which agrees with the Greek optative aorist, and
h which, therefore, the *k* of *dûk*, "give," *dûkite*,
ye" (Sanscrit *dâsîdhvam*, "ye may give," precative
), is connected with the κ of the Greek ἔδωκα. But

if, then, the κ of ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἧκα, has either, as I to assume, directly, or through the medium of σι proceeded from σ,* then there is no difficulty in de also the κ of perfects like δέδωκα from σ, and therefor the verb substantive, although the Sanscrit in this refrains from combining with the root *as*. But mentally all tenses have an equal claim to this r express the copula, and if, in Greek, imperfect ἐδίδων, and aorists like ἔδων, in the third person combine with the verb substantive, while the S forms *adadâm*, *adâm*, remain simple; and if, furth Greek dialectically combines the imperfect ἔσκον wi imperfects of attributive verbs, and the Latin her its *bam*, while the Sanscrit imperfects nowhere r the verb substantive, it cannot surprise us if the restores that in the perfect which the Sanscrit ha lected. The incumbrance of the root, which occ the perfect through reduplication, is not favourable reception of the verb substantive; and the Gree admits the addition of the κ only there where the difficulty exists, viz. after vowels and the lightest nants, the liquids; thus, δέδωκα, indeed πεφίληκα, ἔφ ἔσταλκα, πέφαγκα, but not τέτυπκα, πέπλεκκα: but, in to avoid the harshness of this combination, the κ auxiliary verb is changed to *h*, somewhat in the spirit German law for the mutation of sound,† and this, wi preceding tenuis or medial, is changed to an as

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* Regarding the reverse case, the transition of gutturals int §. 501.

† See §. 87. In the Malay-Polynesian languages, also, muta tenues into aspirates occur; for example, *h* for *k* and *f* for *h*. Madagascar, also, *ts* for *t*, as in German *z* instead of the aspirate *futsi*, "white," corresponding to the Malay *pûtih* and Sanscrit *pûta*, of the same meaning. See my Treatise on the Connection of the Polynesian Languages with the Indo-European, Remark 13.

τυφα for τέτυπα from τέτυπ-κα, πέπλεχα for πέπλεκα
έπλεκκα. On the other hand, in T-sounds the lan-
has preferred dropping these entirely before κ, and
the κ in its full right and possession; thus, ἔψευκα,
for ἔψευδκα, πέπειθκα. The passive, on account of
y terminations, is less favourable to the reception of
iliary verb. And as, together with ἐδίδοσαν, ἔδοσαν,
ıs ἐδιδόσαντο, ἐδόσαντο, exist, so to the active perfects
› passives in καμαι (or σαμαι, with the original sound
ed) correspond. It might, however, be assumed, that
hich has remained in forms like τετέλεσμαι, ἔσπασ-
σμαι, especially after short vowels, sometimes also
ng ones (ἧκουσμαι), is not euphonic, but belongs to the
bstantive; for it is assuredly treated precisely like
hich takes the place of a radical *T*-sound (ἔψευσ-μαι,
ıαι), and is only dropped before another σ (πέπει-
υ-σαι). In verbs in ν the ν and σ, in a certain mea-
ntend for the honour of being retained: πέφανσμαι
›e an impossibility in the present state of the lan-
but πέφα-σμαι has obtained currency in preference to
ıαι (as ἔξηραμμαι and others); while in the third
πέφαν-ται has carried off the victory from πέφα-σται,
under the protection of πέφαν-σαι, which must gain
erence over πέφα-σσαι, which would have been con-
› all custom, and over πέφα-σαι, in which the ν would
en unnecessarily abandoned. The circumstance that
f this kind exhibit the σ also in the formation of
before suffixes which begin with μ or τ (τέλεσμα,
ς), is no argument against the opinion that the σ in
fect passive has more than a euphonic foundation;
ıout deriving such words from the perfect passive,
custom of writing σμ, στ, which might have good
on in the perfect passive, may have exerted an influ-
such forms, in which the σ before μ and τ can only
ıs an idle or euphonic accompaniment.

570. That aorist formation, to which, in my S grammar, I have assigned the fourth place, is of le portance for comparison with the European cogna guages, but deserves notice on this account, that it the verb substantive so broad that it cannot be overl for in forms like *ayâ-sisham*, "I went," it receiv word in its broadest extent, and exhibits its radical nants in a double form; and so in the other person the exception of the second and third singular, in we have *ayâ-sis*, *agâ-sît*, for *ayâsik-s*, *ayâsisht*, on th ground on which, in the third formation, are used *abôdhît*, completely passing over the auxiliary ve §. 560.). The full conjugation of *ayâsisham* is as foll

SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
ayâ-sisham,	*ayâ-sishva*,	*ayâ-sishma*.
ayâ-sîs,	*ayâ-sishṭam*,	*ayâ-sishṭa*.
ayâ-sît,	*ayâ-sishṭâm*,	*ayâ-sishus*.

571. This aorist formation is not used in the or has fallen into disuse; probably because the form of the auxiliary verb accorded just as little w heavier middle terminations, as in Greek the s σα of ἐδίδο-σα-ν, ἔδο-σα-ν, with the passive ἐδίδο-ντο, ἐ The active also, in Sanscrit, avoids this formation i which are encumbered with a final consonant, wi exception of three roots in *m*: *ram*, "to play," *na* bend," *yam*, "to restrain." As, however, *m* before pass into the very weak nasal sound of Anusvâ which, in comparison with other consonants, is nothing, the forms, therefore, *araṅ-sisham*, *anaṅ-* *ayaṅ-sisham*, come, in respect to the weight of th very near to forms like *ayâsisham*.

"Remark.—If it is asked, in what way the lan has arrived at the form *sisham*, two modes of deri present themselves. Either, as I have before assu

yllable of reduplication, and *sham* (properly *sam*, the hich, through the influence of a preceding *i*, becomes e principal syllable; or *sisham* was originally *sasam*; *sasva* or *sâsva*; and *sishma*, *sasma* or *sâsma*, &c.; hese forms have been developed from the second formation, corresponding to the Greek first 555.); so that the verb substantive, which already l accompanied by *a*, attached itself a second time, ing the personal terminations (probably at a time the auxiliary verb was no longer recognised as just as in Latin third persons plural, as *serpserunt erpsesunt*. From *sâva*, *sâma* (*adikshâva*, *adikshâma*, *ιεν*), would consequently next be formed *sâsva*, *sâsma*; *atam*, *sata* (*adikshatam*, *adikshata*, ἐδείξατον, ἐδείξατε), *sasta*. But subsequently, after the *â* and *a* of the llable had, in order to lighten the weight, become following *s* must have become *sh*; thus, dual *sishva*, *sishṭâm*, from *sâsva*, *sastam*, *sastâm*; and, in the nd second person plural, *sishma*, *sishṭa*, from *sâsma*,

The root शास् *śâs*, 'to rule,' in some persons us an excellent prototype or counterpart of this s of corruption. It weakens, viz. before the heavy al terminations beginning with mutes (not, however, the weak *v* and *m*) its *â* to *i*, and must also change al *s* into *sh*, and a following *t*, *th*, into *ṭ*, *ṭh*; and s, therefore, in the dual, *śishṭam*, *śishṭhâm*, instead *ım śâstâm*, in the plural, *sishṭha* for *śâsta*. In the erson plural the appended auxiliary verb under dis- exhibits the termination *us* for *an*; thus, *ayâsishus dsishan*, as might be expected according to the y of *adikshan*, ἔδειξαν. The replacing of the termi- *us* by *an* is easily explained by considering that *us* as a lighter termination than *an* (§. 462.), and that, ount of the doubling of the auxiliary verb, occasion or lightening the word in every other manner possible.

The root *śâs*, too, which is so liable to be weakened, se in the third person plural of the imperfect, the termin *us* for *an*; thus *aśâs-us*, corresponding to the se person *aśish-ta*. If, then, as I scarce doubt, the a form in *sisham*, &c., has arisen in this way, tha auxiliary verb has been re-attached to itself, being simply combined with the root; then this form in pri corresponds with the Ionic aorist forms like ἐλάσασκ ἤλασε from ἤλασατ), δασάσκετο for ἐδάσατο. The dro of the augment in these aorists and similar imperfe clearly occasioned by the new burthen which has attached; and we might therefore, in Latin, also as the dislodgement of the augment to the circumstan find it promoted thereby), that all imperfects and pe (aorists) of attributive verbs, according to what has before remarked, are or were encumbered with auxiliary verb (*bam, si, vi, ui*), or a syllable of redu tion, either visible or concealed by subsequent contra (*cucurri, cêpi*). In the isolated and unsupported *ĕra êram* = आसम् *âsam*, the augment was laid aside by simple abbreviation of the vowel."

572. In Zend, those aorist forms which unite the substantive with the root, are of rare use, but ar entirely wanting. The only instance which I can c however, the form 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀 *maṇsta*, "he spoke" (Ve p. 132), a middle of the first formation, correspondi the Sanscrit अमंस्त *amaṅsta*, "he thought," from the *man*, which, in Zend, has assumed the meaning speak," and has also produced the substantive 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀 *thra*, "speech." The frequently occurring 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬀 "he gave," is not, as might be imagined, an aorist, b based as the imperfect on the Sanscrit अदत्त *adatta adad-ta* for *adadâ-ta* = ἐδίδοτο), since, according to (end), the first *t* must be changed into *ś*.

573. We now pass on to those formations of the

orist, which are known, in Greek under the name second. Here belong, according to the arrange- f my Sanscrit grammar, the fifth, sixth, and seventh ions. The fifth annexes the personal terminations to the root, and is distinguished from the imperfect r the removal of class characteristics; thus as, in ἔδων is distinguished from ἐδίδων; so, in Sanscrit, s distinguished from *adadâm* (see p. 674); and in where, too, this kind of aorist formation is in like found, [illegible] *daṅm* from [illegible] *dadhaṅm* (re- ; *dh* for *d*, see §. 39.). To the Greek ἔστην, ἔστης, rrespond अस्थाम् *asthâm*, अस्थास् *asthâs*, अस्थात् *asthât*, osition to the reduplicated *atishṭham*, *atishṭhas*, *t* (see §. 508.). The relation of the Greek ἔθην to corresponds to that of *adhâm* to *adadhâm* (from *dhâ*, ," "to place." The relation of the Greek ἔφῡ-ν, φῡ-(τ), to ἔφυ-ο-ν, ἔφυ-ε-ς, ἔφυ-ε, answers to that of nscrit *abhûv-am*, "I was" (not *abhû-m*, see §. 437. *abhû-s*, *abhû-t*, to *abhav-a-m*, *abhav-a-s*, *abhav-a-t*, *ıû*, as belonging to the first class, assumes, in the tenses, an *a*, but withdraws it in the aorist, as the loes its *o*, *ε*.

The Latin *fui*, which, like all perfects, according t I have before remarked (see §§. 546. &c.), I re- originally an aorist, is removed from the cor- ing form of the Sanscrit and Greek, by the as- n of a conjunctive vowel *i*, and thus corresponds ixth formation; hence *fu-i-sti** for *abhû-s*, ἔ-φῡ-ς, er for the Sanscrit middle form *a-bhû-thâs*; for h the fifth formation is not used in the middle, *adâ-ta*, *as-thâ-ta*, *adhâ-ta*, correspond to the Greek στα-το, ἔθε-το, still it may be presupposed that they iginally in use. In the third person, *fu-i-t* stands for

* Respecting the *s* of *fu-i-sti*, *fu-i-stis*, see §. 549.

abhû-t, ἔφυ; in the plural, *fu-i-mus* for *abhû-ma*, ἔφυ-μεν; *fu-i-stis* for *abhû-ta*, ἔφυ-τε. If this aorist formation were employed in Sanscrit in the middle also, the first person singular would be *abhûv-i*,* and, without euphonic permutation of sound, *abhû-i*. To the former corresponds the obsolete *fuvi*; to the latter, *fu-i*. I do not, however, place any weight on this surprising accordance; for although *fui* is based on a middle form (the *m* of *abhûvam* would probably have been retained, see §. 431.), still it is certain that, in Sanscrit, the termination of the first person singular middle, before the division of languages, had not yet fallen into the abbreviated condition in which we now see it; and, according to the analogy of the pre-supposed third person, *abhû-ta*, *abhû-ma* (from *abhûmam* or *-mâm*, see §. 552.), must have existed in place of *abhûv-i*. I do not, therefore, regard the *i* of *fu-i* as identical with the Sanscrit *i* of the pre-supposed *abhûvi*, but as identical with the conjunctive vowel *i* of *fu-i-sti*, *fu-i-t*, &c. Consequently, the form *fu-i* is entirely deficient in a personal termination, just as present forms like *veh-o* = *vah-â-mi*.

575. The sixth Sanscrit aorist formation is distinguished from the fifth simply by this, that the personal terminations are united with the root by a conjunctive vowel *a*, and this *a* is treated in conjugation exactly like the class vowel of the first and sixth class (§. 109 a. 1.). This aorist, therefore, is distinguished from the imperfect of the first class simply by the withdrawal of the Guna; *e. g.* the imperfect of *rish*, "to injure," class 1, is *arêsh-a-m* (=*araisham*), and the aorist *arish-a-m*. We have, therefore, here the relation of the Greek ἔλειπ-ο-ν to the aorist ἔλιπ-ο-ν, which is without

* The common rule would require *abhuvi* (with a short *u*), but *bhú* has this property, that before vowels it becomes *bhûv*: hence, in the first person singular, *abhûv-am*, and in the third plural *abhûv-an*; in the first and third person singular of the reduplicated preterite *babhûva* stands irregularly for *bubhâv-a*.

Guna. From *budh*, "to know," class 1, comes the imperfect *abódh-a-m* (=*abaudh-a-m*), and the aorist *abudh-a-m*, just as, in Greek, from ΦΥΓ, ἔφευγ-ο-ν opposed to ἔφυγ-ο-ν.

576. In the Sanscrit sixth class, which has *a* as its class vowel in common with the first, but does not admit of Guna in the special tenses, which would have to be withdrawn in the aorist, the formation under discussion is possible only in a small number of irregular verbs, which, in the special tenses (see §. 109ª. 1.) insert a nasal, and again reject it in the aorist, as generally in the common tenses. Thus *lip*, which has been repeatedly mentioned, "to smear" (compare ἀλείφω), forms, in the imperfect, *alimpam*, and in the aorist *alipam*. Another form of this kind is *alupam*, "I did cut off," in contradistinction to *alumpam* (compare the Latin *rumpo*, *rupi*, *ruptum*). The same is the relation of Greek aorists like ἔλαβον (Sanscrit *labh*, "to take"), ἔχαδον, ἔλαθον, to their imperfects ἐλάμβανον, ἐχάνδανον, ἐλάνθανον, only that these, besides the inserted nasal, have also another external addition, which is likewise rejected, as, in Sanscrit, the fifth and ninth classes reject their intermediate syllable *nu*, *nâ*. As to the imperfect *aśak-nav-am* and the aorist *aśak-a-m*, which, in Sanscrit, come from *śak*, "to be able," class five, these two forms stand in a relation to one another similar to that in which the Greek passive aorists ἐζύγην, ἐμίγην, ἐπάγην, stand to their imperfect actives ἐζεύγνυν, ἐμίγνυν, ἐπήγνυν; and as for the imperfect *akliś-nâ-m*, and the aorist *akliś-a-m*, which come from *kliś*, class nine, this corresponds exactly to the relation of the Greek ἐδάμ-νη-ν to ἔδαμ-ο-ν. From *svid*, "to sweat," class four, come the imperfect *asvid-ya-m*, and the aorist *asvid-a-m*: here the relation is similar to the correspondence of an aorist ἔβαλλον, in Greek, to the imperfect ἔβαλλον, it being pre-supposed that the gemination of βάλλω * is the consequence of an assimilation (see

* If we assume in βάλλω the mutation of an original tenuis to its middle

§. 501.), and that therefore βάλλω has arisen from βαλγω, as ἄλλος from ἄλγος.

577. In roots which end with vowels this aorist formation is, in Sanscrit, little used, and where it occurs the radical vowel is rejected before the vowel of conjunction, with the exception of ऋ *ṛi* and ॠ *ṝi*, of which the former becomes *ar*, the latter *îr*; e.g. *asar-a-m*, *ajîr-a-m*, from सृ *sṛi* (originally *sar*), "to go," जॄ *jṝi* (properly *jar*, *jîr*), "to grow old," *aśv-a-m*, from *śvi*, "to grow." Roots in *u* and *û* do not occur in this aorist formation; otherwise from *bhû*, "to be," if it followed this formation, and in like manner rejected its vowel, would come *abham*, *abhas*, *abhat*, which would approach the Latin *bam* of *ama-bam* very closely; or, if the *û* were not rejected, but, according to §. 574, was changed into *ûv*, or, according to the general law of sound, into *uv*, then, in respect to the conjunctive vowel, in the third person singular the Latin *fu-i-t*, and, in the first person plural, *fu-i-mus*, would have the same relation to *abhuv-a-t*, *abhuv-â-ma*, or *abhûv-a-t*, *abhûv-â-ma*, that, as above (§. 507.), *veh-i-t*, *veh-i-mus* have to *vah-a-ti*, *vah-â-mas*.

578. In Zend it is hardly possible to distinguish everywhere with certainty the aorist formation under discussion from the imperfect, at least not in examples of the kind like the frequently-occurring *zanaṭ*, "he struck." This form may be regarded as an aorist, because the root हन् *han*, to which the Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬐 *zan* (for which also 𐬵𐬀𐬎 *jan*) corresponds, belongs to the second class; and therefore, in the second and third person singular, the imperfect forms

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medial, as, *vice versâ*, in ΠΥΘ = *budh*, "to know," a tenuis stands in place of a medial, then βάλλω would be referable to the Sanscrit root *pad*, whence *padyé*, "I go" (middle), assuming a causal meaning. As regards the weakening of the *d* to *l*, ΒΑΛ answers, in this respect, to the Prakrit *pal*. The same may be said of πάλλω, where the initial sound presents no difficulty.

ahan for *ahaṇs*, *ahaṇt*, according to §. 94. In Zend, also, this root prevails chiefly in the second class. We find in the Vend. S. p. 158. &c. repeatedly *jainti*, "he beats," also *zaintê* (p. 157, perhaps erroneously for *zainti*, or it is a middle); but at p. 177 we find 𐬖𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 *janaiti*, according to the first class, and therefore 𐬰𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙 *zanaṭ* also may be allotted to the first class, and regarded as the imperfect. But although *zanaṭ* should be explained as belonging to the class to which this verb is principally referable, it may be still regarded as the imperfect, and, in fact, as following the analogy of the Sanscrit अरोदत् *arôdat*, "he wept," and the Zend 𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬙 *aṇhaṭ*, "he was" (see §. 532.).

579. The Sanscrit seventh aorist formation is distinguished from the sixth by a syllable of reduplication preceding the root, and therefore answers to the Greek aorists, as ἔπεφνον, ἐπέφραδον, ἐκέκλετο, and such as have dropped the augment, as τέτυκον, πέπιθον. We have already adduced above (§. 546) Latin perfects like *cucurri*, *tutudi*, *cecini*, and remarked, that such as *cêpi*, *frêgi*, *fêci*, and probably also such as *lêgi*, *fôdi*, *scâbi*, *vîdi*, *fûgi*, (if in the latter the length of the vowel is not to be regarded as compensation for an *s*, which has been dropped after the final consonant of the root,) contain a concealed reduplication (see §§. 547, 548). The Sanscrit *apaptam*, "I fell" (*), for *apapatam*, from *pat*, "to fall," corresponds exactly to the above-mentioned Greek ἔπεφνον in its entire structure, and therefore, also, in the rejection of the radical vowel. While the Greek reduplicates this root in the present and imperfect, and withdraws the reduplication in the aorist, so that the Doric ἔπετον (commonly ἔπεσον) has the same relation to ἔπιπτον that ἔδων, ἔθην, ἔστην, have to ἐδίδων, ἐτίθην, ἵστην, the Sanscrit, with this verb, adopts the reverse method, and opposes to the imperfect *apatam* an aorist

* See my lesser Sanscrit Grammar, §. 382., Remark.

apaptam. The Greek imperfect, therefore, ἔπιπτον, corresponds most surprisingly with this aorist *apaptam*, and the Greek aorist ἔπετον with the Sanscrit imperfect *apatam*.

580. In Sanscrit all verbs of the tenth class follow this seventh aorist formation, and, what is the same, all causal forms, for these are in their formation identical with the tenth class. And here the rhythmical law is valid, that either the syllable of reduplication, or the base-syllable, must be long, whether by natural length of the vowel or by position, as in *apaptam*. Both kinds are often at will admissible in one and the same root, but in most cases the use of language has exclusively decided for one or the other kind, and, in fact, most frequently for the length of the syllable of reduplication; *e.g.* from *śíl*, "to make," comes *aśiśílam* or *aśíśilam*; from *chur*, "to steal," comes *achûchuram*.

581. Besides the verbs of the tenth class and causal forms, as the above-mentioned *apaptam*, and some others to be given in the following paragraphs, only four other roots ending with a vowel belong here, viz. *śri*, "to go," *śvi*, "to grow," "to go,"* *dru*, "to run," *śru*, "to hear," *snu*, "to flow,"† whence *aśiśriyam*, *aśiśviyam*, *adudruvam*, *aśuśruvam*, *asusnuvam*.

582. I have already remarked (§. 548) that *anêśam*, "I went to ruin," from *naś*, in my opinion contains a concealed syllable of reduplication, and has arisen from *ananiśam* (for *ananaś-a-m*) by rejection of the second *n*; and, moreover, that Latin perfects like *cêpi* rest on the same principle. In अवोचम् *avôcham*, also, "I spoke," I

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* These two roots may be originally identical, as semi-vowels are easily interchanged (see §. 20.), and the Latin *cres-co* may be referred to one or the other.

† This is connected with *sru*, "to flow," by the affinity of the liquids: compare the Greek νέω, νεύ-σομαι; ῥέω, ῥεύ-σομαι.

recognise a reduplication, though it appears that the *ô* is only an alteration of the *a* of the root. The root *vach* has, however, a tendency to suppress its radical vowel and vocalize its *v*: hence, in the participle present, *ukta*, and in the plural of the reduplicated preterite *ûch-i-ma*, from *u-uchima*. If, then, it is assumed that in the aorist formation under discussion the root *vach* has been contracted to *uch*, then *vôch* may very satisfactorily be deduced from *va-uch* for *vavach*. The syllable of reduplication, therefore, has in this form, with regard to gravity, carried off the superiority over the base-syllable, in forms like *achûchuram*, "I stole." Whether the Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬆𐬎𐬆𐬨𐬌𐬨 *vaôchĕm*, "I spoke," the third person of which, *vaôchaṭ*, occurs very frequently, is identical with the Sanscrit *avôcham*, and therefore, in like manner, reduplicated, cannot be decided with certainty, for this reason, that, as Burnouf has shewn, the Zend has a tendency to change an *a*, through the influence of a preceding *v*, into 𐬆 *ô*, and thus to make it more homogeneous to the nature of the *v*; but, according to §. 28., an *a* is prefixed to the 𐬆 *ô*. A present middle, also, 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬆𐬎𐬆𐬨𐬉 *vaôchê*, occurs in Zend*, and a potential (optative) 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬆𐬎𐬆𐬨𐬆𐬙𐬌𐬙 *vaôchôiṭ* (Vend. S. p. 163), which might, however, also be regarded as aorist of the potential, from the root *radh*.

583. In *arandham*, also, "I injured," "I slew," I think I discover a reduplication,† assuming an exchange of the

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* Vend. S. p. 83: *taṭ vachô vaôchê*, "this speech I speak." Or should *vaôchê* be considered a reduplicated preterite? It is certain that Anquetil is wrong in regarding it as the imperative, and translating the passage by "*prononcez bien cette parole.*"

† This root may be akin to *vadh*, "to beat," "to slay" (see §. 20.), to which A. Benary has referred the Latin *laedo*, which, therefore, would be also connected with *radh*, and stands nearer to the latter, as *r* and *l* are almost identical.

liquids; thus, *arandham* for *arardham*, from *araradham*, as *apaptam* from *apapatam*. With regard to the exchange of the *r* for *n*, it may be proper to advert to the Tongian *nima*, "five," in opposition to *rima*, *lima*, of the dialects near akin. Observe, also, that in the intensive forms चञ्चल् *chanchal* and चञ्चुर् *chanchur*,* the nasal of the syllable of reduplication is the representative of the *l* and *r* of the root, just as of the *μ* of the Greek *πίμπλημι*, *πίμπρημι*, where, therefore, *μ* for *λ* stands in the reverse relation of the Latin *flare* for the Sanscrit धमा *dhmâ*.†

584. In verbs which begin with a vowel in Sanscrit, in this aorist formation, the whole root is twice employed, and the first time, indeed, uniting the radical vowel with that of the augment, according to the principle of §. 530, in accordance, therefore, with the Greek aorists with Attic reduplication, as *ἤγαγον*, *ὤρορον*. The Sanscrit, however, requires, in the second position of the root, the lightest vowel of all, *i*, as the representative of all the rest. Not only, therefore, are *î* and the diphthong *ê* (*a* + *i*) shortened to *i*, and from *îḍay* (causal from *îḍ*, "to praise,") *âiḍidam* formed, but *a* and *â* also are weakened to *i*, after the principle of Latin forms like *tetigi*, *contingo*, where the encumbrance of the root by the syllable of reduplication or the preceding preposition is the occasion of the vowel being weakened. Hence, in Sanscrit, from *aṭay* (causal from *aṭ*, "to go,") comes the aorist *âṭiṭam*, and from *âpay* (causal from *âp*, "to reach,") *âpipam*, with which the Latin *adipiscor* for *adapiscor* may be compared, and the

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* From *chal*, *char*; see lesser Sanscrit Grammar, §§. 506. 507.

† Pott (Etym. Forsch. II. 690.) properly derives the Lett. *dunduris*, "hornet," from *dur-t*, "to stick"; it has, therefore, in the repeated syllable likewise an exchange of liquids: thus, also, the Greek *δένδρον* is to be derived from *δέρδρον*, and is akin to *δρῦς* and the Sanscrit *druma*, "tree" (compare Pott, II. 235.).

reek reduplicated forms *ἀτιτάλλω*, *ὀνίνημι*, *ὀπιπτεύω*, for *τατάλλω*, *ὀνόνημι*, *ὀποπτεύω* (compare Pott. II. 690.). And *u*, also, and *û*, and the diphthongs in which *u* is contained, are changed into *i*; hence *âundidam* from *unday* (caus. of *und*, "to make wet," compare Latin *unda*), *uninam* from *ûn*, class ten, "to abate." It was first from these formations, and the analogous forms of desideratives, that I perceived that the weight of the *u* is borne less readily by the language than that of the *i*; for otherwise it would not be replaced by *i* in syllables, where the whole attention of the language is directed to make them as light as possible. But in the whole of Sanscrit Grammar no other case exists where *u*, to lighten the syllabic weight, becomes *i*: for while in roots beginning with a consonant desideratives in the syllable of reduplication weaken a radical *a* to *i* (*e. g. pipaṭish* from *paṭ*, "to cleave,"), *u* remains unaltered (*yuyuts*, from *yudh*, "to struggle,"), which serves as a proof that *u* is lighter than *a*, because, were it heavier than *a* it would have a better right to be changed into *i*.

585. In roots which end with two consonants, of which the first is a liquid, this is rejected, in order the more to relieve the weight in the base syllable, but it is retained in the syllable of repetition; hence above (§. 584.), *âundidam* for *âundndam*; so, also, *ârjijam* for *ârjarjam*, from *arj*, class ten, "to earn." According to this principle, in Latin also, *pungo*, encumbered by reduplication, loses its nasal; thus, *pupugi*, not *pupungi*. The loss of the nasal in *tetigi*, *tutudi*, surprises us less, because in these verbs it in general belongs less strictly to the root, and is dropped also in the supine and analogous formations. But if, in Sanscrit, the first of two final consonants is a mute, and the second a sibilant, then the syllable of repetition receives only the first of the two consonants, and the base-syllable retains them both; as from *îkshay* (causal from *îksh*, "to see"), comes *âichiksham*, for

âikiksham or *âikshiksham.** This principle is followed by the Greek ἄλαλκον, for which, according to the principle of the abovementioned *âundidam*, ἄλκακον, or, with the augment, ἤλκακον would be used.

586. In the few verbal bases which, exclusive of the causative affix *ay*, contain more than one syllable, the Sanscrit receives, in the syllable of repetition, only as much as can be contained in one syllable; as from *avadhir*, class ten, "to despise," † comes *âv-avadhîram*. The Greek follows the same principle in forms like ἀλ-ήλιφα, ἀγ-ήγερκα, ὀρ-ώρυχα.

587. The Zend supplies us with an excellent aorist form of the seventh formation, which has been already several times mentioned, and which was first brought to light by Burnouf, viz. [illegible] *urûrudusha*, "thou growest" (see §. 469.), from the root *rudh*, "to grow," which, in the Sanscrit रुह् *ruh*, has preserved of the *dh* only the aspiration. With respect to the length of the syllable of reduplication this form answers to those in Sanscrit like *achûchuram* (see §. 580.). The initial *u* of [illegible] *urûrudusha* is regarded above (§. 518.) as the representative of the *a* of the augment, through the assimilating influence of the *û* of the following syllable. But it now appears to me more correct to recognise, in the initial vowel of the form spoken of, only the original accompaniment of the augment, which has been dropped, and that, therefore, from *arûrudhusha*, by the retro-active influence of the *û* of the second syllable, next arose *aurûrudhusha*, as, in §. 46., I have endeavoured to derive [illegible] *haurva* from the Sanscrit *sarva*, through the euphonic influence of the *v*; and as the base word *âtharvan*, "priest," in the weak cases, in which the final syllable *van* is contracted to *un*, adds,

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* Gutturals in the syllables of repetition are always replaced by palatals.

† I explain *ava* as the preposition which has grown up with the base, and regard the termination as akin to *dhyâi*, "to think," *dhîra*, "sage."

gh the influence of the *u* of this syllable, a *u* to the pre-
g *a*, thus *athaurun*,* from which, by dislodging the *a*, is
:d the more common *athurun*,† as for the Sanscrit
ı, "young," we find in Zend both *tauruna* and *turuna*.
ı of the penultimate of *urûruhdh-u-sha* corresponds to
onjunctive vowel *a* of Sanscrit forms like *achûchur-a-s*,
hur-a-thâs, and may have proceeded from *a* by an assi-
ing influence of the *u* of the preceding syllable. If the
a had been retained, we should then find, according to
.), *urûrudhaṇha*.

THE PERFECT.

8. It has been already remarked, that that Sanscrit
rite which agrees in form with the Greek perfect is,
ding to its signification, not a perfect, but is most fre-
:ly used in the sense of the Greek aorist (§. 513.).

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find the initial *â* of the strong cases abbreviated in the examples I
efore me of the weak cases. The strong cases change the proper
âtharvan to *âthravan;* hence the nominative *âthrava* (Vend. S.

Without transposition, an *ĕ*, or some other auxiliary vowel, must
een inserted between the *r* and *v*, because *r* can neither stand at the
)r in combination with a consonant.

hus Vend. S. p. 65, the genitive *athurunó*, and p. 234 twice, the
athurunĕ: on the other hand, p. 65, Z. 13, the accusative plural
u-nanś-chu. The view I now take of the phenomenon under dis-
ı differs from that in §. 46. in this, that I there represented the *u* of
ond syllable of *athurun* as proceeding directly from the *a* of the
l form, in consequence of an assimilation, while I now regard it as
ant of *au*, and look upon the *a* no longer as a prefixed vowel, but
original one, by the side of which a *u* has been placed through the
ce of the *u* of the following syllable; as frequently happens with an
ıgh the influence of a following *i* or *y* (see §. 41.). I fully agree
point with the opinion expressed by Burnouf in his review of the
'art of this book (Journal des Savans, 1833, in the separate impres-
8), where, also, the Zend *aurvat*, "horse," is in this way compared
e Sanscrit *arvan*.

Our German unparaphrased preterite, which, in its origin, coincides with the Greek perfect and Sanscrit reduplicated preterite, has likewise renounced the perfect meaning, but in Gothic represents both the Greek imperfect and the aorist, as well as the perfect, and, in the earliest Old High German authorities, besides these tenses, the pluperfect. In the ninth, and, as Grimm remarks, perhaps so early as the eighth century, begin the circumlocutory forms of the perfect by the passive participle with the auxiliary verb *haben*, and, in neuter verbs, with the verb substantive, in which respect we must advert to the practice of the Sanscrit language, in expressions like *gatô śmi* (for *gatas asmi*), "*ich bin gegangen*," "I went" (see §. 513.); as also to the circumstance, that, in the forms in तवत् *tavat* (*tavant*), the idea of possession is contained, and that *uktavân asmi*, "*dixi*," properly means, "I am gifted with having said" (therefore "having said") (see §. 513.). The Old High German uses, beside the verb corresponding to our *haben*, also *eigan*, which has the same import, for its paraphrase of the perfect; in the indicative, only in the plural; but, in the conjunctive, in the singular also (see Grimm, IV. 149).

589. As regards the formation of the German unparaphrased preterite, the Gothic has, in the strong conjugation, under certain circumstances, regularly preserved the reduplication, which, from the earliest period, belongs to this tense; viz. first, in all verbs (their number is, it must be allowed, but small) which have a long vowel in the root (not, perhaps, merely in consequence of a Guna in the present, and the forms thereto belonging); secondly, in those verbs which exhibit unchanged, in the present, an *a* long by position; as, from the roots *slêp*, "to sleep," *vô*, "to blow" (Sanscrit *vâ*), *hait*, "to be called," *auk*, "to increase," *fald*, "to fold" (present *falda*), the first and third person singular are *saizlêp*, *vaivô*, *haihait*, *aiauk*,

faifalth (for *faifald*, see §. 93[a].) The form *saizlêp* (regarding for *s*, see §. 86. 5.) stands so far isolated, as all other rbs, which exhibit an *ê* in the present, replace this the preterite by *ô*. They are the following: *têka*, touch," *taitôk*, "I touched," *grêta*, "I weep" (Sanscrit ınd, "to weep"), *gaigrôt*, "I wept," *lêta*, "I leave," *lôt*, "I left," *flêka*, "I lament" (Latin *plango*), *faiflôk*, lamented," *rêda*, "I advise," *rairôth*, "I advised." iis change of the vowel cannot surprise us, as *ê* and *ô* e the common representatives of the original long *â* e §. 69.), as, in Greek, *ε* and *ο* are the usual representaes of the short *α*: *taitôk*, therefore, has the same relation *lêka*, that, in Greek, *τέτροφα* has to *τρέφω*, *λέλοιπα* to *ίπω*, *πέποιθα* to *πείθω*; or, more strictly, as *ἔῤῥωγα* to *γνυμι*; for in Greek, both *η* and *ω* are representatives of the ıg *α*. I believe that the reason of this exchange of wels in both languages is to be found in this, that e quality of *O* is heavier than that of *E*, and that the ıse under discussion, on account of its being encumbered th reduplication, feels a necessity to appear heavier in root than the unencumbered present; as also, in Gothic, e reduplication has in general maintained itself only in ots of strong construction.*

590. *Vahsya*, "I grow" (Zend 𐬬𐬀𐬵, *ucs*, "to grow"), om the root *vahs*, with the character of the Sanscrit urth class (see §. 109[a]. 2.), and *standa*, "I stand," are the ly verbs which, notwithstanding that they exhibit in e present an *a* long by position, have nevertheless permitted the reduplication to disappear. They form, in the st and third person singular preterite, *vôhs*, *stôth*. The opping of the class syllable *ya* of *vahsya* is regular, as is syllable belongs only to the special tenses (see §. 109[a].).

* I hereby retract the conjecture I formerly made that the *a* which lows the root of the Greek perfects exercises an influence in changing e of the root (Vocalismus, p. 40).

§. 109ᵘ. 1. p. 112) *stôth*, which has abandoned the unor nasal of *standa*, presents, moreover the irregularity the *th*, which, according to §. 93ª., has assumed the of the *d*, is preserved also in the terminations whic annexed; thus, first person plural, *sthôthûm* for *stôdu* the analogy of *bauth*, *budum*, from the root *bud*, lead us to expect.

591. The difficulty that, in Gothic, there are two with a radical *a* in the present, which, in spite of length by position, have nevertheless lost the redupli of the preterite, is again, in a certain degree, obviat the existence of two preterites, which have preserve reduplication without their vowels being long natura by position; viz. *haihah*, "I hanged," *faifah*, "I se (present *haha*, *faha*). But if it is considered that verbs, in the other German dialects, have really leng position, and probably originally had it in Gothic the violation of the proposition expressed above, th reduplication is borne in Gothic only by roots wit syllables, appears, through this consideration, les portant.*

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* In Old High German the preterite is *hiang*, *feng* (*hiang*, *feng*

592. J. Grimm first acutely remarked, that the other erman dialects, in those classes of verbs which in Gothic learly exhibit the reduplication, continue it in like anner, although scarcely perceptibly. The syllables of eduplication lose the appearance of a syllable of reduplication, when the following syllable is either quite passed ver, or only loses its consonant, and unites its vowel with at of the syllable of reduplication. The former is the se in some Sanscrit desiderative forms, as *lips*, *pits* (Lat. anscrit, Greek, §. 490.), for which, according to rule, we hould have *lilaps*, *pipats*;* wherefore it appears to me r more proper to assume the suppression of the second llable, than that of reduplication, together with the hange of *a* into *i*, for which no reason at all could exist, ecause the form would have been already sufficiently eakened by the suppression of the syllable of reduplication. A simple consonant is suppressed in the Greek *ίνομαι* from *γί-γνομαι*, which is, however, itself an abbreviation of *γιγένομαι*: moreover, in the Sanscrit aorist, *néśam* (=*anaiśam*) from *ananiśam*, and, in the Latin erfects analagous with it, as *cêpi* (see §. 548.): finally, in he Old High German preterites, as *hialt* (our *hielt*) from *ihalt*, for which, in Gothic, *haihald*.

593. It must, perhaps, be regarded as a dialectic peculiarity in Gothic, that the syllable of reduplication has always i. It was the custom, perhaps, at the time when all Ger-

oint of view of the Old High German, whether they are to be allotted to rimm's fourth class (with long *â* in the present), or to the seventh (with hort *a* in the present). The Middle High German *hâhe*, *vâhe*, *hæhest*, ehest, preterite *hie*, *vie* (for *hieh*, *vieh*), speaks in favour of the fourth lass, to which they are ascribed by Grimm also, who writes *hâhu*, *fâhu*. n Gothic, then, instead of the existing *haha*, *faha*, we should expect *hâha*, *âha*, as *slêpa*, *lêta*, answering to the Old High German *slâfu*, *lâzu*.

* I consider, also, *dhikṣh*, "to kindle," which is held to be a primitive oot, as a desiderative of this kind, and I derive it from *dî(dha)kṣh* from dah, "to burn."

man languages were still one, that the heaviest vowel, weakened in the syllable of repetition to the lightes is the case in Sanscrit in the syllable of repeti desideratives, where from *dah*, "to burn," comes *di* not *dadhaksh*; and as in Latin reduplicated forn *cecini*, the *a* in the syllable of repetition becomes in the base *i*, while a radical *o* and *u* in both places unchanged (*momordi*, *tutudi*). For the diphthong *HAIT*, "to be called," *i* would be, in the sylla repetition, quite as much in its place, as, in Sanscrit diphthong ए *ê* (=*a* + *i*); and generally of diphthong the last element enters the syllable of repetition; wh the reduplicated preterite of *kêt* (=*kait*), "to invi *chikêta* (first and third person singular). If an in ment of the law for the mutation of sounds, by pres the old tenuis in the initial sound (as in *slêpa* = स्वपिमि *s* "I sleep"), be assumed, it might be said that the *HAIT* would correspond to this Sanscrit *kêt*, and fore *haihait* (for *hihait*) with the abovementione *chikêta*. But if *au* also is, in Gothic syllables of red tion, represented by *ai*, as *ai-auk*, "I increased," w Sanscrit, *ô* (=*a*+*u*) becomes *u*, as, *puprôtha* from "to satisfy;" then the *i* of this *ai* may be regard weakening of *u*, as we have seen above, in Sanscri उन्द् *und* proceeds the reduplicated aorist *âundid âundudam* (§. 584.). We might also regard the *i* of as a weakening of the *a* of the base syllable, whic ever, appears to me less probable, as in diphthon second element always has the etymological pre rance, and the first is a mere phonetic prefix; on account I prefer recognising in the syllable of re of the Latin *cecîdi*, of *cædo* (=*caido*), the second c of the diphthong *æ*, rather than the first, althou the Latin syllables of repetition is regularly replace Be this as it may, I consider this, however, as

that the *ai* in Gothic syllables of reduplication was formerly a simple *i*, and that this *ai* is a dialectic peculiarity limited to the Gothic, like that which, according to §. 82., the Gothic employs instead of a simple *i* before *h* and *r*; which latter, in the other dialects also, is alone represented. We miss, therefore, in the Old High German *hialt* for Gothic *haihald* (from *hihald*), only the *h* of the second syllable; and in the old Northern *iðk*, "I" or "he increased," nothing is wanting of the Gothic *ai-auk*, as far as the latter is an unorganic extension of *i-auk*; but *au* has, according to the Sanscrit principle, been contracted to *ó*, while in the participle passive *aukinn* it has remained open, and in the present, by a doubled *umlaut*,* become *ey*.

594. The old Northern reduplicated preterites of verbs with a radical *a* (Grimm's first conjugation) appear to me to stand upon a different footing from the Gothic like *hai-hald*, in so far as the latter have weakened the *a* in the syllable of repetition to *i*, and have prefixed to the latter an *a*, while the former (the old Northern), quite in accordance with the Sanscrit principle, have left the *a* of the syllable of reduplication unaltered and without addition, but, on the other hand, (like the Latin perfects *tetigi, cecini*) have weakened the *a* of the base to *i*, and, in agreement with the Sanscrit law of sound, have contracted the latter with the *a* of the syllable of repetition to *é*. In this way only, in my opinion, can we explain it, that as, in old Northern, from the root *HALD*, "to hold," (whence the present is, by the *umlaut*, *held*, and the participle passive *haldinn*), comes the preterite *hêlt* (the tenuis for the medial at the end of the word, as in Middle High German, see §. 93ª), plural *hêldum*; therefore *hêlt* from *hahilt* for *hahalt*, as the reverse case of the Old High German *hi-alt* from *hihalt* for *hahalt*. So also in roots with a long *â*, for which the Gothic

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* By the *umlaut* the *a* becomes *ä*=*e*, and the *u*, *ü*=*i*=*y*.—*Translator's Note.*

uses *ê* (§. 69); *e.g.* from *GRĀT*, "to weep," and *BLĀS*, "to blow," come *grêt*, *blês*, as the contraction of *gra(gr)it*, *bla(bl)is*,* in contradistinction to the Old High German *blias* (*blies*) from *bliblas*. The Old Saxon stands on the same ground as the Old Northern; hence, from *fallu*, "I fall," *fêll*, "I fell," from *fafill*; and from *slâpu*, "I sleep," *slêp*, "I slept," from *slâslip*; just as, in Sanscrit, plurals like *nêmima*, from *nanimima*, correspond to singulars like *nanâma*, "I bent myself," of which more hereafter.

595. Verbs which, in Gothic, have the diphthong *ai* as the radical vowel, lay aside, in Old High German, in the base syllable, the last element of the said diphthong, and retain only the first, either unaltered, or corrupted to *e*, which, indeed, happens in most of the received authorities; hence, to the Gothic preterite *haihait*, "I was called," in Otfrid *hiaz* (for *hihaz* from *hihaiz*,) corresponds, in the other authorities quoted by Graff, *hiez*; which latter, in respect to its *e*, answers better to the present *heizu* (=Gothic *haita*), where, however, the *ie* is not yet to be regarded as one sound (=*î*), as in our New German *hiess*. Of the Gothic diphthong *au*, we find, according as authorities vary, either the first or the second element preserved, and the former, indeed, either unaltered or changed to *e*, and also the latter either unchanged or corrupted to *o* (see §. 77); *e.g.* from *hlaupa* comes, in Gothic, the preterite *haihlaup* (see §. 598), for which, in Old High German, we find in Graff the forms *liaf* (from *lilaf* for *hlihlauf*), *lief*, *liuf*, *liof*.

596. In Sanscrit the syllable of reduplication always has the radical vowel, only shortened, if long; and, as has been already remarked, of diphthongs only the last ele-

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* Present, with *umlaut*, *grœt*, *blœs*, participle passive *grâtinn*, *blâsinn*. With respect to the rejection of a double consonant in the reduplicated preterite, compare the relation of the Old High German *vior*, "four," for Gothic *fidvór*.

ent (see §. 593); hence, *babandh*,* from *bandh*, "to bind"; *bhâs*, from *bhâs*, "to strive"; *bibhid*, from *bhid*, "to ave"; *didîp*, from *dîp*, "to shine"; *tutud*, from *tud*, "to at, push"; *pupûr*, from *pûr*, "to fill." If for the vowel the syllable of reduplication contains an *a*, this proceeds om the primitive form *ar*; *e.g. mamarda*, "I and he ushed,"† comes not from *mṛid*, but from *mard*, which in e dual and plural is contracted to *mṛid*; hence first rson plural *mamṛidima*. Roots which begin with vowels have already discussed (see §. 534); only this may be re further mentioned, that roots which begin with *a* d end with two consonants proceed in a very peculiar d remarkable way, since they first contract the vowel of petition with that of the root to a long *a*, then add an phonic *u*, and then annex the whole root a second time, that thus the radical vowel occurs three times; as, *n-anj*, from *aa-n-anj*, from *anj*, "to anoint" (Latin *ungo*).

597. The Greek pays no regard, in its syllables of redu-ication in roots beginning with a vowel, to the vowel of e base, but always replaces it by *e*, which the Latin does its perfects, which are reduplicated and carried back to e Sanscrit seventh aorist formation only in the case, in hich the root exhibits the heaviest of all vowels, viz. *a*, hich appears too heavy for the syllable of reduplication, s it is found inadmissible in Sanscrit, in the syllables of re-uplication of desideratives, and is replaced by the lightest owel, *i*. Thus in Greek the perfect *τέταφα* corresponds o the Sanscrit *tatapa* or *tatâpa*, "I burned," just as *τέτυφα* o the Sanscrit *tutôpa* (pl. *tutupima* = *τετύφαμεν*) "I beat,

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* I give the theme without any personal termination whatever.

† Compare the Latin *momordi*, although this is based on the aorist of he seventh formation, where *amamardam*, middle *amamardê* might have been expected.

wounded, slew," πεφίληκα* to the Sanscrit *pipraya* or *piprâya*, from *prî*, "to rejoice, to love" (compare the Gothic *friyô*, "I love"). It is certain, that originally the Greek, also, must, in the syllable of reduplication, have had regard to the radical vowel; that however, in the course of time, all vowels in this place were weakened to ε, as is the case in New German in the final syllables of polysyllabic words; as we contrast *binde, salbe, gaben,* with the Gothic *binda, salbô, gabum,* and *Gäste, Gästen,* with the Gothic *gasteis, gastim.* A similar weakness or vitiation to that which has overtaken our final syllables might easily have befallen a Greek initial syllable not belonging to the base itself.

598. As regards the laws to which the consonants in the syllables of reduplication are subjected, the Sanscrit replaces the gutturals by corresponding palatals, and, in agreement with the Greek, the aspirated consonants by corresponding non-aspirates; *e.g. chakâs,* from *kâs,* "to give light";† *jagam,* from *gam,* "to go"; *dadhâ,* from *dhâ,* "to set, lay"; as, in Greek, τεθη, from the corresponding root ΘΗ. Of two consonants combined in the initial sound in Sanscrit, the first is usually repeated; hence *chakrand,* from *krand,* "to weep"; *chikship,* from *kship,* "to cast." The Gothic follows the same principle, if the second of the combined consonants is a liquid; hence *gaigrôt,* "I wept," corresponds to the Sanscrit word of the same import, *chakranda;* and *saizlêp* (see §. 86. 5.), "I slept," to the Sanscrit *sushvápa.*‡ We might hence infer that the preterite

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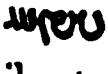
* Regarding the origin of the *k* and the aspirate of τέτυφα, see §. 568. &c.

† I refer the Gothic *haiza,* "torch" (*z* a softened *s*, see §. 86. 5.) to this root.

‡ The root *svap* is irregular in this, that it is contracted before the heavy terminations into *sup* (*shup*); and on this form is founded the syllable of reduplication, through the *u* of which the *s* following becomes *sh*.

hich nowhere occurs, of *hlaupa* is *haihlaup*, not *hlaihlaup*. ut if, in Gothic, the second of the combined consonants a mute, this finds its way into the syllable of reduplition also; hence *skaiskaith*, "I separated," the third erson plural of which, *skaiskaidun*, occurs in Luke ix. 33: ence might be deduced, also, *staitaut*, from *STAUT*. he other German dialects have, unrestrictedly, left two ombined consonants together in the syllable of repetition; ence, in Old High German, *sliaf*, "I slept," *spialt*, "I left," from *slislaf*, *spispalt*; unless in the second syllable ne of the two consonants be, rejected, as in the Latin opondi, *steti*, for *spospondi*, *stesti*. But the Gothic *skaikaith* speaks against the latter.

599. It remains to be remarked, with respect to the anscrit syllables of reduplication, that if a root begins ith a sibilant before a mute, the syllable of repetition, ccording to the general law, does not contain the first onsonant but the second, respect being had to the rules f sound before mentioned; *e.g.* from *sthâ* comes *tasthâu*, I, he stood;" from *spṛiś* (*sparś*); *pasparśa*, "I or he ouched," in opposition to the Latin *steti*, *spopondi*. The end, closely as it is allied to the Sanscrit, does not ecognise this rule. I cannot, indeed, quote the perfect f  *stâ*, nor any other perfect of roots with an initial ibilant before a mute, but as *sthâ* in Sanscrit has a syllable of reduplication in the special tenses also, and forms, n the present, *tisthâmi*, we see, from the Zend *histâmi*, that the law of reduplication under discussion, at the time of the identity of the Zend with the Sanscrit, was not yet in force, or at least not in its full extent. Of the Latin it deserves further remark, that in its *sisto*, which is properly the counterpart of the Sanscrit *tisthâmi*, Gr. ἵστημι, and Zend *histâmi* (see §. 508), it follows the general law for syllables of reduplication, while analogically with *stete* a present *stito* might have been expected.

600. With respect to the Greek, as soon as we recognise in the *i* of *ἵστημι*, as in the Zend *hi* of *histâmi*, a syllable of reduplication, to which we are compelled, by its analogy with *δίδωμι*, *τίθημι*, *βίβημι*, &c., and by the circumstance that *σ* in the initial sound is easily weakened to the rough breathing, it must be allowed, that in the perfect *ἕστηκα* the rough breathing stands for *σ*, and that, therefore, we have in this form a more perfect syllable of reduplication than is usually the case in roots which have in the initial sound a heavier consonant combination than that of a mute before a liquid. We cannot place *ἕστηκα* on the same footing with *εἵμαρται*, which we would suffer to rest on itself; for the latter has just as much right to the rough breathing as the Latin *sisto* to its *s*: and when Buttmann says (Gr. Res. §. 83. Rem. 6.), "The often-occurring *ἀφέσταλκα* (pre-supposing *ἕσταλκα*) in the Milesian inscription given by Chishull, p. 67, furnishes a proof that the rough breathing instead of the reduplication of the perfect went further in the old dialects than the two cases to be met with in the current language (*ἕστηκα*, *εἵμαρται*)," it is important to observe, that here, also, the root begins with *σ*, which has been preserved in the syllable of repetition as the rough breathing. In *ἕστηκα* this phenomenon has been preserved in the language as commonly used, because, in my opinion, the analogy of the present and imperfect has protected the breathing which belongs to the perfect reduplication.

601. For the rest, if, in other consonant combinations than that of a mute before a liquid, the syllable of repetition has usually dropped the consonant to be repeated, this clearly happened because a greater weight of sound in the base syllable rendered a lightening of the syllable of repetition desirable; hence, *ἔψαλκα*, *ἔφθορα*, from *πέψαλκα*, *πέφθορα*. In these and similar forms the coincidence of the initial syllable with the augment is only casual; and if in the *ε* a remnant of a syllable of reduplication is recognised, we are

as. It cannot, however, be denied, that in some cases, ı an error in the use of language, the example of the ıted preterites has operated on the perfect. It may : the ε of ἔᾱγα, ἐούρηκα, is just as much the augment of ἔαξα,* ἐούρουν: but it also admits of being re- in the perfect as the reduplication, since ε and ο are lly identical with α, and have proceeded from it by ion (see §. 3.); and since both α and ο easily become e final ε of ἔδειξα (= अदिक्षत् *adikshat*) is, according to gin, identical with the α of ἔδειξα, ἔδειξα-ς, &c., and f the vocative, as λύκε (= वृक *vṛika*), is only a weaken- the ο concluding the base-word, and corrupted from er α (see §. 204.).

To pass over, then, to the alterations, to which the vowel in the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite is sub- we will consider first the roots with α. This is ened before a simple consonant in the third person ır active, and at pleasure, also, in the first; hence, *har*, "to go," to which the Gothic root *FAR*, "to wan- orresponds; *chachâra* or *chachara*, "I went," *chachâra*, ent." This analogy is followed by those Gothic verbs have preserved a radical *a* before simple consonants

for *ô* is, in Gothic, the regular representative of the long *â*, and takes the place of the short *a*, where the latter is to be lengthened, as, *vice versâ*, *ô*, in case of abbreviation, becomes *a*; on which account feminine bases in *ô* (= Sanscrit *â*) exhibit in the uninflected nominative an *a*, since long vowels at the end of a word are the easiest subjected to abbreviation (see §. 137.). The relation, therefore, of *fôr* to *fara* is based originally not on an alteration of quality, but only on that of quantity; and the vowel difference has here just as little influence in the designation of the relation of time, as, in the noun, on that of the case relation. As, however, in *fôr* the true expression of past time, viz. the reduplication, has disappeared, and *fôr* stands for *faifôr*, the function performed by the difference of the vowel of the root, in common with that of the personal terminations (or of the absence of terminations, as in *fôr* as first and third person singular), is, for the practical use of language, the designation of time. Thus, in our German conjunctive preterite in the plural, the *umlaut* is the only sign by which we recognise the relation of mood, and which, therefore, is to be held as the exponent of the modal relation, since the true expression of the same, viz. the vowel *e* (*e. g.* of *wären*, *wäret*), which was formerly an *i* (Old High German *wârîmês*, *wârît*), and, as such, has produced the *umlaut* by its assimilative power, is no longer, in its corrupted form, distinguishable from the termination of the indicative.

603. The Gothic *fôr* is distinguished from the Sanscrit *châr* of *chachâra* by this, that it retains its long vowel through all persons and numbers, while in Sanscrit it is necessary only in the third person singular, and is found or not, at will, in the first person singular. To the Gothic, however, answers the Greek second perfect in the case where a radical ᾰ̄ is lengthened to ᾱ̄, or its representative, *η*. The relation of *κράζω* (*ἔκρᾰγον*) to *κέκρᾱγα*, of *θάλλω* (*θᾰλῶ*) to *τέθηλα*, corresponds exactly to the relation of the Sanscrit *charâmi* and Gothic *fara* to *chachâra*, *fôr*. In Greek verbs which have changed

radical *a*, in the present, to *e*, the change of this *e* into the avier *o* compensates for its being lengthened (see §. 589.).

604. In verbs which end with two consonants the lengthing of the *a* to *á* is, in Sanscrit, quite omitted, and so, in thic, that of *a* to *ô*; as, in Sanscrit, *mamantha*, "I or he ook," *mamanthima*, "we shook," from *manth;* so, in Goic, *vaivald*, "I or he ruled," *vaivaldum*, "we ruled," from *ld.* Those Gothic verbs which weaken, in the present, a dical *a* before a double consonant to *i* (see §. 116.), replace e same in the plural numbers of the preterite, and in the ole conjunctive preterite, by *u*; hence, *BAND*, "to bind" om which the present *binda*), forms in the singular of the eterite *band, bans-t* (see §. 102.), *band*, answering to the nscrit *babandha, babandh-i-tha, babandha:* in the second rson dual, however, *bund-u-ts* for Sanscrit *baband-a-thus;* d in the plural, *bund-u-m, bund-u-t, bund-u-n*, for Sanit *babandh-i-ma, babandh-a-(tha), babandh-us.* The conctive is *bundyau*, &c. The Old High German, which s an *i* for its termination in the second person singular stead of the Gothic *t*, which, in my opinion, corresponds to e Sanscrit conjunctive vowel *i*, exhibits, before this *i*, also e alteration of the *a* to *u*; hence, in the first and third per- n singular *bant* corresponding to the Sanscrit *babandha* and othic *band;* but in the second person *bunt-i*, answering to e Sanscrit *babandh-i-tha* and Gothic *bans-t.* Hence we erceive that the change of the *a* into *u* depends on the ext of the word, since only the monosyllabic forms have reserved the original *a.* We perceive further, that the eight of the *u* appears to the German idioms lighter than at of the *a*, otherwise the *u* would not unbind the *a* in the me way as we saw above *ai* and *au* replaced by *i* in the olysyllabic forms, or before heavy terminations (see §. 489.); d as, in Latin, the *a* of *calco* and *salsus*, under the encumance of a preceding preposition, is represented by *u* (*conlco, insulsus*).

605. Where, in Gothic, a radical *a* is weakened before simple consonants, in the present, to *i*, but retained in the singular of the preterite, we find instead of it, in both the plural numbers and in the whole conjunctive preterite, in all the polysyllabic past forms, an *ê*, and for that in the Old and Middle High German an *â*, which here, however, occurs as soon as in the second person singular indicative, because it is polysyllabic: in Middle High German, however, it is changed to *a*. The present of the root *LAS*, "to read," is, in Gothic, *lisa*, in Old High German *lisu*, in Middle High German *lise;* the preterite in Gothic is *las, las-t, las, lêsum, lêsut, lêsun;* conjunctive *lêsyau*, &c.: in Old High German *las, lâsi, las, lâsumês, lâsut, lâsun;* conjunctive *lâsi*, &c.: in Middle High German *las, læse, las, lâsen, lâset, lâsen;* conjunctive *læse*. This phenomenon stands in contradiction to all other strong verbs, because here the polysyllabic forms have a heavier vowel than the monosyllabic; but the reverse naturally appears everywhere else. Even in the Sanscrit we find this apparent contradiction to the law of gravity, and the surprising, although, perhaps, accidental, coincidence with the Gothic, that in both languages in similar places—viz. before the heavy terminations of the dual and plural—a radical *a* is changed into *é*, in both languages only in roots which terminate in a simple consonant; to which is further added, in Sanscrit, the limitation, that the initial consonant, also, must generally be simple, and cannot be *v* or the like, which, in the syllable of repetition, according to §. 598., experiences a change. The syllable of repetition, however, is suppressed in the cases in which the *a* is changed into *é*. This is the practical view of the rule, which we shall subsequently endeavour to elucidate theoretically. Let the root *tan*, "to stretch out," serve as example.

ACTIVE.

ıR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
tana,	*tênіva* for *tataniva,*	*tênima* for *tatanima,*
r *tatanitha,*	*tênathus* for *tatanathus,* *têna* for *tatana.*	
	tênatus for *tatanatus,*	*tênus* for *tatanus.*

MIDDLE.

nê,	*tênivahê* for *tatanivahê,*	*tênimahê* for *tatanimahê.*
atanishê,	*tênâthê* for *tatanâthê,*	*tênidhvê* for *tatanidhve.*
ınê.	*tênâtê* for *tatanâtê,*	*tênirê* for *tatanirê.*

ırs, therefore, from this paradigm, that the form *tên* ›r *tatan*, though far the most common, is adopted :fore heavy terminations, or in such persons as, in ll form, would appear to consist of four syllables; for h, in the second person plural, *têna* stands for *tatana*, the third person plural, *tênus* for *tatanus*, still *us* in this ; an abbreviation of *anti* (compare §. 462.), and *a* is only the remnant of an original termination *atha*: f *têna*, for *tên-a-tha*, corresponds merely to the con- e vowel of the Greek τετύφ-α-τε and of the Gothic *-u-th*, *fôr-u-th*, *lês-u-th*.* The reason of the abbrevia-

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ave already, in my System of Conjugation, and in the Annals of Literature (London, 1820) called attention to the fact, that the *tutupa* in the second person plural is an abbreviated form, and in ıer parts of this book the fact has often been alluded to, that the , in particular cases, appears in disadvantageous contrast with its Eu- ıister idioms. It has therefore surprised me that Professor Höfer, 'reatise "Contributions," &c., p. 40, has made so general an asser- at recent investigators have not been desirous "of keeping per- ee from the unfortunate error of believing in the imaginary invio- and pristine fidelity and perfection of the Sanscrit." For my part never conceded to the Sanscrit such pristine fidelity; and it has given me pleasure to notice the cases in which the European sister ;es surpass it, as the Lithuanian does in this day, in everywhere

tion is clearly apparent in the second person singula
here the termination *tha* is joined directly to the r
full reduplication remains; but if the number of syl
increased by a conjunctive vowel, then *tên* is used fo
thus *tênitha* (from *tatanitha*) answering to *tatantha*.
nise, as has been already observed (see §. 548.), in for
tên a concealed reduplication; thus *tên* from *tatin* (as
cecini for *cacani*), and this from *tatan*, whence, by r
the second *t*, *tân* (for *ta-an*) may have been formed, a
earlier times, have been used for *tên*; and I think
Gothic *ê*, in forms like *lêsum*, is not found there bec
Sanscrit, in analogous forms, has an *é*, but for thi
that the Sanscrit *é* was formerly an *â*, but the Gotl
presents the *â* (§. 60.) The Old High German has p
the original sound, and exhibits *lâsumês* (from *la*
which, in contrast with the Gothic *lêsumês*, appear
Doric form contrasted with an Ionic one.* Whil
second person singular, the Gothic *las-t*, on accoun
monosyllabic nature, is based on Sanscrit forms like
the Old High German *lâsi* answers to the contracted
nitha. It must be assumed that the Gothic *las*, *last*,
merly *lailas*, *lailast*; and then, too, the plural *lêsum*
the proper relation to *lailas* (*lalas*), *i.e.* in the rel
the weaker to the stronger radical form. We giv
complete general view of the analogies existing
the Sanscrit and the German in the case before

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expressing the idea "who?" by *kas*, while the Sanscrit *kas*, ac
fixed laws of sound becomes at one time *kaḥ*, at another *kô*, a
ka, and appears in its original form only before *t* and *th*.

* Regarding the Latin forms like *cépi* (see §. 548.), it ma
further remarked, that Ag. Benary, also (Doctrine of Latin Soun
&c.), traces back the Latin perfect in all its formations to th
aorist.

reduplicated preterite of सद् *sad*, "to sit," "to place oneself," corresponding to the Gothic *sat* and Old High German *saz*, "I sate," connected with it in form and sense.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	GOTHIC.	OLD HIGH GERM.
sasâd-a or *sasad-a*,	*(sai)sat*,	*(si)saz.*
sasat-tha or *sêd-i-tha*,	*(sai)sas-t*	*sâz-i-'.*
sasâd-a,	*(sai)sat*,	*(si)saz.*

DUAL.

sêd-i-va,	*sêtû ?* (see §. 441.)	. . .
sêd-a-thus,	*sêt-u-ts*,	. . .
sêd-a-tus,	. . . .	. . .

PLURAL.

sêd-i-ma,	*sêt-u-m*,	*sâz-u-mês.*
sêd-a-',	*sêt-u-th*,	*sâz-u-t.*
sêd-us,	*sêt-u-n*,	*sâz-u-n.*

"Remark 1.—That in the example here given, as generally in Grimm's tenth, eleventh, and twelfth conjugations, the *a* of the preterite is the real radical vowel—that in the present it is weakened to *i*, and that the *i* of the present has not, *vice versâ*, been strengthened in the preterite to *a*—I infer, not only from this, that the Sanscrit, where it admits of comparison, everywhere exhibits *a* as the unmistakeable radical vowel, but especially from the circumstance that the Gothic causal verb where any such corresponds to the primitive verb, everywhere uses the *a* in the present even, which the primitive verb has retained merely in the preterite; for instance, from *SAT*, "to sit," comes the causal *satja*, "I set = Sanscrit *sâdayâmi*. If it were merely the object of the language to gain in the causal a vowel connected with the primitive verb, but

strengthened, then if *SIT* were the root, from it would perhaps have proceeded *seitya* (=*sîtya*) or *saitya*; and in reality the verbs, to which I ascribe *i* as the radical vowel, exhibit, in the causal, *ai*, as those with a radical *u* employ *au*; in exact agreement with the Sanscrit, where *i* and *u* receive Guna in the causal, *i. e.* prefix *a*. Thus in Gothic, from *ur-RIS*, 'to stand up,' (*ur-reisa, ur-rais, ur-risum*) comes *ur-raisya*, 'I raise up': from *DRUS*, 'to fall' (*driusa, draus, drusum*), *ga-drausya*, 'I plunge'; as, in Sanscrit, from *vid* and *budh*, 'to know,' *vêdayâmi* (=*vaidayâmi*), *bôdhayâmi* (=*bandhayâmi*), 'I make to know.' The circumstance, that Sanscrit verbs with a radical *a* correspond to the Gothic *sat*, 'I sate,' *band*, 'I bound,' would not alone furnish any sufficient ground for assuming that the said and analogous Gothic verbs exhibit the root in the singular of the preterite; for it might certainly be allowed that *binda* proceeds from the Sanscrit *bandh*, *sita*, from *sad*, and that an original *a* has here been corrupted to *i*; but it might still be maintained that the *a* of the pronoun *band, sat*, is not a transmission from the period of identity with the Sanscrit, but that it has been newly developed from the *i* of the present, because the change of sound of *i* to *a* is the symbol of the past. I object to this view, however, first, because not only does *sat* answer to *sasada* or *sasâda*, but also the plural *sêtum* from *sâtum*, Old High German *sâzumes*, to *sêdima* from *sâdima* (*sa(s)adima*), and it is impossible to consider this double and surprising coincidence as fortuitous; secondly, because, as has been above remarked, the causals too recognise the *a* of the verbs under discussion as a radical vowel; thirdly, because substantives also, like *band, satz*, which have nothing to do with the expression of past time, or any other temporal relation, conform to the vowel of the preterite; fourthly, because generally, in the whole Indo-European family of languages, no case occurs of grammatical relations being

xpressed by the change of the radical vowel; fifthly, ecause the reduplication, which is the real expression of he past, is still clearly retained in Gothic, in the verbs ıentioned above, and is therefore adequate ground for ssuming that *sat* is an abbreviation of *saisat*, but that *ltum* for *sâttum* is a contraction of *sa(s)tum*."

"Remark 2.—The Sanscrit roots which begin with a onsonant which must be replaced by another cognate ne, refrain from the contraction described above; for if ıe *g* of the base syllable of *jagam* dropped out, and the wo *a* were melted down to *ê*, then *jêm* would assume n appearance too much estranged from the root; and this s certainly the reason why the contraction is avoided. It s omitted, also, in roots which begin with two consonants, nd, indeed, for the same reason; for if the *st* of the econd syllable of *tastan* was dropped, the contracted form ould be *têṇ*, in which the root *stan* would no longer be ecognised. There are, however, a few exceptions from ıe restriction specified; as, *babhaj* from *bhaj*, 'to pay omage,' is always contracted to भेज् *bhêj*, as far as is yet nown, though बेज् *bêj* might be expected; but the aspiation of the base-consonant, which has been dropped, has een carried back to the syllable of repetition, according o the principle of the above mentioned धिक्ष् *dhiksh* for *dhakṣh*, from *dah*, 'to burn' (see §. 593.). It is more ifficult to account for the fact of some roots, which begin ith two consonants having permitted themselves to be ontracted, and having retained both consonants in the yllable of repetition, since to the reduplicated perfect heme *tatras* a contracted form *três* corresponds, while rom *satras*, by rejecting the *tr* of the second syllable, hould come *tês*. Either, then, in *três* the *r*, which is suppressed in the full reduplicated form (*tatras* for *tratras*), is gain restored, in order to comply with the requirement hat the form of the root be not too much disfigured, or

the forms like *trêṣ* proceed from a period when the syllable of repetition still combined the two consonants, as in the Latin *spopondi, steti,* and in the Gothic *skaiskaith*; or, lastly, and this is most probable, forms like *trêṣ* proceed from a period when the language had completely forgotten the ground of their origin in contraction, and when in forms like *sêdima* reduplication was no longer perceived, but only the change of a radical *a* into *ê*, and it was believed that the true exponent of the relation of time was therein recognised. Thus, in a measure, the Gothic *frêhum,* 'we asked' (Sanscrit *paprichchhima,* not *prêchhima,* from *prachh,* 'to ask'), was prepared by Sanscrit forms like *trêsima,* 'we trembled,' *bhrêmima,* 'we wandered,' and some similar ones. The Sanscrit and German in this agree most admirably, that roots which end with two consonants have not permitted the combination to make its way; certainly because, through their stronger construction, they had more power to bear the full reduplication (compare §. 589.), which has at last disappeared in Gothic in those verbs with a radical *a*, which weaken that vowel, in the present, to *i*; so that *band, bundum,* correspond to the Sanscrit *babandha, babandhima.* To a Gothic present *banda,* would correspond a preterite *baiband.*"

606. It is not requisite to assume that forms like सेदिम *sêdima,* "we sate," which has been compared above (p. 825) to the Gothic *sêtum* and Old High German *sâzum,* existed so early as the period of the unity of language. I rather hold the Sanscrit *sêdima* and Gothic *sêtum,* besides being identical in their root, to be connected only in this point, that they both, independently of each other, have, in consequence of a contraction, lost the semblance of a reduplicated form; that in both the *ê* stands for an older *â*, which is preserved in the Old High German *sâzumês*; that the Sanscrit *sêd* for *sâd* has sprung from *sasad,* as the Gothic *sêt* for *sât* from *sasat,* the latter natu-

ally at a time when the syllable of repetition was still faithful to the radical syllable as regards the vowel. The contraction of polysyllabic forms into monosyllabic, by rejecting the consonant of the second syllable, or the consonant together with its vowel (as above in *lips* for *lilaps*, § 392.) is so natural, that different languages may easily chance to coincide in this point; but such an omission might most easily occur in reduplicated forms, because the expression of the same syllable twice running might be fatiguing, and therefore there would be a direct occasion for the suppression of the second syllable or its consonant. In verbs with a radical *a* the occasion is the more urgent, because *a* is the heaviest vowel, and hence there is the more reason to seek for a diminution of weight. Latin forms like *cecini*, *tetigi* (compared with such as *tutudi*, *momordi*), comply with the requisition after being weakened by reducing the *a* to *i* in the base-syllable, and to *e* in the syllable of repetition, while perfects (aorists) like *cêpi*, *fêci*, in their process of diminishing the weight, coincide with the Sanscrit *sêdima* and Gothic *sêtum*, which does not prevent the assumption that each of the three languages has arrived at the contracted form in its own way, as the Persian *em* and English *am* (=*em*), "I am," approach so closely, because they both, but quite independently of each other, have abbreviated the primitive form *asmi* in the same way, while in the third person the Persian and Latin *est* coincide, through a similar corruption of the old form *asto;* or as the Old High German *fior*, *vior*, stands in the same relation to the Gothic *fidvôr* that the Latin *quar* of *quar-tus* does to the to-be-presupposed *quatuor-tus*. In conclusion, I shall further observe that the Gothic *man*, "I mean," though a form according to the preterite, and based on the Sanscrit *mamana* or *mamâna*,* still

* The root *man*, "to think," is indeed, in the present condition of the language, used only in the middle (thus *mênê*, "I, he thought"), which, however,

in the plural forms not *mémum*, after the analogy of *ménima*, but *munum*, which leads us to conjecture an older *maimunum* for *mamunum*, as *bundum* for *baibundum*, *bubundum*. Similarly, *skulum*, "we should," not *skelum* (singular *skal*). From *mag*, "I can," comes *magum*, without weakening the *a* to *u*. In respect to this and similar verbs it may, however, be observed, that in the Sanscrit *vêda*, "I know," and Greek οἶδα (=Gothic *vait*, see §. 491.), the reduplication is lost, and perhaps, also, all German verbs, which associate the sense of the present with the terminations of the preterite, have never had reduplication, on which account there would be no reason to expect a *mênum* for *manum* from *mamanum*.

607. Verbs with a radical *i* or *u* before a simple final consonant have Guna, in Sanscrit, before the light terminations of the reduplicated preterite, and, therefore, only in the singular of the active. This Guna, is the insertion of an *a* before the radical vowel, just as in Gothic (Grimm's eighth and ninth conjugations). As, however, with the exception of the few verbs which belong to the Sanscrit fourth class (see §. 109ª. 2.), all strong verbs belong only to the Sanscrit fourth class, which, in the special tenses, has Guna pervading it; so also, in the German verbs with a radical *i* and *u*, Guna must be looked for in the present and the moods dependent thereon. The Guna vowel *a* has, however, in the present, been weakened to *i*, and is only retained as *a* in the monosyllabic preterite singular. While, therefore, the Sanscrit root *budh*, cl. 1, "to know," forms, in the present, *bôdhâmi*, pl. *bôdhâmas* (=*baudhâmi*, *baudhâmas*), and, in the reduplicated preterite, *bubôdha* (=*bubaudha*), plural *bubudhima*, the corresponding Gothic root *BUD* ("to offer," "to order,") forms, in the present, *biuda*,* plural

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however, does not prevent the assumption that originally an active also has existed.

* Graff, who has in general supported with his assent my theory of the German *ablaut* (change of sound), which I first submitted in my Review of Grimm's

biudam, and in the preterite *bauth* (see §. 93[a].), plural *budum*. In verbs with a radical *i* the Guna vowel *i* is melted down in German with the radical vowel to a long *î*, which, in Gothic, is written *ei*:* hence the Gothic root *BIT*, "to bite," forms, in the present, *beita* (=*bîta*, Old High German *bîzu*), and in the singular of the preterite *bait*, plural *bitum*, answering to the Sanscrit *bibhêda* (from *bibhaida*), "I and he cleft," *bibhi-lima*, "we cleft." In the present, भिद् *bhid*, if it belonged to the first class, would form *bhêdâmi*, to which the Gothic *beita* (from *biita*) has the same relation as above *biuda* to *bôdhâmi*. The relation of the Gothic *beita* from *biita* to the Sanscrit *bhêdâmi* from *bhaïdâmi*, is like that of the plural nominative *gadei-s* (from the base *FADI*) to the Sanscrit *patay-as* from *pati*, "lord," only that in *patay-as* the *ê*, =*a*+*i*, is resolved into *ay* on account of the following vowel.

608. We give here, once more, the Gothic *bait*, "I bit," and *baug*, "I bowed," over against the corresponding Sanscrit forms, but so that, varying from §. 489. and our usual method, we express the Sanscrit diphthongs ए *ê* and ओ *ô*, according to their etymological value, by *ai* and *au*, in order

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Grimm's German Grammar, differs in this point from the view above taken, that he does not recognise in the *i* of *biudu* and in the first *i* of *beita* (=*bîta*, from *biita*) the weakening of the Sanscrit Guna vowel *a*, but endeavours in three different ways to gain from the radical *i* and *u*, in the present *î* written *ei* in Gothic) and *iu* (Old High German Thesaurus I. pp. 21, 22), of which modes, however, none is so near and concise as that, according to which the *i* of *biudu* is the weakening of the *a* of the Sanscrit *baudhâmi* (contracted, *bôdhâmi*), to which *biudu* has the same relation that the Old High German dative *suniu*, "to the son," has to the Gothic *sunau* and Sanscrit *sûnav-ê*, from the base *sûnu*, the final *u* of which receives Guna in the dative singular and nominative plural. In the former place the Gothic has retained the old Guna *a*; and it is not till several centuries later that we first see this in Old High German weakened to *i*: in the latter place (in the nominative plural) the Gothic even has admitted the weakening to *i*, but changed it to *y*; hence *sunyu-s* for Sanscrit *sûnav-as*.

* See §. 70., and Vocalismus, p. 224, Remark 13.

to make the really astonishing agreement of the two languages more apparent. We also annex the Old High German, which replaces the Gothic diphthong *ai* by *ei*, and *au* by *ou* (before *T* sounds, *s* and *h* by *ô*). In the Old High German it is especially important to remark, that it replaces by the pure vowel of the root the diphthong in the second person singular, on account of the dissyllabic form, which here corresponds to the Gothic monosyllabic one, as a clear proof that the vowel opposition between singular and plural depends on the extent of the word or the weight of the terminations, as we have already perceived by the opposition between *a* in monosyllabic and the lighter *u* in polysyllabic ones (*bant*, *bunt*, *buntumês*, see §. 604.).

Sanscrit.	*Gothic.*	*O. H. Germ.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Gothic.*	*O. H. Germ.*
			ROOT.		
bhid, "split,"	*bit*, "bite,"	*biz*, "*id.*"	*bhuj*, "bend,"	*bug*, "*id.*"	*bug*, "*id.*"
			SINGULAR.		
bibhaid-a,	*bait,*	*beiz.*	*bubhauj-a,*	*baug,*	*boug.*
bibhaid-i-tha,	*bais-t,*[1]	*biz-i.*	*bubhauj-i-tha,*	*baug-t,*	*bug-i.*
bibhaid-a,	*bait,*	*beiz.*	*bubhauj-a,*	*baug,*	*boug.*
			DUAL.		
bibhid-i-va,	*bit-û,*[2]	....	*bubhuj-i-va,*	*bug-û,*[2]	....
bibhid-a-thus,	*bit-u-ts,*	....	*bubhuj-a-thus,*	*bug-u-ts,*	....
bibhid-a-tus,	....	....	*bubhuj-a-tus,*	....	....
			PLURAL.		
bibhid-i-ma,	*bit-u-m,*	*biz-u-mês.*	*bubhuj-i-ma,*	*bug-u-m,*	*bug-u-mês*
bibhid-a-',	*bit-u-th,*	*biz-u-t.*	*bubhuj-a-'*,	*bug-u-th,*	*bug-u-t.*
bibhid-us,	*bit-u-n,*	*biz-u-n.*	*bubhuj-us,*	*bug-u-n,*	*bug-u-n.*

[1] See §. 102. [2] See §. 441.

609. The Greek second perfects like πέποιθα, λέλοιπα, ἔοικα, πέφευγα in respect to their Guna answer to the Sanscrit word just discussed, *bibhaida* (*bibhêda*), *bubhauja* (*bubhója*), and Gothic *bait*, *baug*. The circumstance, however, that the

etains the Guna in the dual and plural, and uses not
ν, πεφύγαμεν, but πεποίθαμεν, πεφεύγαμεν, raises a
n against the originality of the principle followed by
scrit and German. We will therefore leave it unde-
nether the Greek has extended unorganically to the
umbers the Guna, which was created only for the
, or whether the vowel strengthening of the redu-
preterite was originally intended for the three num-
the active; and the coincidence of the Sanscrit and
in this point is only accidental, that they have, in the
der discussion, accorded to the weight of the termi-
or extent of the word, an influence in shortening the
llable. This influence is so natural, that it need not
e us if two languages, in the course of time, had
d it independently of each other, and then, in the
on of this influence, coincided; as, on one side, the
bitum, *bugum*, answering to *bait*, *baug*, and, on the
ide, the Sanscrit *bibhidima*, *bubhujima*, answering to
bubhauja. The German obtains a separate indi-
y in that the Old High German, in the second person
r, employs *bizi*, *bugi*, and not *beizi*, *bougi*, on account of
eing dissyllabic; while the Sanscrit, in spite of their
f three syllables, uses *bibhaiditha*, *bubhaujitha*. It is
that the Sanscrit, in its present state, has given to
ight of the personal terminations a far greater
ce than could have existed at the period of the
f language; and that the Greek δεδόρκαμεν, with
ce to the singular δέδορκα, stands nearer to the
ve condition of the language than the Sanscrit
ma, which has abbreviated the syllable *ar* of the
r *dadarśa* to *ṛi*. Observe, also, what has been re-
l above regarding the retention of the Gothic *ô* and
ā or *η* in the dual and plural, while the Sanscrit exhi-
e lengthening of a radical *a* to *â* only in the first and
ersons singular (§. 603.)

610. As to the personal terminations of the reduplicated preterite, they deserve especial consideration, as they do not answer exactly to the primary endings, nor to the secondary. The ground of their varying from the primary terminations, to which they most incline (in Greek more clearly than in Sanscrit), lies palpably in the root being encumbered with the syllable of reduplication, which in various places has produced an abbreviation or entire extinction of the personal terminations. The first and third person singular have the same sound in Sanscrit, and terminate with the vowel, which should properly be only the bearer of the personal termination. The Gothic has even lost this vowel; hence, above, *baug*, *bait*, answering to *bubhauja* (*bubhôja*), *bibhaida* (*bibhêda*). The Greek, however, has, in the third person, corrupted the old *α* to *ε*, just as in the aorist, where we saw ἔδειξε answer to the Sanscrit *adikshat*. In the same way, in the perfect, τέτυφε, δέδορκε, &c. answer to the Sanscrit *tutôpa* (= *tutaupa*) *dadarśa*; while in the first person, τέτυφα, δέδορκα, stand on the same footing with the Sanscrit *tutôpa*, *dadarśa* (from *dadarka*). As three languages, the Sanscrit, Greek, and Gothic, and a fourth the Zend (where *dadarśa* appears in the form [illegible] *dadarĕśa*), agree with one another in this, that in the first and third person of the sense under discussion they have lost the personal designation, it might be inferred that this loss occurred as early as the period of the unity of language. But this inference is not necessary; for in the incumbrance of the root by the syllable of reduplication there lies so natural an occasion for weakening the termination, that the different cognate languages might well have followed this impulse independently of each other. And the three languages (the Zend, whose long sojourn with the Sanscrit is evident, may remain unnoticed) do not stand quite on the same footing with respect to the disturbing influence which they have permitted to the syllable of reduplication: the Sanscrit has yielded more to this influence than

s Greek and German sisters; and our forms like *ihr bisset*, you bit," *ihr boget*, "you bent," are more perfect in their ermination at this day than what we can draw from the Sanrit, in contrast to them, from the oldest period of its literare. The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite has, for instance, ost the termination of the second person plural from the oldest ime; and this person is therefore either completely the same vith the first and third person singular, or distinguished from t only by the removal of the Guna, or by an abbreviation in he interior of the root from which the singular has remained ree; *e.g.* the first and third person singular and second person lural of *krand*, "to weep," are *chakranda*: in the two former laces the Gothic *gaigrôt* corresponds to it, and, indeed, shews o disadvantage through its loss of the final vowel: in the second person plural, however, *gaigrôt-u-th* surpasses the Sanscrit *chakrand-a*, which has evidently been preceded by a form *chakrand-a-tha* or *chakrand-a-ta*. To the Greek τετύφ-α-τε, δεδόρκ-α-τε, correspond, in Sanscrit, *tutup-a*, *dadṛiś-a*, for *tutup-a-tha*, *dadṛiś-a-tha*.

611. The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite stands in disadvantageous comparison with the Greek perfect in this point also, that in the middle and passive it has not only, like the present, lost the *m* of the first person, but also the *t* of the third; thus, *tutupé* stands for *tutup-mê* and *tutup-tê*, and in the former case is surpassed by τέτυμ-μαι, in the latter by τέτυπ-ται, as respects the correct preservation of the termination. From τέτυμ-μαι, τέτυπ-ται, it may be inferred that the active was formerly τετύπαμι, τετύπατι, or τετύφαμι, τετύφ-α-τι, and in Sanscrit *tutôp-a-mi* (or *tutôp-â-mi*, see §. 434.), *tutôp-a-ti*. The conjunctive vowel is suppressed in Greek before the weightier terminations of the middle passive, according to the principle by which the η of the optative, and the corresponding *â* of the Sanscrit potential, is dropped in the middle, and *e.g.* διδοίμεθα, *dadîmahi*, correspond to the active διδοίημεν, *dadyâma*. The Sanscrit, in the middle and the

passive, which in this tense is fully identical with the middle, prefixes to the personal terminations beginning with a consonant a conjunctive vowel *i* (see §. 605.); hence *tutup-i-shé* answering to the Greek *τέτυπ-σαι*. Yet in the Vêda dialect the form *tutup-sê* might be expected, as this dialect often suppresses the conjunctive vowel of the common language, and, in the Rig Vêda (XXXII. 4.), from *vid*, class 6, "to find," occurs the form *vivit-sê*, "thou didst find," for the common *vivid-i-shê*.

612. The third person plural of the middle passive exhibits in Sanscrit the termination *rê*, which, in the common language, always precedes the conjunctive vowel *i*, which, however, may be withdrawn in the Vêda dialect, where, *dadṛiś-rê*, "they were seen," occurs for *dadṛiśirê* (Rig Vêda, XXXIV. 10.). It is hardly possible to give a satisfactory explanation of this termination. I have elsewhere (Lesser Sanscrit Grammar, §. 372. Rem. 4.) remarked, that its *r* is perhaps a corruption of an original *s*, which otherwise, in Sanscrit, occurs only in the initial sound, and regularly, indeed, before sonant letters, in case a vowel other than *a* or *á* precedes the *s*. This being the case, this *r* would belong to the verb substantive; and we should remark, that in Greek, also, this verb, in certain tenses, is found only in the third person plural, while the rest are simple (*ἐδίδοσαν*, *ἔδοσαν*). The Sanscrit intended probably, in the case before us—if the *r* really stands for *s*—by this change to lighten the sound, as occurs in the Old High German, where, in all roots in *is* and *us*, and in part of the roots in *as*, the radical sibilant in the preterite is retained only in the monosyllabic forms, but in the polysyllabic is weakened to *r*; hence, from *RIS*, "to fall" (Sanscrit *bhraṅs*), *reis*, *riri*, *reis*, *rirumes*, &c.; from *LUS*, "to lose," *lôs*, *luri* (see §. 608.), *lôs*, *lurumês*, &c.; from *was*, "I was," "he was," comes the second person *wâri*, the plural *wârumês*, &c.

613. With the *r* of the Sanscrit termination *rê* is

clearly connected that of the termination *ran* of the third person plural, middle, potential, and precative, where *ran*, in my opinion, is an abbreviation of *ranta;* and also the *r*, which the root *śí*, "to lie" (Greek κεῖμαι), adds, in the third person plural of all special tenses (*śêratê*, "they lie," *śérata*, "they lay," *śêratâm*, "let them lie"). The root *vid*, "to know," Class 2, in combination with the preposition *sam*, admits at will the addition of such an *r* in the present, imperfect, and imperative; hence, *saṁvídratê* or *saṁvidatê*, "they know" (Pânini VII. 1. 7.). The Vêda dialect gives to the addition of this enigmatical *r*, in the middle and passive, a still wider extension (Pânini VII. 1. 8.), and exhibits *aduhra*, "they milked," for *aduhrata*, instead of the common *aduhata*. Remarkable, also, are the forms अदृश्रं *adṛiśraṁ* and असृग्रं *asṛigraṁ*,* from अदृश्रन्त *adṛiśranta*, असृग्रन्त *asṛigranta*, for *adṛiśanta*, *asṛijanta*. The Anusvâra of this Vêda termination *raṁ*, which may have been formerly *rans* (with *s* from *t*, compare p. 754.), passes into *m* before vowels; hence, Rig. Vêda IX. 4., असृग्रम् इन्द्र ते गिरः *asṛigram Indra tê girah* "*effusi sunt, Indra! tibi hymni*"; L. 3. अदृश्रम् अस्य केतवो वि रश्मयो जनाँ अनु *adṛiśram asya kêtavô vi raśmayô janâṁ anu* "*conspiciuntur ejus collustrantes radii inter homines.*"†

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* The former is an aorist of the sixth formation, from the root *dṛiś*, which is not used in the special tenses; but *asṛigraṁ*, in which the retention of the original guttural instead of the palatal of the common language is to be noticed, does not, in my opinion, admit of being explained as an aorist, as Westergaard makes it, but appears to me as an imperfect; as the roots of the sixth class, when they do not insert a nasal in the special tenses, are incapable of the sixth aorist formation, because they could not be distinguishable from the imperfect. Why should not the imperfect, as well as the aorist, be capable of replacing the termination *anta* by *raṁ*?

† Compare Westergaard, Radices, p. 269. Rosen takes *adṛiśran* actively, and, in the first passage, *asṛiyram*, as the first person singular active, which, however, will not do. Preterites with a present signification are very common in the Vêdas.

614. The conjunctive vowel *i*, which the middle uses in almost all persons, may formerly have been an *a*; and it is still more probable that the active, as in Greek, everywhere had an *a* as conjunctive vowel; that therefore the form *tutup-i-ma* was preceded by a form *tutup-a-ma* (or *tutup-â-ma*, see §. 434.), as analogous to the Greek τετύφ-α-μεν;—an opinion which is also corroborated by the Gothic *u-m*, as in *gaigrôt-u-m*, "we wept," which leads us to expect a Sanscrit *chakrand-a-ma* or *â-ma* for *chakrand-i-ma*, as the Gothic *u* very often occurs as the weakening of an original *a*, but not as the increase of an original *i*.

615. In the second and third person dual the Sanscrit has firmly retained the old conjunctive vowel *a*; but the *a* of the primary terminations *thas*, *tas*, has been weakened to *u*, probably on account of the root being encumbered by the syllable of reduplication; hence, *tutup-a-thus*, *tutup-a-tus*, correspond to the Greek τετύφ-α-τον, τετύφ-α-τον from -τος, τος, see §. 97.); and *chakrand-a-thus*, "ye two wept," to the Gothic *gaigrôt-u-ts* of the same import. The *a* of these dual forms is never suppressed, and hence is regarded by grammarians as belonging to the termination itself, while the terminations *va* and *ma* of the first person dual and plural occasionally occur also, in direct combination with the root; as from *sidh*, "to stop," come both *sishidhiva*, *sishidhima*, and *sishidhva*, *sishidhma*. Thus we find in Greek, also, the α occasionally suppressed before the heavier terminations of the dual and plural. Here belong, besides, ἴσμεν for ὄιδαμεν (see §. 491.), ἔοιγμεν, ἔϊκτον, ἄνωγμεν, δέδιμεν. But on these forms no special relationship is to be based, but only a coincidence of principle; for in the operation of the law of gravity it is so natural that two languages should, independently of one another, free themselves before heavy terminations of a semi-vowel, not indispensable for the idea to be conveyed,

t it is quite unnecessary to assume here an old trans-
sion.

316. With regard to the termination थ *tha* of the second
son singular, we direct attention to §. 453. It may be
e additionally remarked, that if the Greek ἦσ-θα—which is
re referred to आसिथ *âs-i-tha*, for which would stand, with-
the vowel of conjunction, *âs-tha*—is not a remnant of the
fect, but actually belongs to the imperfect, the Sanscrit
ldle imperfect आस्थास् *âsthâs* would admit of comparison
h it. But I prefer referring this ἦσθα to the perfect, and
ing it on the same footing with οἶσ-θα, which, with re-
ct to its termination, corresponds well with वेत्थ *vêt-tha*
l the Gothic *vais-t*. The Old High German also, which,
its strong preterites, has preserved only the conjunctive
el of the Sanscrit *i-tha*, and hence opposes to the San-
t *bubauj-i-tha* (*bubôj-i-tha*) and Gothic *baug-t*, "thou didst
," the form *bug-i*, has in preterites, which, like the San-
t *vêda*, Greek οἶδα, and Gothic *vait*, have present signi-
tion, retained the old *t* in direct combination with the
t; as, *weis-t* (euphonic for *weiz-t*) corresponds to the
thic *vais-t*, Greek οἶσ-θα, and Sanscrit *vêt-tha* (*vait-tha*).
re belong also *muos-t*, "thou must," *tôh-t*, "thou art fit,"*
h-t, "thou canst," *scal-t*, "thou shouldst," *an-s-t*, "thou
inclined," "dost not grudge" (with euphonic *s*, see §. 95.:
form cannot be cited, but cannot be doubted), *chan-s-t*,
ou canst," "thou knowest," *getars-t*, "thou venturest,"†
f-t, "thou didst require."

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* Does not occur, but can be safely deduced from the third person *touk*
l the preterite *tôh-ta*.

† The *s* is not, as I formerly assumed, euphonic (§. 94.), but belongs
the root, which, before vowels, assimilates its *s* to the preceding *r* (as
eek θάῤῥος, θαῤῥέω), rejected when in the terminating sound, but prescrved
fore *t*: hence, in the first and third person singular *ge-tar*, third person
ral *ge-turrun*, *ge-turren*. In the Sanscrit corresponds *dharsh* (*dhṛish*),
to venture," in Lithuanian, *drys-ti*; comp. Pott, I. 270, Graff, V. 441.

617. It deserves further to be remarked with respect to the Gothic, that the roots terminating with a vowel prefix an *s* to the *t* of the second person: at least the second person of *saisô*, "I sowed," is *saisô-st* (Luc. xix. 21.); from which we may also infer *vaivô-st*, from the root $V\bar{O}$, "to blow" (Sanscrit *vâ*), and *lailô-st*, from $L\bar{O}$, "to laugh." As to the relation of the *ai* of the present (*vaia*, *laia*, *saia*) to the *ô* of the preterite and of the root, it resembles that of *binda*, "I bind," to *BAND*; *i. e.* as the *a* of this and similar roots has weakened itself in the present to *i*, the same has been done by the latter half of the $ô = â$, or $a + a$. In the same way, in Sanscrit, a long *â* is sometimes weakened to $é = ai$; *e.g.* in the vocative of the feminine bases in *â* (see §. 205.). But to return to the Gothic root $S\bar{O}$, I am not inclined to infer from the third person present *saiy-i-th*, which actually occurs (Mark iv. 14.), a first person *saiya*, but believe, that only before *i* a *y* is added to the diphthong *ai*, and that the third person singular and second person plural of *vaia* and *laia* also must be *vaiyith*, *laiyith*, and the second person singular *vaiyis*, *laiyis*. But if the root $S\bar{O}$ had, in the first person singular, formed *saiya*, then the third person plural would certainly have been *saiyand*, the infinitive *saiyan*, and the present participle *saiyands*; on the other hand, at Matth. iv. 26. occurs *saiand*, "they sow;" l. c. 4, 5, *saiands*, "the sower," and *saian*, "to sow."

618. The Sanscrit roots in *â* (the analogy of which is followed by those also with a final diphthong, which are, for the most part, dealt with in the general tenses as if they ended with *â*) employ in the first and third persons *au* for *â* or *a*, for the *â* of the root should be melted down with the *a* of the termination to *â*, or be dropped as before the other terminations beginning with a vowel. Instead of this, however, *au* is used; *e.g.* ददौ *dadâu*, "I gave," "he gave," from *dâ*; तस्थौ *tasthâu*, "I stood," "he stood," from *sthâ*. If *âu* was found only in the first person, I should not hesitate

ecognising in the *u* the vocalization of the personal character *n*, as in the Gothic *siyau*, "I may be," answering to the Sanscrit स्याम् *syâm*, and in Lithuanian forms in *au* (§. 438.) This view of the matter, however, appears less satisfactory, f we are compelled to assume that the termination *âu*, after ts meaning had been forgotten, and the language had lost ight of its derivation, had found its way unorganically into he third person, though such changes of person are not nheard of in the history of language; as, in the Gothic assive, where the first and third persons have likewise he same termination, but reversed through the transpoition of the ending of the third person to the first, and, n the plural, also into the second (§. 466.). But if the ermination *âu* of *dadâu*, *dedi*, *dedit*, stands with the same ight in the third person that it does in the first, and no ersonal ending is contained in it, then the *u* of the diphhong *âu* may be regarded as the weakening of the ommon termination, or conjunctive vowel *a*; so that the *u*, ccording to the principle of Vriddhi, would have united ith the preceding *â* into *âu* (see §. 29.); while in the rdinary contractions an *â* is shortened before its combiation with *u* or *i* to *a*, and then, with *u*, becomes *ô*=*au*, nd with *i*, *ê*=*ai*.

619. The Sanscrit verbs of the tenth class, and all derirative verbs, periphrastically express the reduplicated preerite by one of the auxiliary verbs—*kri*, "to make," *as* nd *bhû*, "to be"—the reduplicated preterites of which are referable to the accusative of an abstract substantive in *ā*, which is not used in the other cases, before which the haracter *ây* of the tenth class and of the causal forms is retained; *e. g. chôrayânchakâra* (euphonic for *chôrayâm-ch-*), "he made stealing," or *chôrayâmâsa*, or *chôrayâmbabhûva*,*

* The root *bhû* irregularly contains in the syllable of repetition an *u* instead of the shortened radical vowel, omits in the first and third

 person

"he was to steal." The opinion expressed in the first edition of my Sanscrit Grammar, that the form in *âm* must be regarded as the accusative of an abstract substantive, I have since found is supported by the Zend, where the corresponding occurs as an infinitive in the accusative relation, as I have already shewn by citing the following lucid passage (Vend. S. p. 198.): 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥 *yezi vaŝĕn mazdayaṅna zaṁ raŏdhayaṅm,** "If the worshippers of Mazda wish to make the earth grow (cultivate)" The Sanscrit, instead of *kri*, occasionally uses another word of similar import, to paraphrase the reduplicated preterite. Thus we read in the Mahábhárat (I. 1809.): वपुष्टमार्थम् वरयाम् प्रचक्रमुः *vapushṭamârtham varayâm prachakramuh,* "they solicited Vapushtamá;" literally, "they made solicitation on account of Vapushtamá," or "they went to a solicitation;" for *prakram* means, properly, "to go;" but verbs of motion frequently take the place of those of making, since the completion of an action is represented as the going to it.

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person singular the Guna or Vṛiddhi augment, and changes irregularly its *ú* before vowels into *úv* instead of *uv*.

† Thus I read for the l. c. occurring *raódhyaṅm*, for which, p. 299, occurs *raódhayĕn*: the two forms guided me in restoring the right reading which has since been confirmed by Burnouf, by comparing MSS. Anquetil translates thus, "*lorsque les Mazdéïesnans veulent creuser des ruisseaux dedans et autour d'une terre;*" in accordance with which I before rendered the expression *raôdhayaṅm* by "*perforare.*" It is, however, probably the causal form of *raódh*, "to grow" (compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes, p. xxxv.), which is based on the Sanscrit *ruh* from *rudh* (see §. 23.), and with which the Gothic *LUD*, "to grow," *lauths*, *laudis*, "man" (our *Leute*), is connected. It is possible that this causal form may have assumed, in Zend, the meaning "to bury," as one of the means of growth. This, however, is of not much importance to us here: it suffices to know, what is very important, that *raôdhayaṅm* supplies the place of an infinitive, has an accusative termination, and confirms my explanation of the Sanscrit form under discussion.

620. It is very important to observe, that it is the erbs of the tenth class, causal forms, and other derivative erbs, which particularly employ this periphrastic forma- on of the reduplicated preterite, and do not admit the mple formation; for hereby the way is, in a manner, repared for the German idioms, which, without excep- on, paraphrase their preterite by an auxiliary verb gnifying "to do," precisely in that conjugation in which e have recognised the Sanscrit tenth class in three ifferent forms (see §§. 109[a]. 6. 504.). I have asserted this, s regards the Gothic, already in my System of Conjuga- on (p. 151. &c.), where I have shewn, in plurals like *kidêdum*, "we sought," (made to seek), and in the con- unctive in the singular also (*sôkidêdyau*, "I would make o seek") an auxiliary verb signifying "to do," and a ord related to *dêths*, "the act,"* (Theme *dêdi*). Since ien, Grimm, with whom I fully coincide, has extended ie existence of the auxiliary verb also to the singular *kida*, and therefore to the other dialects; for if in *sôkida* ie verb "to do" is contained, it is self-evident that it xists also in our *suchte*. I had before derived the sin- ular *sôkida* from the passive participle *sokiths* (theme *kida*). But since I now recognise the verb (*thun*) to do" also in *sôkida*, "I sought," I believe—in which I iffer from Grimm—that we must, in respect to their rigin, fully separate from one another the passive parti- iple and the indicative preterite,† great as the agreement f the two forms is, which, in Gothic, amounts to complete dentity; for the theme of *sôkiths*, "the sought," is *sôkida* see §. 135.), thus fully the same as *sôkida*, "I sought;" nd *salbôda*, the theme of *salbôths*, "the anointed," is in

* It is preserved only in *missa-dêths*, "misdeed," but is etymologically entical with our *that*, Old High German *tât*, Old Saxon *dâd*.

† Compare my Vocalismus, pp. 51, &c.

form identical with *salbôda*, "I anointed." This circumstance, too, was likely to mislead, that participles in *da* (nominative *ths*) occur only in verbs which form their preterites in *da*, while in strong verbs the passive participle terminates in *na* (nominative *ns*), and, *e.g.* *bug-a-ns*, "bent" (theme *bug-a-na*), corresponds to the Sanscrit *bhug-na-s*. In Sanscrit, however, passive participles in *na* are comparatively rare, and the vast majority of verbs form them by the suffix *ta*,* on which the Latin *tu-s*, Greek τός (πλεκτός, ποιητός,) Litth. *ta-s* (*suk-ta-s*, "turned") are based. This suffix has, however, nothing in common with the verb *thun*, "to do," under discussion; and therefore, also, the Gothic suffix *da* of *SŌK-I-DA*, *sôkiths*, can have nothing to do with the *da* of *sôkida*, "I sought," when elsewhere this *da* signifies "I did," just as *dêdum* in *sôkidêdum* means "we did," and *dê-ths*, "the deed."

621. The just mentioned *dê-ths*,† to which the Old Saxon *dâd* and Old High German *tât* correspond, is, in the theme, *dêdi*, the *i* of which is suppressed in the nominative (see §. 135.): the genitive is *dêdai-s*, the accusative plural *dêdi-ns*. The final syllable of the base *dêdi* corresponds to the Sanscrit suffix *ti*, which forms abstract substantives, and, in the Gothic, occurs under the form of *ti*, *thi*, or *di*, according to the measure of the letter preeeding

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* Compare *tyak-ta-s*, "forsaken," *kṛi-ta-s*, "made," *bṛi-ta-s*, "borne." I remark, *en passant*, that the Latin *la-tus* might become connected with *bṛitas*, from *bhartas*, in the same way as *latus*, "broad," with *pṛithu-s*, πλατύς: thus, the labial being lost, *r* being exchanged with *l*, and *al* transposed to *la* = *ra*, as, in the Greek, ἔδρακον for ἔδαρκον.

† I write the non-occurring nominative *dêths*, not *dêds*, since *d* after vowels, before a final *s*, and at the end of words, generally becomes *th*; hence, also, *sôkiths*, "sought," from the base *sôkida*, and *mannasêths*, "world," literally "human-seed," from the base *sê-di* and the root *sô*, "to sow" (*saia*, *saisô*, see §. 617). *Sêdi* has the same relation to *sô*, in regard to its radical vowel, that *têka*, "I touch," has to the preterite *taitôk*.

ee §. 91.). There remains, therefore, *dê*, in Old Saxon in Old High German *tâ*, as the root, and this regularly esponds to the Sanscrit Zend धा *dhâ* وىد *dâ*, "to set," make" (see p. 112); from which might be expected an ract substantive धातिस् *dhâ-ti-s*, وىدىدىد *dâ-ti-s*, which ld answer to the Greek *θέσις* (from *θέτις*). It is a ques- then, whether, in the Gothic *dêdum* of *sokidêdum*, the syllable is fully identical with that of *DĒ-DI*, "the "? I think it is not; and consider *dêdum*, and the unctive *dêdyau*, plural *dêdeima*, as reduplicated forms; hat thus the second syllable of *dêdum*, *dêdyau*, would o be compared with the first of *DĒDI*, "deed." The f *dêdum*, "we did," *dê-dyau*, "I would do," considered he syllable of reduplication, is distinguished from the mon reduplicated preterites like *vai-vô-um*, "we blew," *ô-um*, "we sowed," *taitôkum*, "we touched," by its *ê* *ai*. It may be, then, that this *ê*, which has proceeded *ai*, is the contraction of $a+i$ to a mixed sound, rding to the Sanscrit principle (see §. 2.); or that, rding to an older principle of reduplication, the *ê* of *um*, just like that of *DĒDI*, represents the original *â* of the Sanscrit root *dhâ* (see §. 69.), which is re- d unchanged in the Old High German *tât*, and Old n *dâd*. In the last syllable of *dê-dum*, *dê-dyau*, we the radical vowel: according to the analogy of *vai- m*, *sai-sô-um*, we should expect *dêdô-um*. The abbre- ion may be a consequence of the incumbrance owing omposition with the principal verb: however, it occurs anscrit even in the simple word; since, in the redupli- d preterite, *da-dh-i-ma*, "we did set," *da-dh-us*, "they set," are correctly said for *da-dhâ-î-ma*, *dadhâ-us*. in the present, the root *dhâ*, which, as a verb of the d class, has reduplication in the special tenses also, *dâ*, class 3, "to give," irregularly reject the radical l before the heavy terminations of the dual and

plural; thus, *dadh-mas* for *dadhâ-mas;* just so, in t whole potential mood, where *dadh-yâm* (for *dadhâ-yâ ponam*, answers remarkably to the Gothic *dêd-yau* (fro *sôkidêd-yau*), "I would do," for *dêdô-yau.*

622. The singular of *sôkidêdum, sôkidêduth, sokidêdun, sôkida, sôkidês, sôkida,* with the loss of the syllable reduplication. Yet *dês* is perhaps an abbreviation of *dê* as, in the preterite, *t*, answering to the Sanscrit थ *tha*, properly the character of the second person (see §. 453 before which a radical *T* sound passes, according to §. 10 into *s*; as, *bais-t, bans-t,* for *bait-t, band-t.* So, also, might have proceeded from *dês-t,* and this from *dêd-t.* the simple state, the auxiliary verb under discussion wanting in Gothic; at least, it does not occur in Ulfila but in Old Saxon, *dô-m, dô-s, dô-t* (or *dô-d*), correspo admirably to the Sanscrit *dadhâ-mi, dadhâ-si, dadhâ* with *ô* for *a*, according to the Gothic principle (see §. 6 and with the suppression of the syllable of reduplicati which, as has been already remarked, the Sanscrit ve according to the principle of the third class, exhibits, li the Greek *τίθημι*, in the present also. The preterite Old Saxon, as in all the other German dialects, has p served the reduplication, and is, *dëda, dëdô-s, dëda,* plu *dëdun,* also *dâdun,** properly the third person, which, the Old Saxon preterite, as in the Gothic passive (§. 46 represents both the first and second person. In t *dëd-u-n* or *dâd-u-n,* therefore, the radical vowel, as in t Gothic *sôkidêdun* (for *sôkidêdô-u-n*), is dropped before t conjunctive vowel. The *ë* of *dëda,* &c., has arisen fr *i*, which has been actually retained in Anglo-Saxon. H the preterite under discussion has *dide, didest, dide,* plu *didon,* in the three persons. These forms, therefore, respect to their reduplication syllable, answer to the p

* See Schmeller's Glossarium Saxonicum, p. 25.

terites with concealed reduplication, as Old High German *hi-alt* for *hihalt* (see §. 592.). The Old Saxon *dâdun*, which occurs in the plural, together with *dëdun*, as also in the second person singular *dâdi* is found together with *dëdô-s* (see Schmeller's Gloss.), is unorganic, and follows the analogy of Grimm's tenth and eleventh conjugations; *i.e.* it is produced in the feeling, as if *dad* was the root and first and third person in the singular preterite, and the present *didu*. Thus, also, in the conjunctive, with *dëdi* exists the form *dâdi*. In Old High German, also, the forms which have a long *â* in the conjugations named, employ this letter in the auxiliary verb under discussion, and, indeed, without a dissentient authority,* without, however, in a single one, the first and third person singular being *tat*, as might have been expected from the second person *tâti* (like *sâzi* answering to *saz*, see the second table in §. 605.). I annex the preterite in full, according to Grimm; *tëta, tâti, tëta; tâtumês, tâtut, tun*; conjunctive *tâti, tâtîs, tâti; tâtîmes, tâtît, tâtîn*. The present is *tuo-m, tuo-s, tuo-t, tuo-mês, tuo-t, tuo-nt;* which, in its way, answers to the Sanscrit *da-dhâmi*, just as well as the Old Saxon *dô-m*, &c.; as *uo*, in Old High German, is the most common representative of the Gothic and Old Saxon ô, and therefore of the Sanscrit *â*; as, in *fuor*, answering to the Gothic *fôr* and Sanscrit *châr*, from *chachâra*, "I went," "he went." The Middle High German is, in the present, *uon, tuo-st, tuo-t; tuo-n, tuo-t, tuon-t:* in the preterite, *tëte, tæte, tëte:*† plural *tâten, tâtet, tâten*: conjunctive *tæte*, &c. Our German *that, thäte*, follows exactly the analogy of forms like *trat, träte, las, läse* (Grimm's tenth conjugation), and would lead us to expect a present *thete* from *thite;* the

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* See Graff, V. 287, where, however, remark that very few authorities distinguish graphically the long *a* from the short.

† Also *tët* and *tete*, the latter unorganic, and as if the first *e* had not been produced from *i*, but, through *umlaut*, from *a*. See Grimm, I. p. 965.

recollection of a reduplication which is contained
is completely destoyed, but just as much so the po
of connection with the weak preterites like *suchte*, t
recourse must be had, if we wish to reject the opini
given by Grimm (I. p. 1042), but not firmly held
that the Old Saxon *dëda*, Anglo-Saxon *dide*, Old Hi
man *tëta*, Middle High German *tëte*, rest on redupli
The passive participle *gi-tâ-nêr*, *ge-tha-ner*, answer
Sanscrit like *mlâ-na*, "withered," from *mlâi* (*mlâ*), o
"gift" (properly "that given"), from *dâ*, of wh
common participle is *datta* (from *dadâta*), the redu
being irregularly retained. The Sanscrit tent
agrees with the German weak conjugation (the p
of which it is) in this point, that it never forms
sive participles in *na*, but always in *ta*; on which
the Gothic *da* of *SŌKIDA*, nominative masculine
"sought."

623. To return to the Gothic *sôkida*, "I sought," "
seek," after acknowledging in the *ya* of *sôkya*, "I s
character of the Sanscrit tenth class अय *aya*, and i
"I make to seek," a copy of the Sanscrit *chôrayâm*
(or *chakara*), "I made to steal," we now consider
sôkida as the contraction of the syllable *ya*, in which
with Grimm. The *i* of *sôkida*, therefore, represents
scrit *ayâm* of *chôrayâm-chakâra* (ञ् *n* euphonic fo
made to steal"; or, in order to select kindred verbs
the Gothic *sati* of *sati-da*, "I made to place," corre

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* The substantive *dê-ths* (theme *dê-di*), *tâ-t*, cannot stand in

ıscrit *ayâm* (or rather, only its *y*) of *sâdayân-chakâra*, .e to sit"; the Gothic *thani*, of *thani-da*, "I extended," onds to the Sanscrit *tânayâm* of *tânayân-chakâra*, "I) make extend"; the Gothic *vasi*, of *vasi-da*, "I made .e," corresponds to the Sanscrit *vâsayâm* of *vâsayân-*, "I made to cause to be clothed" (*vâsayâmi*, "I cause ıe," as causal of *vas*, "to clothe"). It might be con-d that the first member of the Gothic compounds liscussion originally, in like manner, carried an accu-ermination, just as in idea it is an accusative. As, to say, in the present state of the language, Gothic ıtives have entirely lost the accusative sign, it would prise us to find it wanting in these compositions also. earlier period of the language, *satin-da*, *thanin-da*, *u*, may have corresponded to the Sanscrit *sâdayâm-*, *n-*, *vâsayâm-*, the *m* of which before the *ch* of the aux-erb must become ञ् *n*. The selection of another aux-erb in German, but which has the same meaning, surprise us, as the Sanscrit also, occasionally, as has lready shewn, employs another verb for the idea of " (see p. 842), or sets in its place the verb substantive *ıû*.

Grimm's second conjugation of the weak form, of *salbô* is given as example, has, as has already been ob-cast out, like the Latin first conjugation, the semi-vhich holds the middle place in the Sanscrit *aya* of the ass, and the two short *a* then coalesce, in Gothic, into *a*, as, in Latin, into *â*. Hence, in the preterite, Gothic ike *salbô-da*, "I made to anoint," correspond to the t like *chôrayân-chakâra*, "I made to steal"; as *laigô*, *aigô-da*, "I made to lick," answers to the Sanscrit ı (=*laihayâm*) from *lêhayân-chakâra*, "I made to ɔ lick." It must not be forgotten that the Sanscrit lass is at the same time the form of causal verbs, dmit of being formed from all roots; hence, also, in

Grimm's third class of the weak conjugation (wh
served the two first syllables of the Gothic *aya* in
ai, in accordance with the Latin *ê* of the second
and the analogous Prakrit forms*), the Gothi
munai-da, "I thought," *banai-da*, "I built," *ga-*
subjected to the yoke," correspond to the San
preterites *mânayân-chakâra*, "I caused to mak
bâvayân-chakâra, "I caused to make to be," "
created." †

625. In Sanscrit, besides the tenth class an
verbs, there are verbs which paraphrase the
preterite by forming directly from the root an
stantive in *â*, and combining with its accusative
abovementioned auxiliary verbs. All roots, for
this, which begin with vowels which are long
rally or by position, with the exception of an *â*
sition and the root *âp*, "to reach"; as *îśân-chakâ*
to rule," from *îś*, "to rule." Compare with this
brah-ta, "I brought," answering to the strong pr
(*bringa*). Moreover, the paraphrased preterite
instead of the present, a simple preterite with pr
ing corresponds (see §. 616), and which, in the pr
like *brah-ta*, combine the auxiliary verb *thun* dir
root, in which junction its *T* sound is governed
consonants of the principal verb; and in Gothic ap
time as *t*, at another as *th*, at another as *d* (com
and after the *t* of *VIT*, "to know," as *s* (see §. 1
môs-ta, "I must," preterite (*môt*, "I must," pres
tha, "I meant" (*man*, "I mean"); *skul-da*, "I sl
"I should," present); *vis-sa* for *vis-ta*, "I knew

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* See p. 110.

† The Gothic verb, also, is, according to its meaning, a
lost primitive, which, in Old High German, in the first per
him, see §. 510.

know," see §. 491). A few weak verbs, also, with the derivation *ya*, suppress its representative *i*, and annex the auxiliary verb direct to the root. They are, in Gothic, but four, viz. *thah-ta*, "I thought" (present, *thagkya*); *bauh-ta*, "I bought" (with *au* for *u*, according to §. 82., present *bugya*); *vaurh-ta*, "I made" (present *vaurkya*); *thuh-ta*, "it appeared" (*thugk*, "it appears"). The Old High German, however, usually suppresses the derivative *i* after a long radical syllable, and with the cause disappears also the effect, viz. the *umlaut* produced by the *i* (see §. 73.), in as far as the original vowel is an *a*: hence, *nan-ta*,* "I named"; *wan-ta*,† "I turned"; *lêr-ta*, "I taught;" answering to the Gothic *nanmi-da*, *vandi-da*, *lisi-da*. These, and similar verbs, have also, in the present and the forms depending on it, lost the *y* or *i* of the derivation *ya*,‡ but have preserved the *umlaut*, whence it is clear, that the *y* or *i* must have here adhered much longer than in the preterite (*nennu*, *wendu*, *lêru*).

626. The passive participle in Gothic, with respect to the suppression or retention of the derivative *i*, and with regard to the euphonic change of the final consonant of the root, always keeps equal pace with the preterite active: hence may be inferred from the Gothic *ôh-ta*, "I feared," a participial base of similar sound, *ôh-ta*, "feared," nominative *ohts*, though this participle cannot be cited as occurring. Toge-

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* For *nann-ta*, see §. 102.

† For *wand-ta*, see §. 102. I consider this verb as identical with the Sanscrit *vart* (*vṛit*), "to go," "to be" (with the preposition *ni*, "to return"), and the Latin *verto*, with exchange of the liquids *r* and *n*. This does not prevent our *werden* being referred to the root *vart*, as it often happens that a root separates into different forms with distinct meanings.

‡ As the Old High German does not distinguish the *y* from *i* it cannot be known whether the *neriu*, *neriamês*, which corresponds to the Gothic *nasya*, "I save," *nasyam*, "we save," should be pronounced *neryu*, *neryamês* or *neriu*, *neriamês*, though at the oldest period *y* would certainly have been used.

ther with *vaurh-ta*, "I made," from *vaurkya*, exists a participle *vaurhts*, "the made" (theme *vaurhta*), Mark xiv. 58.; and with *fra-bauh-ta*, "I sold," from *frabugya*, is found *fra-bauhts*, "the sold," John xii. 5. From such euphonic coincidences, however, we cannot deduce an historical descent of the passive participle from the preterite active, or *vice versâ*; just as little as it could be said, that, in Latin, the participles in *tus* and *turus*, and the nouns of agency in *tor*, really proceed from the supine, because from *doctum*, *monitum*, may be inferred *doctus*, *monitus*, *docturus*, *moniturus*, *doctor*, *monitor*. It is natural that suffixes which begin with one and the same syllable, even if they have nothing in common in their origin, should still, in external analogy, approach one another, and combine similarly with the root. In German, indeed, the auxiliary verb *thun*, and the suffix of the passive participle, if we recur to their origin, have different initial sounds, as the former rests on the Sanscrit धा *dhâ*, the latter on the suffix त *ta*: but inasmuch as the latter, in Gothic, instead of becoming *tha*, according to the law for the changing of sounds, has, with the preceding derivative vowel, assumed the form *da*, it is placed on the same footing with the auxiliary verb, which * regularly commences with *d*, and is consequently subject to the same fate. The same is the case with the suffix of abstract substantives, which is, in Sanscrit, *ti*, but in Gothic after vowels, *di*, and after consonants, according to the nature, either *ti*, *thi*, or *di*; and thus may also, from the preterite *mah-ta*, "I could," be deduced a substantive *mah-* (theme *mah-ti*), "might," without the latter proceeding from the former.

627. We must therefore reject the opinion, that, Gothic, *sôkida*, "I sought," and *sôkiths* (theme *sôkida*), "the sought," *sôkida* (theme *sôkidô*), "the sought" (fem.) sta

* The Sanscrit *dh* leads us to expect the Greek *θ* and Gothic *d*.

another in the relation of descent; and I still per-
my assertion, already made in my System of Conju-
and in my Review of Grimm's German Grammar
mus, p. 72), that in Persian, preterites like *bur-dem*,
e," *bes-tem*, "I bound," *purs-î-dem*, "I asked," are
from their corresponding participles, which have
active and a passive signification. While, in San-
ri-ta (nominative masculine *bṛitas*) has merely a
meaning, and only verbs neuter use the forms in
an active signification,* in Persian, *bur-deh* means
rne and, actively, having borne; and the perfect is
ed in Persian by using the verb substantive with
ticiple just mentioned; thus *burdeh em*, "I have
or, literally, "I am having borne." I consider,
r, the aorist *burdem* as a contraction of *burdeh em*,
need not surprise us, as the Persian very generally
es its verb substantive with both substantives and
es; *e.g. merdem*, "I am a man," *buzurgem*, "I am

In the third person singular *berd*, or *berdeh* stands
the addition of the auxiliary verb, as, in Sanscrit,
laturus" is used in the sense of *laturus, a, um, est;*
he first and second persons of the three numbers
e the singular nominative masculine with the verb
tive, *bhartâsmi*, "I shall carry," &c. If we choose
gnise the verb substantive in the Persian aorist
because in the present, with the exception of the
person *est*, it is so much compressed that it is
distinguished from the terminations of other verbs,†
st conclude that the simple annexation of the perso-
ninations to the participle, which is robbed of its end-

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np. *gata-s*, "*qui ivit*"; so *bhûta-s*, "the having been" (masculine).
npare *em*, "I am," *î*, "thou art," *îm*, "we are," *îd*, "ye are,"
ey are," with *berem* ("I bear"), *berî*, *berîm*, *berîd*, *berend*. To
esponds the Doric *ἐντί* for *σεντί*; to *em* the English *am* (=*em*).

ing *eh* forms the tense under discussion. This, however, is not my opinion; and it seems to me far more natural to explain *burd'-em* as literally meaning "having borne am I," than to raise *burd* to the rank of a secondary verbal root, and, as such, to invest it with the personal terminations, as they appear in the present.

628. The Sclavonic languages, with the exception of the Old Sclavonic and Servian (see §§. 561. &c.), present, in the formation or paraphrasing of the preterite, a remarkable coincidence with the Persian. The participle, which, in Persian, terminates in *deh* or *teh*, and in Sanscrit, in the masculine and neuter theme, in *ta*, in the feminine in *tâ*, ends, in Old Sclavonic, in the masculine-neuter base in *lo*, in the feminine in *la*; and I consider the *l* of this participial suffix as a weakening of *d*; as, in Latin, *lacryma*, *levir*, from *dacryma*, *devir* (see §. 17.), and, in Lithuanian, *lika*, "ten," at the end of compounds, for *dika* (see §. 310. Rem.). And I am hence of opinion, that, both with reference to their root and their formation, *byl*, *byla*, *bylo*, "the having been" (masculine, feminine, and neuter), may be compared with the Sanscrit words of the same import, *bûta-s*, *bûtâ*, *bûta-m*, and Persian *bûdeh*. In Polish, *był* means "he was," *była*, "she was," *było*, "it was," *byli*, *były* "they were,"* without the addition of an auxiliary verb, or personal termination: and as in general the forms in *l*, *la*, *lo*, *li*, *ły*, do not occur at all as proper participles, but only represent the preterite indicative, they have assumed the complete character of personal terminations.† They resemble, therefore, only with the advantage of the distinction of gender, like nouns, the Latin *amamini*, *amabimini*, in which words the

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* The masculine form *byli* belongs only to the masculine persons: to the other substantives of the three genders belongs the feminine form *były*.

† And no notice is taken in Grammars, that, according to the gender alluded to, they are the nominatives of a former participle.

nguage is no longer conscious that they are masculine plural ominatives, see §. 478. Still more do the above Polish forms semble the persons of the Sanscrit participial future, which ses for all genders the masculine nominatives of the three umbers of a participle corresponding to the Latin in *turus*; that *bhavitâ*, "*futurus*," stands instead of *futurus, a, um*, *t*, and *bhavitâras*, "*futuri*," instead of *futuri, æ, a, sunt*. But *yl*, "he was," corresponds most exactly to the Persian word f the same meaning, *bûd* or *bûdeh*, "the having been," in the ense of "he was." In the first person singular masculine, *ytem* (*by-tem*) answers admirably to the Persian *bûdem*, hich I render in Sanscrit by *bhûtô 'smi* (euphonic for *hûtas asmi*) *i.e.* "the man having been am I." In the eminine and neuter, the Polish *bytam* (*byta-m*) corresponds o the Sanscrit *bhûta 'smi*, "the woman having been am ," and in the neuter, *bytom* (*byto-m*) to the Sanscrit *bhûtam smi*, "the thing having been am I." In the second per- on, in the three genders, the Polish *byteś* (*byteś*) corre- ponds to the Sanscrit masculine *bhûtô- 'si* (for *bhûtas asi*); *yłaś* (*byta-ś*) to the Sanscrit feminine *bhûtâ 'si*; *bytoś* (*byto-ś*) o the Sanscrit neuter *bhûtam asi*. In the plural, the mas- uline *byli-smy*, and feminine *były-śmy*,* correspond to the Sanscrit feminine and masculine *bhûtâs smas*; and so, in the second person, *bytyście, bytyście*,† to the Sanscrit *bhûtâs stha*.

"Remark 1.—I have no doubt that the syllable *em* of the Polish *byt-em*, and the simple *m* of the feminine *byta-m* and neuter *byto-m* belong to the verb substantive, which, therefore, in *byta-m*, *byto-m*, and so in the feminine and neuter second person *byta-sh*, *byto-sh*, has left merely its

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* See p. 854, Remark *.

† The Polish *c* is like our *z*, and has the same etymological value as *t*; for instance, in the second person plural the termination *cie* corresponds to the Old Sclavonic ТЕ *te*; and, in the infinitive, the termination *c* to the Old Sclavonic ТИ *ti*.

personal termination, just as in our contractions, *im*, *zum*, *am*, *beim*, from *in*, *dem*, &c., the article is represented only by its case termination. In the first and second person plural, however, the radical consonant has remained; so that *śmy*, *ście*, are but little different from the Sanscrit *smas*, *stha*, and Latin *sumus* (for *smus*). But if *śmy*, *ście*, be compared with the form exhibited by the Polish verb substantive in its isolated state, some scruple might, perhaps, arise in assenting to the opinion, that *byt-em*, 'I (a man) was,' *bytismy*, 'we (men) were,' or the present of the verb substantive is contained in *czytat-em*, 'I read,' *czytatismy*, 'we read'; for 'I am' is *yestem*, and 'we are,' *yesteśmy*. It would, in fact, be a violent mutilation, if we assumed that *byt-em*, *byti-śmy*, have proceeded from *byt-yestem*, *byti-yesteśmy*. I do not, however, believe this to be the case, but maintain that *yestem*, 'I am,' *yestesmy*, 'we are,' *yesteś*, 'thou art,' and *yesteście*, 'ye are,' have been developed from the third person singular *yest*. For this *yest** answers to the language nearest akin to our own, the Old Sclavonic *yesty*, Russian *esty*, Bohemian *gest* (*g* = *y*), Karniolan *ye* (where the *st* has been lost), as, to the old sister languages, the Sanscrit *asti*, Greek ἐστί, Lithuanian *esti*, and Latin *est*. But *yestem*, *yestesmy*, &c., do not admit of an organic comparison with the corresponding forms of the languages more or less nearly connected. On the other hand, the last portion of *yesteśmy*, 'we are,' answers exactly to the Russian *esmý*; and it must be assumed, that the concluding part of *yest-em*, 'I am,' has lost an *s* before the *m*, just as the *m* of *byt-em*, 'the having been am I.' It cannot be surprising that the superfluous *yest* is not conjointly introduced in the compound with the participle. At the period of the origin of this periphrastic preterite it did not, perhaps, exist in the

* Regarding the initial *y*, see §. 255. *n*.

lated present, or the language may still have been con-
ous of the meaning of the *yest* of *yest-em*, and that the
ole properly expressed, 'it is I,' '*c'est moi*.' Thus, in
sh-Gælic, *is me* properly means 'I am'—according to
Reilly, 'it is I'—and *ba me* or *budh me* is literally 'it
s I' (*budh*, 'he was,' = Sanscrit *abhût*, see §. 573., *ba*, 'he
s' = *abhavat*, §. 522); and in the future, in my opinion,
character of the third person regularly enters into the
t person, and, in the verb substantive, may also grow
with the theme in such a manner that the terminations
he other persons may attach themselves to it.* More-
r, the Irish *fuilim*, 'I am,' *fuilir*, 'thou art, *fuil*, 'he is,'
mid 'we are,' &c., deserve especial remark. Here, in
opinion, the third person has again become a theme for
others; but the *l* of *fuil*, 'he is,' appears to me to be
eakening of an original *d*, like the Polish *byt*, 'he was':
difference of the two forms is, however, that the *l* of
Irish form is a personal termination, and that of the
ish a participial suffix; and therefore *byt-em* signifies,
'it was I,' as *fuilim*, 'it is I,' but clearly 'the person
ing been am I.' But from the procedure of the Irish
guage this objection arises, that the Persian *bûd*, 'he
s,' just like the previously mentioned Irish *budh*, might
identified with the Sanscrit aorist *abhût*; and it might
assumed that this third person has been raised into a
me for the rest, and has thus produced *bûdem*, 'I was,'
dí, 'thou wast,' &c., like the Irish *fuilim*, 'I am,' *fuilir*,
ou art.' But this view of the matter is opposed by
circumstance, that together with *bûd* exists also the
l participial form *bûdeh*, which serves, in some degree,
a guide to the understanding of the former form. If

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* *Biad* or *beid*, "I shall be," *biadhair* or *béidhir*, "thou wilt be," *beidh*,
e will be"; *béim* or *béidh-mur* or *béidh-mid* or *biodh-maoid*, "we shall
." See my Treatise "On the Celtic Languages," pp. 44, 46.

it were wished to regard the *d* of *burd*, 'he bore,' as t sign of the person, the whole would be to be referred the Sanscrit imperfect *abharat*. But in very many cas objections arise to the referring of the Persian aorist to th Sanscrit imperfect, or first augmented preterite, since th latter has always a common theme with the present, whil the Persian *kuned*, 'he makes,' which is based on th Vêda *kṛiṇôti* (from *karnôti*, with loss of the *r*), does n answer to the theme of *kerd*, 'he made.' On the othe hand, this *kerd*, like the participle *kerdah*, admits ver easily of being compared with *kṛita-s* (from *karta-s* 'made.' Just so *bast*, *bastah*, 'he bound,' *bastah*, 'boun and 'having bound,' does not answer to the present *banda* 'he binds,' but to the Zend passive participle *baśt* 'bound'; for which, in Sanscrit, stands *baddha*, euphon for *badh-ta*, the *dh* of which, in Zend and Persian, h become *s* (see §. 102.)."

"Rem. 2.—In Persian exists, together with *em*, 'I am a verb *hastem* of the same signification, which exhibits surprising resemblance to the Polish *yestem*, as the thi person هست *hast* does to the Polish *yest*. If it we wished to assume that the third person هست *hast* is al to است *ast*, and has arisen from it by prefixing an *h*, the *y* of the Polish *yest* and Old Sclavonic *yesty*, is on an unorganic addition (see §. 255. *n.*), I should then deri the Persian *hastem*, *hastî*, &c., also, just as the Polish *yest yesteś*, from the third person. With regard to the prefixed we may consider as another instance the term used for t number 'Eight,' *hasht*, contrasted with the forms beginni with a vowel in the kindred languages. It appears to m however, better to compare *hastam* with the Zend *histâ* 'I stand' (from *sistâmi*); as, so early as the Sanscrit, t root of 'to stand' frequently supplies the place of the ve substantive, as also in the Roman dialect it aids in co pleting the conjugation of the old verb. Compare, therefo

GREEK.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.
ἵστᾱμι,*	*histâmi,*	*hastam.*
ἵστᾱς,	*histahi,*	*hastî,*
ἵστᾱτι,	*histaiti,*	*hast.*
ἵσταμεν,	*histâmahi,*	*hastîm.*
ἵστατε,	*histatha,*	*hastîd.*
ἱστάντι,	*histĕnti,*	*hastand.*

e, that the third person singular *hast* is devoid of sonal sign; otherwise we should have in its place according to the analogy of *barad,* 'he bears,' *pursad,* ks,' *dihad,* 'he gives,'† and others.' With respect suppression of the personal terminations, the form sembles our *wird, hält,* for *wirded, hältet.* Pott's —who, in the derivation of the forms under discus- is likewise referred to the root of 'to stand' (Etym. I. 274.), but prefers recognising in the *t* of the *ystem,* as of the Persian *hastam,* the *t* of the passive le—is opposed by the consideration, that neither in t has the root *as,* nor in any other cognate language kindred root, produced or contained the participle ied. There is, in Sanscrit, no participle *asta-s,* but *hûta-s;* in Persian no *astah,* but *bûdeh;* in Sclavonic but *byl;* in Lithuanian no *esta-s,* in Latin no *estus,* nic no *ists.* Hence there is every reason for g, that if there ever existed a participle of the

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crit *tishṭhâmi,* see §. 508.

h of *diham,* "I give," appears to me a remnant of the Zend as- of *dadhâmi* (§. 39.); and as I have already traced back else- *h* of *nihâden,* "to place" (present *niham*), to the Sanscrit *dh* of recognised in the syllable *ni,* an obscured preposition (the San- 'down," Wiener Jahrb. 1828, B. 42. p. 258). The form *diham* the Old Sclavonic *damy* for *da-dmy* (§. 436.) and our preterites *hielt* (§. 592.) herein, that the reduplicate syllable has gained nce of the principal syllable.

other roots of 'to be,' analogous to भूत *bhûta*, 'been,' it must have been lost at so early a period, that it could not have rendered any service to the Polish and Persian in the formation of a preterite and present of the indicative."

629. The Bohemian, in its preterites, places the present of the auxiliary verb after the past participle, and separated from it; the Carniolan prefixes it; and the Russian leaves it entirely out, and distinguishes the persons by the pronouns, which are placed before the participle. "I was," in Bohemian, is, according to the difference of genders, *byl sem, byla sem, bylo sem;* in Carniolan, *sim bil, sim bila, sim bilo;* in Russian, *ya byl, ya byla, ya bylo.* But the present of the Carniolan verb substantive is very remarkable, on account of the almost perfect identity of the three persons of the dual, and of the two first of the plural, with the Sanscrit; where, according to a general law of sound, the forms *svas*, "we two are," *stas*, "ye two are," reject their final *s* before vowels (short *a* excepted), and hereby coincide entirely with the Carniolan, in which *sva* signifies "we two are," *sta*, "they two are." In Sanscrit, *sva iha* means "we two are here," *sta iha*, "they two are here." In the plural, the Carniolan *smo* answers to the Sanscrit स्मस् *smas* (before vowels *sma*), *ste* to स्थ *stha*, so to सन्ति *santi*. It is, however, to be observed, that the two languages have, independently of each other, lost the initial vowel, which belongs to the root, which has remained in the Old Sclavonic with the prefix of a *y*, excepting in the third person plural (see §. 480.).

630. If our auxiliary verb *thun* is contrasted, as above (§. 621.), with the Sanscrit root *dhâ*, "to place," "make," then preterites like the Gothic *sôkida* and our *suchte* appear, in respect to their composition, like cognate forms to the Greek passive and aorists and futures; as, ἐτύφ-θην. τυφ-θήσομαι, in which I recognise the aorist and the future

f τίθημι = Sanscrit *dadhâmi.** The concluding por-
ιφ-θῶ, τυφ-θείην, τυφ-θήσομαι, is completely identical
simple θῶ, θείην, θήσομαι, in conjugation; and ἐτύφ-
istinguished from ἔθην by this only, and, in fact, ad-
usly, that it gives the heavier personal terminations
al and plural no power of shortening the vowel of
which the Sanscrit अधाम् *adhâm* = ἔθην, in its
ate, does not; since, in this language, *adhâ-ma* an-
the Greek ἔθεμεν for ἔθημεν, as the Greek ἔστην,
s not admit of the length of its root being shortened
al or plural. Thus the imperative τύφ-θητι, also, is
shed from θές by preserving the length of the root,
y its more full personal termination. From the
φ-θήσομαι should an aorist ἐτυφθήμην be looked for?
ersâ, should we suppose that the future would be
with active terminations, as well as the aorist?
originally ἐτύφθην and τυφ-θήσω simultaneously
ınd thus also ἐτυφ-θή-μην (or ἐτυφθέμην) and τυφ-
ıs periphrastic active and passive tenses. In the
tate of the language, however, the aorist has lost
ve form, and the future the active; and when the
η was no longer recognised as an auxiliary verb, it
he meaning of a passive character; just as our lan-
longer perceives an auxiliary verb in the *te* of
t only an expression for the past; or as we have
recognise in the *te* of *heute* the word *tag*, and in
High German *hiu*) a demonstrative, but regard the
a simple adverb formed to express the present day.
s to the form of the Greek second aorist and future
consider ἐτύπην and τυπήσομαι as abbreviations of
τυφθήσομαι. The loss of the θ resembles, there-
of the σ in the active aorists of verbs with liquids

ıre Jahrb. for Lit. Crit. 1827, Feb., pp. 285, &c.; Vocalismus,
; and Pott's Etym. Forsch. I. 187.

(§. 547.): it need not, however, surprise us, that, as the φ of ἐτύφθην, from regard to the θ following, assumes the place of the radical π, after this θ is dropped the original sound again makes its appearance, and therefore ἐτύφθην, τυφήσομαι, are not used. The case is similar to that of our vowel *Rück-umlaut* (restored derivative sound), since we use the form *kraft* as corresponding to the Middle High German genitive and dative *krefte*, because, after the dissolution of the vowel which had generated the *umlaut*, the original vowel also recurs, while we, in the plural, say *kräfte*, like the Middle High German *krefte*. Various objections oppose the opinion that the verb substantive is contained in ἐτύπην, much as the appended auxiliary verb agrees in its conjugation with that of ἦν. But the double expression of past time in ἐτύπην, once in the principal verb and once in the auxiliary, if the verb substantive be contained in it, cannot fail of surprising us; while the Sanscrit, in combining its *âsam*, "I was," with attributive verbs, withdraws the augment, and, with it, also the radical vowel *a* of the auxiliary verb (§. 542.). Still more objectionable must appear the augment in the future τυπήσομαι, and in the imperative τύπηθι. Why not τυπέσομαι, τύπισθι, or, perhaps, the σ being dislodged, τύπιθι, and, in the third person, τυπέσθω or τυπέτω? The termination εις in the participle τυπείς has no hold whatever in the conjugation of the verb substantive.

632. The Latin *vendo*, if we do not refer the auxiliary verb contained in it to *do* = δίδωμι, ददामि *dadâmi*, but to τίθημι, दधामि *dadhâmi*, must be regarded as a cognate form to the German formations like *sôkida*, *sôkidêdum*, "I sought," "we sought," and the Greek like ἐτύφθην, τυφθήσομαι. The Sanscrit *dâ*, "to give," and *dhâ*, "to place," are distinguished only by the aspiration of the latter; and in Zend these verbs are scarce to be distinguished at all from one another, because *d*, according to §. 39., in the inner sound frequently becomes *dh*, but *dh* even lays aside the aspiration in the initial sound. In Latin, also, दा *dâ* and धा *dhâ* might easily be combined in

ne form, since that language generally presents its *d* as answering to the Sanscrit *dh* and Greek *θ*, especially in the inner sound, as *b* to the Sanscrit *bh*.* But the circumstance that he root धा *dhâ*, ΘH, in Latin, has not remained in its simple orm, does not prevent us from recognising it in the compounds *credo*, *perdo*, *abdo*, *condo*, and *vendo*, just as in *pessumdo*, *pessumdo*.† The form *venundo* answers, in respect to the accusative form of the primary word, to Sanscrit compounds like *îśan-chakâra* (§§. 619. 625.).

633. In order to trace out in its full extent the influence that the Sanscrit root *dhâ* has obtained in the European cognate languages in the formation of grammatical forms, I must further remark, that I believe I may here refer also the last portion of the future and imperative of the Sclavonic verb substantive. In Old Sclavonic *bûdû* means "I will be," literally, as it appears to me, "I make to be." The first portion of this compound answers very well to the Sanscrit root *bhû*, and is identical with the Zend بو *bû*. As, however, the Sclavonic *û* usually answers to the Sanscrit diphthong ओ *ô* (=*a*+*u*, see §. 255. *f*.), so must we in the Sclavonic *bû* recognise the Sanscrit Guna form *bhô*. And भू *bhû* itself receives Guna in the future, and exhibits here, in combination with the other root of "to be," the form *bhav-i-shyâmi*, of

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* §. 18., and compare *medium* with the Sanscrit *madhya-m*, *medituri* with *mêdhas*, "understanding," *fido* with *πείθω*.

† A. W. von Schlegel has been the first to recognise in Latin the Sanscrit *śrat*, "belief," and has found in *credo* a similar compound to that of the Sanscrit *śrad-dadhâmi*, which signifies the same (literally "I place faith"), without, however, identifying the Latin expression also, in regard to its concluding portion, with the Sanscrit comp. (Bhagavad-Gîta, p. 108). *Credo* might certainly also mean "I give faith," but it is more natural to place this verb both in its second and in its first portion on the same footing with its Indian prototype, as I have already done in the Vienna Jahrbuch (1828, B. 42, p. 250), where I have also compared the *do* of *abdo* and *condo* with the Sanscrit root *dhâ*.

which we shall treat hereafter. The second portion of the Old Sclavonic БѢДѪ *bû-dû* (from *bû-do-m*, see §. 255. *g*.) corresponds in its conjugation exactly to the present *veʒû*;* thus second person *bû-deshi*, third, *bûdety*; only the *e* and *o* of ВЕЖЕШИ *veʒ-e-shi*, ВЕЖЕТЬ *veʒ-e-ty*, ВЕЖОМ *veʒ-om*, &c., is the class vowel, or vowel of conjunction, while that of *de-shi*, *de-ty*, *do-m*, is the abbreviation of the *d* of the Sanscrit root *dhâ*: for *e* and *o* are the usual representatives, in Old Sclavonic, of the Sanscrit short *a* (see §. 255. *a*.). We must here direct attention to the Sanscrit root *sthâ*, the *â* of which is irregularly shortened as though it were the conjunctive vowel of the first class (§. 508.). Hence, also, in the imperative the Old Sclavonic Ѣ *ye* of БѢДѢМ *bu-dye-m*, "we should be" ("should make to be"), БѢДѢТЕ *bu-dye-te*, "be ye," to the Sanscrit *é* of *tishthé-ma*, 'we may stand," *tishthé-ta*, "ye may stand" (§. 255. *e*.).

634. There is, in Old Sclavonic and Russian, also a verb which occurs in an isolated state, which signifies "to do," "to make," and which is distinguished from that which is contained in *bû-dû* only by the circumstance that it exhibits ДѢ *dye* instead of ДЕ *de* as root, which does not prevent me from declaring it to be originally identical with it. Its present is ДѢЮ *dyeyû*,† and it is rightly compared by Kopitar with our *thun* and the English *do*. From it comes the neuter substantive *dyelo*, "deed," as thing done, which, in its formation, answers to the participles mentioned above (§. 628.), and has, in advantageous contrast with them, preserved the original passive meaning, while they have erroneously been assigned to the active voice.

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* See §. 507. where, however, in the first person plural, we should read *véʒ-o-m* instead of *veʒ-o-me*.

† Analogous with *sye-yû*, "I sow"; as, in Gothic, *dé-ths*, "deed," and *sé-ths*, "seed," rest on a like formation, and roots which terminate similarly.

635. Analogous with *bûdû*, "I shall be," is the Old Slavonic *idû*, "I go," which is placed by Dobrowsky also (p. 350) in the same class with *bûdû*. *Idû*, therefore means literally "I make to go," and springs from the widely-diffused root *i* (infinitive *i-ti*), whence, in Gothic, the anomalous *i-ddya*, "I went," plural *i-ddyédum*, "we went." I believe that these forms have proceeded from *i-da*, *dédum*, simply by doubling the *d* and annexing an *i*; and I regard them, therefore, in the sense of "I made to go," "we made to go"; and I compare with them the Sclavonic *i-dû* as present. The *d* of *shedû*, however, which is used in completing the conjugation of *idû*, I consider as belonging to the root, and look upon the whole as akin to the Sanscrit सद् *sad*, "to go," to which belong also *chodîti*, and the Greek ὁδός. The forms ѡдѣждѫ *dyeshdû*, "I put on," "dress," *na-dyesh-dûsya*, "I hope," *i-dyeshdû*, "*angario, onus impono*," which Dobrowsky, l. c., likewise compares with *bûdû*, remarking that they stand for *odyeyû*, &c., I consider as reduplicate forms of the root *ye*, "to make," mentioned above; for *d* gladly assumes, and under certain circumstances regularly, the prefix of *sh*, for which reason *dashdy*, "give," and *yasahdy*, "eat" (for *dady*, *yady*), correspond to the Sanscrit *dadyâs*, "thou mayest give," *adyâs*, "thou mayest eat" (see Kopitar's Glagolita, pp. 53 and 63). The conjecture, however, that *dyeshdû*, *na-dyeshdû*, *za-dyeshdû*, are reduplicate forms, is strongly supported by the circumstance that the corresponding Sanscrit and Greek verbs also (*dadhâmi*, τίθημι) are reduplicated in the special tenses, as *dadâmi*, δίδωμι; and to the two last forms a reduplicate verb corresponds in Sclavonic likewise (see §. 436.).

636. The Lettish possesses some verbs which are combined, throughout their whole conjugation, with the auxiliary verb under discussion. Of this class is *dim-deh-t*, "to ring" (*deht* = *dê-t*), together with *dim-t*, id. *nau-deh-t*, "to mew,"

with *nan-t*, id. In *bai-deh-t*, "to make afraid," with *bi-t*, "to fear" (Sanscrit भी *bhî*), *ſkum-deh-t*, "to disturb," *i. e.* "to make mournful," with *ſkum-t*, "to be mournful," the meaning of the auxiliary verb makes itself clearly perceptible, and replaces the causal formation. In other cases the appended *dêh-t* may be rendered by *thun* (compare Pott I. 187). Regarding the Lithuanian imperfect of custom, in which we have recognised the same auxiliary verb, see §. 525.

637. It deserves to be noticed, that, in Zend also, the verb under discussion of "placing," "making," "doing," occurs as an appended auxiliary verb. Thus, 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌 *yaôsh-dâ*, "to purify," literally "to make purify," from which the present middle 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 *yaôsh-dathĕntê*, "they make to purify" (regarding the extended form *dath*, see p. 112), the precative middle 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 *pairi-yaôsh-daithita*, "they may purify" (Vend. S. p. 266), the imperative 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 *yaôsh-dathâni*, "let me make to purify" (l. c. p. 500). The form *dâiti* of *yaôsh-dâiti*, "the purification" (l. c. pp. 300, 301), corresponds, in radical and derivative suffix, to the abovementioned Gothic *dêths* (theme *dêdi*). For the frequent expression 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌 *yaôsh-dayaiin aṇhĕn*, "they are purified," we ought perhaps to read *yaôshdayaiim aṇhĕn*, in which case the former might be regarded as the locative of *yaôshdâ*, so that the whole would signify "they are in purification."* But if

* I formerly thought, that in this and similar expressions the root *dâ*, "to give," was contained (Gramm. Crit. p. 322), which might very well be the case, and is also Burnouf's opinion, who, however, assents, at Yaçna, p. 356, Rem. 217, to Fr. Windischmann's explanation, who was the first to recognise in this and similar compounds the Sanscrit root *dhâ* instead of *dâ*. To the remark made by Burnouf (l. c. Note E. p. xi.), that the initial sound *dh* in Zend is not permissible, it may be added, that in the middle also, after a consonant, *d* is necessarily used for the original *dh*: hence, the Sanscrit imperative termination *dhi*, which in Zend, after vowels, appears as *dhi*, is, after a consonant, *di*: thus *daz-di*, "give," opposed to *śrûi-dhi*, "hear," *kĕrĕnûi-dhi*, "make."

ıe reading *yaôshdayaṅn* is correct, then it may be taken the accusative plural in the sense of *purificatos;* so that e verb substantive would be construed as in Arabic with e accusative.

638. We return to the reduplicated preterite, in order to nsider its formation in Zend. Examples have been given §. 520., which, in their principle of formation, correspond, r the most part, with the Sanscrit. Thus, [illegible] *dvaêsa* answers to the Sanscrit *didvêsha,* "he hated," with e prefix of an *a* before the Guna vowel *ê*, according to 20. The forms [illegible] *vîvîsê* and [illegible] *tûtava* ew that the Zend, in departure from the Sanscrit, mits long vowels in the syllable of repetition. *Vîvîs-ê,* om the root *vîs,* "to obey," is the second person singular iddle, and wants the personal sign; thus, *ê* for the nscrit *sê*, and Greek *σαι*. Here, from want of adequate amples, we must leave it undecided whether this sup-ession, which makes the second person the same as the st and third, takes place merely after sibilants, or prin-pally after consonants. The form [illegible] *tûtava,* "he uld," from the root *tav,** should be, according to the nscrit principle, *tatâva,* as a radical *a*, in the third person ngular, is necessarily lengthened; but the Zend form above s transferred the long quantity to the syllable of redupli-tion, and, as it appears, through the influence of the *v* of e root, has replaced the *a* sound by *û*. On the other hand, e root *vach,* "to speak," which, in Sanscrit, in the syl-ble of repetition suppresses the *a*, and vocalizes the *v* to *u* *vacha* or *uvâchâ*), in Zend regularly forms *vavacha,* which, end. S. p. 83., occurs as the first person, and is rendered y Anquetil, "*j'ai prononcé.*" That the Zend does not par-

* Compare [illegible] *yézi tavaṅn,* "if they can," Vend. S. p. 209 and 332, as third person plural of the imperfect subjunctive in the nse of the present.

ticipate in lengthening the *a*, which, in Sanscrit, before simple consonants enters at will into the first person singular, and of necessity into the third person, is proved also by the form 𐬞𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀 *tatasa*, "he formed" (see Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 104), the root of which is referred by Burnouf, and with justice, to the Sanscrit तक्ष् *taksh*, and, as it appears to me, fitly compared with the Greek *τάσσω*.

639. The passage of the Vend. S. (p. 3), which has furnished us with the form 𐬞𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀 *tatasa* (in the lithographed Codex erroneously *tatas*), supplies us also with two other reduplicate preterites, which have, too, (and this deserves notice,) a perfect meaning, while the corresponding Sanscrit tense refuses the function of a perfect (§. 513.). We read l. c. 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 𐬌𐬀 𐬞𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀 𐬌𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬀 𐬌𐬀 𐬌𐬀 *yô nô dadha yô tatasa yô tuthruyê*, "who has made (us), who has formed (us), who has sustained (us)." The form 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬀 *dadha*, which Neriosengh renders by ददौ *dadâu*, "*dedit*," instead of *dadhâu*,* is, in my opinion, of special importance, on account of the remarkable manner in which it coincides in root and formation with the abovementioned (§. 622.) Old Saxon *dëda*, "I did," "he did." The Zend *dadha* stands for *dadhâ* from *dadhâ-a* (§. 618.), the long *â* having been shortened, as commonly happens at the end of polysyllabic words (§. 137.). It does not admit of doubt that the first person is likewise *dadha*; as we have seen from the abovementioned 𐬬𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬌𐬀 *vavacha*, "I spoke," that in Zend, as in Sanscrit and German, it is the same as the third person, *i.e.* it has a personal termination as little as the latter. In the second person I conjecture the form *dadhâtha* (§. 453.).

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* The root *dâ*, "to give," might likewise form *dadha* (§. 39.); but in the passage above, as everywhere where mention is made of creating, making, it is clear we must understand the verb corresponding to the Sanscrit धा *dhâ*, "to place" (with *vi*, "to make").

640. I am unable to quote the Zend perfect active in dual and plural, unless the form 𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *âoṇhĕnti*, ich has been already mentioned elsewhere,* is the plu- of *âoṇha*, "*fuit*," which latter regularly corresponds to Sanscrit *âsa* (§. 56[a]. and 56[b].), and occurs in the fol- ing passage of the Vend. S. (p. 401): 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *nôiṭ aôtĕm âoṇha nôiṭ gharĕmĕm*, here was neither cold nor heat." We find the form *ṇhĕnti* l. c. p. 45, where are the words 𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *haômô taêchit yôi katayô naskô ṣâoṇhô âoṇhĕnti ṣpânô maṣtîmcha bacsaiti*, "Hôm assigns those, whoever recite the Nasks, excellence and andeur."† Perhaps, too, *âoṇhĕnti*, if it really is a rfect, is more correctly translated by "have been"; t we cannot be surprised at its having a present aning also, as a real present is not intended, ac- rding to what has been remarked in §. 520. We must t attach too great weight to the circumstance that Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation the form *âoṇhĕnti* rendered by निषीदन्ति *nishîdanti*, "*sedent*";‡ for Nerio- gh interchanges with one another the roots *dâ*, "to e," and *dâ*, "to set," "place," "make," which belongs the Sanscrit *dhâ*; and why should he not have fallen

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* Jahrb. für Wiss. Crit. Decr. 1831. p. 816.

† Anquetil, who seldom renders all the forms in a sentence according their real grammatical value, here makes the third person plural the ond of the imperative, and changes the assertion into a request, by nslating thus: "*O Hôm, accordez l'excellence et la grandeur à celui qui dans la maison les Naks!*"

‡ See Burnouf's valuable Review of the First Part of this Book, urnal des Savans, 1833, in the separate impression, p. 47. There is an ror in it, however, in the remark, that I have represented the form *ṇhĕnti* as the imperative of the verb substantive. I meant the reduplicate reterite or perfect.

into a similar error with the roots अस् *as*, "to be," and आस् *âs*, "to sit," which both exist in Zend, particularly as the form *âoṇhĕnti*, taken as the perfect, stands, perhaps, quite isolated in the remains of Zend literature which have been preserved to us, but, as the present, has numerous analogous forms? But if *âoṇhĕnti* really belongs to the root आस् *âs*, "to sit," then we cannot, in my opinion, take it, with Neriosengh, in this sense, but as representing the verb substantive, which, as has been shewn (§. 509.), occasionally, in Sanscrit also, supplies the place of the verb substantive. Two of the Paris MSS. give, as has been remarked by Burnouf, for *âoṇhĕnti* the middle form 𐬁𐬉𐬢𐬵𐬉𐬧𐬙𐬉 *âoṇhĕntê;* and if this is the correct reading, it speaks in favour of the root of "to sit"; for this, like the kindred Greek verb (ἦ(σ)-μαι, ἦσ-ται), is used only in the middle. But if *âoṇhĕnti* is the right reading, and belongs, as perfect, to the verb substantive, it is, in respect to its termination, more ancient than the Sanscrit *âsus* (§. 462.).

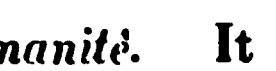
641. In the middle we find as the third person plural of the verb substantive the form 𐬁𐬉𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬉 *âoṇharĕ* (Vend. S. p. 222), with which, in regard to termination, the form 𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬉 *irîritharĕ*, "they are dead," agrees (Vend. S. p. 179). If the reading of the two mutually corroborative forms is correct, we then have the termination *arĕ* for the Sanscrit *irê;* and it would be a circumstance of much importance that the Zend should have left the old conjunctive vowel *a* in its original form, in a position where, in Sanscrit, it has been weakened to *i*. The final *ê* of the Sanscrit termination is suppressed in Zend; but as *r* cannot stand (§. 44.) at the end of a word, the addition of an *ĕ* became necessary, as in vocatives like 𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬉 *dâtarĕ*, "creator," answering to the Sanscrit धातर् *dhâtar*. If the *ĕ* of the forms 𐬁𐬉𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬉 *âoṇharĕ*, 𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬉 *irîritharĕ*, was an error in writing, for which *ê* ought to stand, then an *i*

ould necessarily stand beside the *a* of the preceding llable. But as this is not the case we find some idence of the correctness of the final *ĕ*, at least for the t, that this form among others is admissible; for beside : *âoṇharĕ* which has been mentioned, we find, another passage of the Vend. S. (p. 45), the form *hairi*, in which the final *i*, according to §. 41., has introced an *i* also in, the syllable preceding. The form *hairi*, for which, perhaps, one or two MSS. may read *hairê*, assures us, however, in like manner, of the prosition, which is of most importance, viz. that the conctive vowel is properly an *a*, and not, as in Sanscrit, *i*.

642. The form *irîritharĕ* is remarkable, also, th regard to its syllable of reduplication: it springs m the root *irith*,* from which a verb of the fourth ss frequently occurs; in "*irîrith*," therefore, *ir* is the llable of reduplication, after which the short initial *i* has en lengthened, in order, as it were, to gain strength for aring the reduplication (compare the Gothic in §. 589.). In *rithare*, however, the countertype of the Greek forms with ttic reduplication is easily recognised. We must not, hower, seek for the reason of this lengthening of the vowel of e second syllable of forms like ἐλήλυθα, ἐμήμεκα, ὀρώρυχα, the temporal augment, which I also avoid doing. For, ough, by concretion with the augment, an ε might become an ο become ω, this gives no reason for supposing the gment to exist everywhere where an initial vowel of a

* Probably a secondary root, with the addition of a *th*, as in *dath* for (see p. 112). *Irith*, therefore, might, stand for *mirith*, the initial *m* ring been lost, and might be connected with the Sanscrit root *mṛi* (*mar*), ence, as Burnouf has shewn in his frequently-mentioned Review (p. 37), arisen the form *mĕrĕnch*, "kill," with another affix, from which urs the noun agent, in the plural *mĕrĕctârô*, "the murders."

verb is lengthened. I content myself, in forms like ἐλήλυθα, with the reduplication; and in the vowel following I find only a phonetic lengthening for the sake of the rhythm, or to support the weight of the syllable of reduplication; as in the Zend *iríríth*, or as (to keep to Greek) in ἀγωγός, ἀγωγεύς, ἀγωγή, in which the ω, as is commonly the case, is only the representative of the long *a* (§. 4.), and where there is no ground for searching for the augment. In general it would be unnatural that the augment, being an element foreign to the root, should interpose itself in the middle of the word between the syllable of reduplication and the proper root; and unless a necessity exists, one must not suppose the existence of such a phenomenon in a language.

643. In a passage of the Izeshne (Vend. S. p. 65.), which I understand too little to ground on it, with confidence, any inference, while I am without the light which might perhaps be thrown on it by Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation, I find the expressions  *mainyû mamanitê*. It does not, however, admit of any doubt that *mainyû* is the nominative dual of the base *mainyu*, "spirit" (see §. 210.); and hence, even without understanding the whole meaning of the passage alluded to, it appears to me in the highest degree probable, that *mamanitê* is the third person dual of the perfect. Perhaps we ought to read *mamanâitê*, so that, through the influence of the final *ê*, the Sanscrit termination *âtê* would have become *âitê*. But if the reading *mamanitê* is correct, and the form is really a perfect, an original *â* would have been weakened to *i*. The whole form would, however, in my opinion, be of great importance, because it might furnish ground for the inference, that the contraction of the reduplication, in Sanscrit forms like *mênâtê* (from *mamînâtê* for *mamanâtê*), did not exist before the Zend became separate from the Sanscrit (compare §. 605.).

PLUPERFECT.

644. It has been already remarked (§. 514.), that the nscrit possesses no pluperfect, and the substitute it es for it has been noticed. The Zend, also, is un-ubtedly deficient in this tense. In the Zend Avesta, wever, no occasion occurs for making use of it, or sup-ing its place in another way. The Latin pluperfect is ily perceived to be a form compounded of the perfect se with the imperfect of the verb substantive. The ly point which can admit of doubt is, whether the whole m is to be considered as existing in *fueram*, *amaveram*, I have done in my System of Conjugation (p. 93.), so t the perfect base, to which the *i* of *fui*, *fui-sti*, &c., longs, would have lost its vowel; or whether we should ume the loss of the *e* of *eram*, and therefore divide thus, *-ram amave-ram*. Now, contrary to my former opinion, believe the latter to be the case, and I deduce *fueram* m *fui-ram*, through the frequently-mentioned tendency the *i* to be corrupted before *r* to *ĕ*, whence the con-ictive vowel *i* of the third conjugation appears in the ond person of the passive, as also in the imperfect sub-ictive and in the infinitive, as *ĕ* (*leg-e-ris* opposed to *leg-ur*, *leg-i-mur*). For this reason *fue-ram* also is opposed the subjunctive *fui-ssem*, in which, as *r* does not follow *i*, that letter remains in its original form. It would m much more difficult to discover a reason why *fu-essem* uld have become *fu-issem*, than why *fui-ram* should come *fue-ram*. In general, in Latin, there exists, with-t reference to a following *r*, many an *ĕ* which has isen from an older *i*: I am not acquainted, however, th any *i* used for an older *ĕ*, as in general the *ĕ* is an un-ganic and comparatively more recent vowel, but the *i* is old as the language itself: for though *i* as well as *u* s very frequently arisen from the weakening of the

most weighty vowel *a*, still no epoch of the language can be imagined when there existed no vowel but *a*. If, however, the auxiliary verb in *fue-ram fui-ssem*, has lost its vowel, it shares in this respect the same fate as the Sanscrit *sam* and Greek σα contained in the aorist. Where the verb substantive enters into composition with attributive verbs, sufficient reason exists for its mutilation.

645. As the Greek pluperfect is formed from the base of the perfect. as the imperfect is from that of the present, by prefixing the augment, by which the completion of the action is in this sense transferred to past time, we should expect in it the terminations *ον*, *ες*, *ε*, &c.; thus, *ἐτέτυφον*, which would come very near the Sanscrit imperfect of the intensive—*atôtôpam*. But whence is the termination *ειν* of *ἐτετύφειν*? Landvoigt and Pott recognise in it the imperfect of the verb substantive, so that *ἐτετύφειν* would stand for *ἐτετύφην*. There would, therefore, be a pleonasm in this form, as *ἐτετυφ* already of itself combines the idea of the imperfect with that of the perfect. If, then, the verb substantive be added, it must serve merely as the copula, and not itself express a relation of time, and therefore lays aside the augment, as the Sanscrit *âsam* in aorists like *akshâip-sam*. But it being premised that the verb substantive is contained in *ἐτετύφειν*, it is not requisite to derive its *ει* from the *η* of *ἦν*. Advert to the analogy of *ειν* with *εἰμί*, which latter would become *εἰν*, if its primary personal termination were replaced by the more obtuse secondary one. It may be said that the radical *σ* is contained in the *ι* of *εἰ-μί*, which sibilant, having first become, by assimilation, *μ* (Doric *ἐμμί*), has then, as often happens to *ν* (as *τιθείς* for *τίθενς*), been vocalized to *ι*. The analogy of *εἰμί* is followed in the compound form (if *ἐτετύφειν* is really compounded as has been stated) by the dual and plural; thus, *ἐτετύφειμεν* for the more cumbrous *ἐτετύφεσμεν*. Here let the Ionic form *εἰμέν* for *ἐσμέν* be noticed. In the third person plural *ἐτετύφεσαν* (unorganic

τετύφεισαν) the composition with the auxiliary verb is evi-
ent; but this person cannot be adduced as evidence for the
mposition of the other persons, since in general a kind of
rivilege is accorded to the third person plural active in re-
ect to the appending of the verb substantive, which also
tends to the imperfect and aorist of the conjugation in μι
δίδο-σα-ν, ἔδο-σα-ν, opposed to ἐδίδο-μεν, ἔδο-μεν); and in
ke manner in the Latin perfects (*fuerunt* from *fuesunt*).
ut if the syllable ει of ἐτετύφ-ει-ν is identical with the ει of
μί, still I am not shaken by this in my opinion that the κ
λέλυκα and the aspiration of τέτυφα belong to the conso-
nt of the auxiliary root, and that the κ is an intension of
e σ, the aspiration a weakening of the κ (§. 569.); that,
erefore, in ἐλελύκειν, ἐτετύφειν, the verb substantive is twice
ntained, as is the case in Sanscrit forms like *ayâsisham*
570.). I believe, however, that at the time when the
rms ἐλελύκ-ει-ν, ἐτετύφ-ει-ν, developed themselves from the
be-presupposed forms ἐτέτυφον, ἐλέλυκον, the remem-
ance of the origin of the κ and of the aspiration had been
g lost, and that these forms were generated by the neces-
y for restoring the missing verb substantive; just as in
d Saxon the form *sind-un*, "they are,"* may first have
sen, when, in the more simple and likewise employable
d, the expression of the relation of time and person was no
ger perceivable; and hence another personal termina-
n, and, in fact, that of the preterite, was annexed.† The
eek medio-passive has admitted neither the first nor the
ond annexation of the verb substantive: from ἐλελύ-κει-ν
might expect ἐλελυ-κείμην, but ἐλε-λύ-μην has arisen

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* At the same time with unorganic transfer to the first and second per-
, *wir sind*, *ihr seid*.

† With the preterite coincide also the forms of recent origin, *siy-u-m*,
we are," *siy-u-th*, "ye are": and *s-ind*, "they are" (from *s-ant*), is alone
transmission from the period of the unity of language.

directly from the reduplicate root, by prefixing the augmen and descends from a period when the active was not as ye ἐλελύκειν, but probably ἐλελυν.

THE FUTURE.

646. The Sanscrit has two tenses to express the futur of which one, which is more rarely employed, consists the combination of a future participle with the present the verb substantive, the root *as*; in such a mann however, that (and this has been already noticed remarkable) the masculine nominative of the three nur bers of the participle has assumed the complete nature a third person of a verb, and this *per se* without annexa tion of the verb substantive, and without regard to th gender of the subject; *e.g.* दाता *dâtâ*, "*daturus*," is used i the sense of "he, she, *or* it will give," and thus दातारौ *dâtâras*, "*daturi*," in the sense of "they will give." Observ here what has been said above of the Latin *amamin* instead of *amamini, -æ, -a, estis* (§. 478.); and remark als the third person of the Polish and Persian preteri (§. 628.). In the other persons the Sanscrit combines th masculine nominative singular of the participle mentione with the said person of the present of the auxiliary verb thus, *dâtâsi* (from *dâtâ-asi*) = *daturus, datura, daturum es* I annex the full conjugation of the two active forms o the adduced example, with the remark, that in the thir person no difference can exist between the active an middle, since the participle which is employed makes n distinction between the two forms.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
ACTIVE.	MEDIAL.	ACTIVE.	MEDIAL.
dâtâsmi,	*dâtâhê.*	*dâtâsvas,*	*dâtâsvahê.*
dâtâsi,	*dâtâsê.*	*dâtâsthas,*	*dâtâsâthê.*
dâtâ,	*dâtâ.*	*dâtârâu,*	*dâtârâu.*

PLURAL.	
ACTIVE.	MEDIAL.
dâtâsmas,	*dâtâsmahê.*
dâtâstha,	*dâtâdhvê.*
dâtâras,	*dâtâras.*

.—It is very surprising, that, although the nature of this tense is so distinctly evident, grammarians, my predecessors, have remarked first mention of it that has been made was in of Conjugation, where it was noticed, without h any opposition from the strongest opponents em of Agglutination. As regards the first lar middle, it must be remarked, that the root, rson, changes its *s* into *h*, although in Sanscrit e is to be met with nowhere else, but it occurs Prakrit, and before *m* and *n* regularly takes middle of a word, where *mh*, *nh*, are commonly nsposition for *hm*, *hn*; hence, *amhi* or *mhi* a preceding vowel) "I am" (see Lassen, p. 267, p. 77.). As the Sanscrit *h* (=*gh* not *ch*) is esented in Greek by χ, sometimes also by γ, and in *dâtâhê*, therefore, may be found a confirmation n expressed in §. 569., that the κ of forms like α, belongs to the verb substantive as a thick- σ."

he third person singular, also, the verb sub- etimes occurs combined with the participle, as will speak," for *vaktâ*;† on the other hand, ally find, in the other persons also, the verb mitted, and the person expressed by a separate

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γω, μέγας, κῆρ, καρδία, with *aham*, *mahat*, *hrid*, *hridaya*.
llection of the Episodes of the Mahâbhârata (Draupadi, ed under the title of "Diluvium."

pronoun*, as is done in Russian in the preterite (see §. 629.). Sometimes the participle is separated from the auxiliary verb belonging to it by one or more words; as, *kartâ tad asmi tê*, "*facturus hoc sum tibi*" (Mahâbh.). I do not, however, think that such departures from the usual practice of the language could occur where the subject was not a masculine singular; at least it is probable, if *kartâ* referred to a feminine, that *kartrî* would be used instead of it. Except in these constructions, however, formations in *târ* (in the weak cases *tṛi*, §. 144.) very seldom occur as future participles;† but their usual function is that of a noun agent, like the corresponding forms in Greek and Latin in *τηρ*, *τωρ*, *tôr*; as, *δοτηρ*, *dator*, *datôr-is*, answer to the Sanscrit *dâtâr* (दातृ *dâtri*, nominative *dâtâ*, §. 144.). The Latin, however, as has been already observed (§. 576.), formed from the shorter form in *tôr* a longer one in *tûru*, and has allotted to this exclusively the functions of the future participle. In Zend, the formations in *târ*, in my opinion, occur only as nouns of agency; as, *dâtâr*, "creator" (=Sanscrit *dhâtar*) nominative 𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬀 *dâta* (see §. 144.), accusative 𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬁𐬭𐬆𐬨 *dâtârĕm*, vocative 𐬛𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬆 *dâtarĕ* (§. 44.). To this class belong in Sclavonic the formations in *tely* (theme *telyo*, §. 259.), the *r* being exchanged for *l*, and the syllable *yo* added; as, *dyetely*, "*factor*," corresponds to the just-mentioned Zend *dâtâr* and Sanscrit *dhâtâr* (compare §. 634.). This *dyetely*, however, does not occur in its simple form, but only in combination with the preposition *s*, and with *dobro*, "good," *s-dyetly*, "*conditor*," *dobro-dyetely*, "benefactor." For other

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* Compare l. c. p. 114, Sl. 31, *bhavitâ 'ntas tvam* for *bhavitâsy antas*, "thou willst be the end."

† An example occurs in the Raghu-Vansa, VI. 52, by Stenzler, *nripan tam . . . . vyatyagâd anyavadhûr bhavîtrî*, "*regem illum præteriit alius uxor futura.*"

amples in *tely*, see §. 259.* From the Gothic we may re adduce the word *blôs-treis* (theme *blôs-trya*), which is ite isolated in its formation, and is connected with *blôtan*, to honor," the *t* of which, according to §. 102., has passed to *s* before the *t* of the suffix. With respect to the nscrit suffix *târ* (*tṛi*), it remains to be remarked, that in wels capable of Guna it requires Guna, and that it is not ays united with the root direct, but frequently by a ijunctive vowel *i*; in the latter respect, *jan-i-tâ*, *jan-i-am*, correspond to the Latin *gen-i-tor*, *gen-i-tôrem*, while tâ, *paktâram*, answer to *coctor*, *coctôrem*.

648. In my Sanscrit Grammar I term the future tense t considered, and which is peculiar to the Sanscrit, the ticipial future, in accordance with its formation, to disguish it from that which belongs to the Sanscrit, in mmon with the Zend, Greek, Lithuanian, and Latin, l which I call the auxiliary future, because, in its chater स्य *sya*, I recognise the obsolete future of the root "to be." I imagine, therefore, that in *dâ-syati*, "he l give," only the syllable *ya* expresses the future, but t the *s* is the root of the verb "to be," with loss of its vel, which is not surprising, as, even when uncompounded, *a* of the root *as* is frequently lost (§. 480.). The final t of *dâ-syâmi* resembles very closely the potential *syâm*, may be," which actually exists in isolated use. Come—

With regard to the formations in *ary*, mentioned at §. 259., it is reite to observe, that the preceding *t* does not belong to the suffix under ussion, but to the primary word: *ʒlatary*, "goldsmith" (in Russian, , *ʒolotary*), comes from *ʒoloto*, "gold," and *bratary*, "porter," from a, "door." *Mytary*, "toll-gatherer," is related in its primary word, ich does not appear to occur, with our *mauth*: compare the Gothic areis (theme *môtarya*), "toll-gatherer," *môta*, "*mauth*," "toll."

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
FUTURE.	POTEN.	FUTURE.	POTEN.	FUTURE.	POTEN.
syâmi,	*syâm.*	*syâvas,*	*syâva.*	*syâmas,*	*syâma.*
syasi.	*syâs.*	*syathas,*	*syâtam.*	*syatha,*	*syâta.*
syati.	*syât.*	*syatas,*	*syâtâm,*	*syanti,*	*syus.*

649. We see that the principal difference of the forms here compared is, that the potential has a long *â* pervading it, but the future a short *a*, which, according to the principle of the class syllables of the first conjugation (§. 434.), is lengthened before *m* and *v* of the first person. And besides this, the future has the full primary terminations, but the potential has the more obtuse secondary endings, with that of *us* in the third person plural, which occurs occasionally also in the imperfect.

650. The Latin has this great superiority over the Sanscrit, that its *ero, eris,* &c., has been preserved in isolated use, and in fact retaining the initial vowel of the root, in which respect *eris, erit,* &c. (from *esis, esit,* §. 22.) is as advantageously distinguished from *syasi, syati,* as *es-tis* from *stha,* or as, in Greek, ἐσμές from *smas,* ἐστόν from *sthas, stas* (§. 480.).

651. The *i* of *eris, erit,* &c., I have already, in my System of Conjugation, represented (p. 91) as a contraction of the true future character *ya;* and I have since been supported in this opinion by the Prakrit, where, for the Sanscrit *sya* or *syâ,* we occasionally find *hi;* for instance in the first person, *himi* for *syâmi,* and in the second person *hisi* for *syasi* (Latin *eris*). Some examples have been already given above (p. 401 Rem.).* It may be further remarked, that the Sanscrit, also, sometimes abbreviates the syllable *ya,* as also *va* and *ra,* by suppressing the vowel and changing the semi-vowel into its corre-

* Compare Höfer "De Prakr. Dial." p. 199.

ponding vowel (see p. 759); and moreover (which, in the ase before us, is still more important to observe with egard to the formal connection of the future and poten-ial), the syllable *yâ* of the mood just mentioned is con-racted in the middle to *î*, by which *syât*, "he may be," becomes, in the middle, *sîta*.

652. The Lithuanian has likewise contracted the future character *ya* to *i* in the persons most correctly preserved; thus the *sime*, *site*, of *dû̊-si-me*, *dû̊-si-te* (*dabimus*, *dabitis*), *eri-mus*, *eri-tis*, and the whole word, to the Sanscrit *dâ-syâ-mas*, *dâ-sya-tha*; and in the dual *dû̊-si-wa*, *dû̊-si-tu*, correspond to the Sanscrit *dâ-syâ-vas*, *dâ-sya-thas*. But in its simple state *si* has been no more retained in Lithuanian than *sya* has in Sanscrit, but the verb substantive, in the future, in the two cognate idioms, combines the two roots of "to be" with one another: hence, in Lithuanian, *bú-si-wa*, *bú-si-ta*, *bú-si-me*, *bú-si-te*, answering to the Sanscrit *bhav-i-shyâ-vas*, *bhav-i-shya-thas*, *bhav-i-shyâ-mas*, *bhav-i-shya-tha*, which are furnished with Guna and a conjunctive vowel *i*. Compare, in regard to the combination of the two roots of "to be," the Latin *fue-runt*, for which a simple *fui-nt* might be expected; or (which is here more in point) the future perfect, *fuero*, which I distribute, not into *fu-ero*, but into *fue-ro* for *fui-ro* (compare §. 644.).

653. In the singular, the Lithuanian has almost entirely lost the future character *i*, and only the *s* of the auxiliary verb has remained; at least, I believe that in the second person *dû̊-si*, "thou willst give," the personal termination, which, in the second person singular, terminates in all tenses in *i*, has more claim to the *i* than the expression of the future has. In the third person, *dû̊-s* stands for all numbers (§. 457.); and to the form *bú-s* of the verb substantive corresponds remarkably a word *bhus*, in Irish, of the same signification, but which is quite isolated (see O'Reilly's Lex., s. v. *bhus*). The Sanscrit *bhav-i-shyati* and

Zend *bû-syêiti*, however, form the medium between the Lithuanian *búsi* and Irish *bhus*.

654. In the first person singular I regard the *u* of forms like *dû-su*, "I will give," as in all the first persons singular, as the vocalization of the personal character *m* (see §§. 436. 438.): in the Latin *ero*, however, for which *eris* ought to stand, the second element of the Sanscrit *yâ* of *syâmi* has been preserved in preference to the first; and in this *ero* has the same relation to *syâmi* that *veho*, above-mentioned, has to *vahâmi* (§. 733.). The same is the case with the third person plural, in which *erunt* for *eriunt* corresponds to the Sanscrit *syanti* from *asyanti*, and in respect to its *u* for *a* answers to *vehunt* = *vahanti*.

655. To the Latin *ero*, *erunt*, from *eso*, *esunt*, correspond, exclusive of their middle terminations, the Greek ἔσομαι, ἔσονται, the active of which is lost, as far as its simple use. Ἔσονται from ἐσίονται answers to the Sanscrit *-syanté* for *asyanté*, and in the singular ἔσεται to the Sanscrit *-syaté* (= *syatai*) from *asyaté*. The form ἔσται is originally nothing else than the middle of ἐστί; and ἔστε-ται also appears, from the point of view of the Greek, like a present, with the conjunctive vowel of the conjugation in ω (λέγ-ε-ται). The epic forms with double σ (ἔσσομαι, ὀλέσσω) can scarcely have been formed from a consideration of metre, but have been used in the construction of verse only because they were already in existence, and had a grammatical claim to that existence. I derive ἔσσομαι, ὀλέσσω, by assimilation, from ἔσγομαι, ὀλέσγω,* as μέσσος from μέσγος for μέδγος (Sanscrit *mádhya*, Latin *medium*), and as ἄλλος from ἄλγος = *alius*, Prakrit *aṇṇa*, Sanscrit *anya*. The Prakrit regularly assi-

* The Doric form ἐσσοῦμαι from ἐσσέομαι for ἐσσίομαι consequently contains the character of the future doubled (§. 656.); which cannot be surprising, as, when these words were produced, the reason of the duplication of the σ was no longer perceived by the language.

nilates, as has been already remarked (§. 300.), the weaker consonant to the stronger, whether this precedes or follows it; and according to this principle it produces also futures in *sañ*,* *ssasi*, *sadi*, &c.; *e.g. karissadi*, answering to the Sanscrit *karishyati*, "he will make." Forms of this kind, which are the countertypes of the Greek ἔσσομαι, are in far more frequent use than those abovementioned in *himi*.

656. In composition the Greek loses the vowel of the root of the auxiliary verb; hence, δώ-σω, δώ-σομεν, δείκ-σω, δείκ-σομεν, as in Sanscrit *dâ-syâmi*, *dâ-syâmas*, *dêk-syâmi* (§. 21.), *dêk-shyâmas*, only with the loss of the *y*, for which *i* might be expected, and which, too, it is very remarkable, has remained in some Doric forms, which Koen compares at Greg. Cor. p. 230. They are the following: πραξίομεν, χαριξιόμεθα, συνδιαφυλαξίομεθα, βοαθησίω, προλειψίω.† To this class belong the common Doric futures in σῶ, σοῦμεν, from σέω, σέομεν, for σίω, σίομεν, since the ι has been first corrupted to ε, and then contracted with the following vowel, as in the declension of bases in ι, as πόλεις proceeded from πόλεες, πόλεας, and this from πόλιες, πόλιας; as to the Old High German genitives like *balge-s* (*palkes*) correspond the Gothic like *balgi-s*, or as, in the feminine *i* bases, the Old High German form *krefti* precedes the Middle High German like *krefte*. In the genitive plural we have, in Old High German even, in different authorities, together with *kreftio*, which must originally have been *kreftyo*, the form *krefteo*, and, suppressing the *e* or *i*, *krefto* (*chrefto*). These genitives, therefore, in their gradual process of corruption, coincide exactly with that of the Greek future; for from *yo* we arrive first at

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* The first person, in this formation, loses the *i* of the termination, which the forms in *himi* have retained.

† I agree with Pott (I. p. 115) in thinking βοαθησίω and προλειψίω should be written for βοηθησιῶ, προλειψιῶ: as the form in ῶ has arisen first by contraction from εω for ιω, the ι would be twice represented in ιῶ.

io, thence at *eo*, and in the farthest corruption at *o*; just as from the Sanscrit future in *syâmi syâmas*, in Greek at first we come to σίω, σίομεν; thence to σέω, σέομεν, which we must suppose to have existed before σῶ, σοῦμεν; finally to the common future forms like δώ-σω, δείκ-σω, in which the semivowel of the Sanscrit *dâ-syâmi*, *dêk-shyâmi*, has entirely disappeared. In the Greek second future, however, the second element of the Sanscrit *shya* has been retained in preference to the sibilant; and as the liquids have expelled the σ of the first aorist, and ἔστειλα is said for ἔστελσα, so also comes στελῶ from στελέω for στελίω, and this from στελσίω, according to the analogy of the abovementioned βοαθη-σίω, προλειπ-σίω.

657. It is not probable that the Sanscrit future-character *ya* should have originally occurred only in the root *as* of the verb substantive; but I have scarce any doubt that, at a very early epoch, extending back beyond the period of the separation of languages, the attributive verbs likewise might form their future by annexing directly the syllable *ya*; that therefore forms like *dâ-yati* have existed before or contemporaneously with such as *dâ-syati* = δώ-σει, "he will give." In the present state of the language, however, the attributive verbs always require the verb substantive in order to denote the future, as the Sclavonic languages also apply the newly constructed future of the verb substantive (§. 633.) to paraphrase the future, without, however (the Servian language excepted), forming with it a compound. The Carniolan and Polish employ with the future of the auxiliary verb that participle in *l*, *la*, *lo*, which we have seen above used to express the past (§. 628. &c.): the Russian, however, and Bohemian, and sometimes, also, the Old Sclavonic, use the infinitive. Thus, in Carniolan we find, in the various genders, *bóm*,*

* The more complete form of *bóm* is *bódem*, "I make to be," after the

ràl, bóm igrála, bóm igrálo, "I will play," literally, "I will
e he that plays," "she that plays," "it that plays." In
olish, *będę,*† *czytał, czytała, czytało,* means "I will be
ading"), "I will read"; in Russian, буду двигать
ú dvigaty, "I will move," literally, "I will be moving";
, in Bohemian, *budu krasti* (from *kradti*), "I will steal."
he Servian, however, has this advantage over the other
lavonic dialects, that it does not require a periphrasis
the future by the verb substantive, but combines the
xiliary verb signifying "to do" with the themes of the
tributive verbs, just as with that of the verb substantive:
us, *ìgradyu* means "I will play," as *bìdyu* does "I
ill be."

658. Several Sclavonic languages may or must, under cer-
in circumstances, express the future by a preposition pre-
ed to the present, which signifies "after," and is pro-
ounced *po.* We refer the reader to Dobrowsky's Bohemian
structions, pp. 160, &c., respecting the difference in signi-
ation of the Bohemian futures which are expressed with
, from those which are conveyed by a periphrasis, where
oth are used simultaneously, as *po-kradu* and *budu krasti.*
Carniolan there are not more than ten verbs which ex-
ess the future by prefixing *po;* as *po-rèzhem,* "I will say." *

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e analogy of the Old Sclavonic *bû-dû* (§. 633.). The contraction of
dem to *bóm* is like that of *gléday,* "behold" (*glédam,* "I behold"), to
ý (see Kopitar's Cr. Gr. p. 334). The contracted form *bóm* resembles
rtuitously, but in a surprising degree, the Prakrit present *hómi,* "I
n," an abbreviation of *bhômi,* and contraction of the Sanscrit *bhavâmi.*
the kindred languages, however, a historical fact lies for the most part
the bottom of fortuitous coincidences, which, in the case before us, con-
ts in this, that *bóm* and *hômi,* like our *bin,* Old High German *bim,* have
e same root and the same personal termination.

* *Będę* = *bendeh,* from *bendem,* §. 255. *g.*

† Compare the Old Sclavonic *rekù, recheshi,* and Sanscrit *vach* (see
627, Rem. 6.).

The rest all express an emotion, as *pobeshím*, "I will fly," *pojésdim*, "I will ride" (Kopitar, p. 332). The Old Sclavonic employs other prepositions besides *po*, in order to give a future meaning to the present. After *po* the most in use are оу (*ú*), "by," and въз (*vz*), "outwards"; as *ú-vidit*, "*videbit*," *ú-boy i-sya*, "*timebo*" (Sanscrit *bhí*, "to fear," *bhaya*, "fear"), *vz-rastú*, "*crescam*" (Dobr. p. 377).

659. The periphrasis by *búdú*, "I will be," is rare in Old Sclavonic: on the other hand, *imam*, "I have," frequently occurs in the translation of the Evangelists as a future auxiliary verb in combination with the infinitive; as *imyeti imashi*, "*habebis*" ("thou hast to have"); *priiti imaty syn*, "*veniet filius*"; *ne imaty byti*, "*non erit*"; *ne imaty piti*, "*non bibet*" (Dobrowsky, p. 379). Observe the coincidence of idea with the Roman languages, the future of which, though it has completely the character of a simple inflexion form, is nothing else than the combination of the infinitive with the present of the auxiliary verb. This would perhaps have been with difficulty discovered, or not at all, on account of the contraction which the auxiliary verb experiences in the plural, but for the clear indication of it we receive from the language of Provence, which at times separates the auxiliary verb from the infinitive by a pronoun; as, *dar vos n'ai*, "*je vous en donnerai*"; *dir vos ai*, "*je vous dirai*"; *dir vos em*, "*nous vous dirons*"; *gitar m'etz*, "*vous me jeterez*." It is remarkable that the Old Sclavonic occasionally paraphrases the future of the verb "to have" itself by "to have," which the Roman languages are always compelled to do, because they possess no other means of expressing the future: thus the French *tu auras* (from *avoiras*) corresponds to the above-mentioned Sclavonic *imyati imashi*.

660. The Gothic, also, sometimes paraphrases the future by the auxiliary verb "to have"; thus, 2 Cor. xi. 12, *tauyan haba* for ποιήσω; John xii. 26, *visan habaith* for ἔσται (see Grimm IV. 93). The German languages have, that is to

,s from the same source with the potential ya,
notice that Ulfilas frequently expresses the Greek
the Gothic conjunctive present, which is in form
vith the Sanscrit potential and Greek optative.
are, Mark ix. 19, *siyau* and *thulau* for ἔσομαι and
Mark ix. 35, *siyai* for ἔσται; x. 7, *bileithai* for
; x. 8, *siyaina* for ἔσονται. In the reverse case
uses the only ancient future that it has preserved,
shem (=Sanscrit *bhavishyâmi*) also in the sense of
subjunctive. The attributive verbs in Persian,
ne future, prefix to the present a particle beginning
ich, with regard to its vowel, is guided by that of
syllable of the verb; so that for *u* (*dhamma*) the
contains an *u*, but for other vowels an *e*;* as
I will carry," *be-bâzem*, "I will play," but *bu-*
will ask." These futures stand in an external
th those of the Sclavonic languages, which are
m the present by prefixing the preposition *po*
c.). We must, however, leave it undecided whether
n prefix of the future, which may also precede the
, is identical with the inseparable preposition *be*,
, as appears to me far more probable, it is con-
th باید *bâyed*, "*oportet*," and has, therefore, our

dialects (Grimm IV. 179, &c.). If this is the case, it may be here further remarked, that, in Zend, the imperative is occasionally used in the sense of the future. Thus we read in V. S. p. 82, *hê urvâněm vahistěm ahûm frahâtrayênê*, "whose soul I will make to go to the best world." Anquetil translates, "*je ferai aller librement son ame aux demeures célestes.*"*

661. We return to the Gothic, in order to remark that it employs most commonly the present indicative instead of the future, in which it is deficient, as is the case also in Old High German very frequently. The periphrasis, however, begins gradually by *sollen* and *wollen*, the latter only in the first person: that by means of *werden* is peculiar to the New German; in a certain degree, however, the Gothic paves the way for it, as in this language *wairtha* sometimes occurs in the sense of the future of the verb substantive. Grimm (IV. 177. 178.) quotes the following passages: Matt. viii. 12. Luke i. 14. 2 Cor. xi. 15., where ἔσται is rendered by *wairthith*; moreover, 2 Cor. vi. 16, where *wairtha wairthand* answer to the Greek ἔσομαι, ἔσονται. In fact, *werden*, "to become," is the most natural and surest expression of future being, and far better adapted to represent it than the auxiliary verbs "to will" and "to owe;" for he who is becoming will certainly arrive at being, and is one who will be hereafter; the willing and the owing, however, may be incapable or be prevented from doing what he would or should. The

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* *Librement* is clearly the translation of the preposition contained in *frâ-pârayênê*, as Anquetil also, in the page preceding, renders *fravaócîm* (thus I read it for *fravaócim*) by "*je parle clairement;*" while in both expressions, and especially very often in Zend, as in Sanscrit, the prepositions have no perceptible meaning, which admits of translation, though the Indian Scholiasts also, in the derivation of verbs compounded with prepositions, lay too much stress on the prepositions. We will treat hereafter of the middle imperative termination in *nê*. As the causal form the verb under discussion corresponds to the Sanscrit *pra-sârayâmi*.

illing person may also alter his will, and hence not do what
e intended. The Old Northern language, in paraphrasing
ıe future, uses the anomalous *mun*, "I think," which
nploys the preterite form as the present; *e.g. munt vera,*
eris," mun slitna, "rumpetur," koma munu, "venient." To this
ead belongs the circumstance, that occasionally the Gothic
eak verb *munan* represents, not, indeed, the proper
ıture, but the Greek construction with μέλλω, for which,
owever, *haban* is also applied (Grimm, IV. 93, 178); thus
ohn xiv. 22, *munais gabairhtyan μέλλεις, ἐμφανίζειν.* Ulfilas,
owever, could scarcely have imagined that his *munan* and the
reek μέλλω are radically akin, which is the case if I mistake
ot. I believe that μέλλω stands in the same relation to the
anscrit *manyê* (only that the latter is a middle verb),
I think," "I mean," as ἄλλος does to *anya-s*, "the other"
§. 655.). The circumstance that we have the Sanscrit root
ı Greek also, in a truer form, and one which retains the
riginal *n* (*e.g. μένος = manas*), does not prevent the assump-
on that besides this the favourite exchange of liquids takes
lace, and consequently μέλλω might become estranged from
ıe forms with *ν*.

662. Latin futures like *amabo, docebo*, have already, in my
ystem of Conjugation, as compounds with the root *fu* (the *f*
which in the interior of a word becomes *b*, see §. 18.), and *bo,*
, bit, &c., been compared with the Anglo-Saxon *beo*, "I will
;" *bys*, "thou willst be," *bydh*, "he will be." *Bo*, a sister form
the *bam* of *amabam, docebam*, mentioned before (§§. 526,
c.), answers in conjugation exactly to *ero; bo*, therefore, stands
r *bio, bunt* for *biunt*, and the *i* of *bis, bit, bimus, bitis*, is a con-
ction of the Sanscrit future character *ya* (§. 651.). From the
ot *bhû* would come the forms *bhûyâmi, bhûyasi, bhûyati*, &c.,
with Guna, *bhôyâmi, bhôyasi*, &c., if the said root were not
nbined in the future with the root *as*, but annexed the syl-
le *ya* direct (before *m* and *v*, *yâ*). To this would correspond
Latin, in its isolated state, *fuyo, fuis, fuit*, in which, however,

fuit would be distinguished from the perfect (aorist) *fuit* in this, that the *i* in the latter form is nothing but a conjunctive vowel and the weakening of an original *a*, but in the future the contraction of *ya* and expression of the relation of time. In *bo*, *bis*, *bit*, the *u* of the root *fu* is passed over, as in *fio*, *fis*, *fit*, which is properly the passive of *fu*, and corresponds to the Sanscrit passive *bhû-yé*, *bhû-ya-sé*, *bhu-ya-té*, only with active terminations like the Prakrit, which preserves the characteristic syllable *ya* of the Sanscrit passive (of which we will speak hereafter), but has replaced the middle terminations by active ones.

663. The question may be raised, whether the Latin *bo* is really based on a presupposed Sanscrit *bhûyâmi* or *bhôyâmi*; and thus, whether this form existed at the time of the division of languages, and if alone, or, together with that, compounded with the other root of "to be," on which the Zend *bûsyêmi*, the Greek *φύ-σω*, the Lithuanian *bú-su*, and the Irish *bhus*, "*erit*," mentioned above, are founded; or whether the Latin *bo* likewise, at an earlier period, was combined with the other auxiliary verb; whether, therefore, in an isolated state, a *furo* from an earlier *fuso*, for *fusio*, existed, like the Greek *φύ-σω* from *φυ-σίω*? This question cannot be decided with certainty; but the latter, according to which *amabo*, *amabis*, &c., would appear as contractions of *amaburo*, *amaburis*, appears to me the more probable particularly as the forms, which are incumbered by the composition, have most cause to be weakened. It may be observed, that, even without any external occasion for being weakened, the Old High German, in the very same root, contrasts with its plural *birumês*, "we are" (=Sanscrit *bhavâmas*, §. 20.), a singular *bim* for *birum*. The Carniolan exhibits, as we have seen (§. 657.), together with *bódem*, "I will be" ("make to be"), corresponding to the Sclavonic cognate idioms, a contracted form *bóm*, to which the Latin *bo* approaches very closely, though with a different kind of

contraction. The Anglo-Saxon *beo*, mentioned above (also *beom*), "I will be," is properly not a formal future, but a present, answering to our *bin*, Old High German *bim*, and to the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, which is principally used with a future meaning, while *eom* = *asmi*, Gothic *im*, remains devoted to the present. It might, also, be disputed whether the Latin *bo* of *amabo* is actually a future, for then it would be necessary to identify the *i* of *bis*, *bit*, &c., with the conjunctive vowel *a* of the Sanscrit *bhav-a-si*, *bhav-a-ti*, and to place it on the same footing with the *i* of *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-t* = *vah-a-si*, *vah-a-ti* (see §. 507.). Remark the obsolete subjunctive *fuam*, which presupposes a present indicative *fuo*, *fuis* (§. 510.). However, that opinion appears to be most probably the true one, that *bo*, *bis*, rest on the same principle of formation with *ero*, *eris*, and that, therefore, there is a reason why *amabo*, *monebo*, have a future, and not a present signification. It appears certain, that the third and fourth conjugations, did all form their futures in *bo* (compare §. 529.); futures in *am*, however, are, according to their origin, of the subjunctive mood,* and we shall return to them hereafter. We have already (§. 526.) noticed the remarkable coincidence which exists between the Latin and the Irish, in the circumstance that the latter combines all attributive verbs in the future with the labial root of the verb substantive. The Irish, however, is superior to the Latin in this, that, in the simple state of the verb substantive, it forms the future not from the root, which is, in Sanscrit, *as*, but from that which has the labial initial sound (see §. 526.).

664. It remains to be remarked with regard to the Sanscrit future, that the syllable *sya*, which proceeds from the verb substantive, is combined with the root either directly or by means of a conjunctive vowel *i*,

* Compare System of Conjugation, p. 98.

after the manner of the third aorist formation (§. 560.), s that the *s*, through the influence of this *i*, again becom *sh*; as in *tan-i-shyâmi*, "*extendam.*" Radical vowels, capab of Guna, receive it;* hence, *dêk-shyâmi* = δείκ-σω from *d* "to shew"; *lêk-shyâmi* = λείκ-σω from *lîh*, "to lick"; *yâ shyâmi* = ζεύκ-σω from *yuj*, "to combine" (§. 19.); *bhav-shyâmi* from *bhû*, "to be." The Greek has Guna on where the present, also, has a Guna vowel, as in th examples adduced; it contrasts, however, λύ-σω, φύ-σ ῥίπ-σω, with the Sanscrit *lav-i-shyâmi* from *lû*, "to cut off, *bhav-i-shyâmi* from *bhû*, "to be," *kshêp-syâmi* from *kshi* "to cast." The Zend, also, in respect to the Guna, doe not agree exactly with the Sanscrit; hence, *bûsyêmi*, "*ero* (§. 665.), both in not employing the Guna, and also in th direct annexation of the auxiliary verb, corresponds mor to the Greek φύ-σω and Lithuanian *bú-su* than to the San scrit *bhav-i-shyâmi*. We subjoin the full conjugation o this future, and append to it the Latin *fac-so*, which is ver isolated, and which agrees with φύ-σω, *bú-su*, not only i the formation, but is also radically akin to it (§. 19.).

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	LITH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
bhav-i-shyâmi,	*bû-syêmi,*[1]	*bú-su,*	*fac-so,*	φύ-σω.[2]
bhav-i-shyasi,	*bû-syêhi,*[1]	*bú-si,*[3]	*fac-sis,*	φύ-σεις.
bhav-i-shyati,	*bû-syêiti,*[1]	*bu-s,*	*fac-sit,*	φύ-σει.

DUAL.

bhav-i-shyâvas,	. . . . .	*bú-siwa,*	. . . .	. . . . .
bhav-i-shyathas,	*bû-syathô?*	*bú-sita,*	. . . .	φύ-σετον.
bhav-i-shyatas,	*bû-syatô,*	like Sing.	. . . .	φύ-σετον

* Where Guna is prescribed in Sanscrit Grammar we are to understa that in the middle of roots only short vowels receive Guna before simp consonants, but at the end of roots long vowels also.

PLURAL.

NSCRIT.	ZEND.	LITH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
-i-shyâmas,	*bû-syâmahi,*	*bú-sime,*	*fac-simus,*	*φύ-σομεν.*
-i-shyatha,	*bû-syatha,*	*bú-site,*	*fac-sitis,*	*φύ-σετε,*
-i-shyanti,	*bû-syanti,*	like Sing.	*fac-sunt.*	*φύ-σοντι.*

§. 42. [2] From *φυσίω*, §. 656. [3] The *i* is the personal ter-
ation: see §. 418.

account of the perfect agreement between दास्यामि *dâ-mi*, *δώσω*, and the Lithuanian *dûsu* (*duo-su*), this future, , may be here fully conjugated, and the Latin *dabo* joined, as it agrees with the Lithuanian *i* and Sanscrit though not in the auxiliary verb, still in respect to future characteristic *i* of *dabis*, &c.

ACTIVE.

SINGULAR.

Sanscrit.	*Greek.*	*Lithuanian.*	*Latin.*
dâ-syâmi,	*δώ-σω,*	*dûsu,*	*da-bo.*
dâ-syasi,	*δώ-σεις,*	*dû-si,*	*da-bis.*
dâ-syati,	*δώ-σει,*	*dû-s,*	*da-bit.*

DUAL.

dâ-syâvas,	. . . . .	*dû-siwa,*	. . . .
dâ-syathas,	*δώ-σετον,*	*dû-sita,*	. . . .
dâ-syatas,	*δώ-σετον,*	like Sing.	. . . .

PLURAL.

dâ-syâmas,	*δώ-σομεν,*	*dû-sime,*	*da-bimus.*
dâ-syatha,	*δώ-σετε,*	*dû-site,*	*da-bitis.*
dâ-syanti,	*δώ-σοντι,*	like Sing.	*da-bunt.*

MIDDLE.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
Sanscrit.	*Greek.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Greek.*
dâ-syê,	*δώ-σομαι.*	*dâ-syâvahê,*	*δώ-σομεθον.*
dâ-syasê,	(*δώ-σεσαι*).	*dâ-syêthê,*	*δώ-σεσθον.*
dâ-syatê,	*δώ-σεται.*	*dâs-yêtê,*	*δώ-σεσθον.*

MIDDLE.

PLURAL.

Sanscrit.	*Greek.*
dâ-syâmahê,	δώ-σομεθα.
dâ-syadhvê,	δώ-σεσθε.
dâ-syantê,	δώ-σονται.

665. The Zend future agrees, in essentials, with the Sanscrit, as we have already seen from the relation of *bûsyêmi* to *bhavishyâmi*. Still this example shews that the Zend, in respect to the Guna and introduction of a conjunctive vowel *i*, does not everywhere keep pace with the Sanscrit, and in the case before us resembles more closely the Greek φύσω and Lithuanian *búsu* than भविष्यामि *bhavishyâmi*. I cannot, however, adduce the form *bûsyêmi* even from the Zend-Avesta, but from the frequently occurring participle *bûsyantĕm*, "the about to be" (Vend. S. p. 89); we may, with the more certainty, infer *bûsyêmi*, *bûsyêhi*, &c., than we can, in Greek, ἔσομαι from ἐσόμενος, and, in Sanscrit, *bhavishyâmi* from *bhavishyan*. The form in *êmi*, *êhi*, *êiti*, is apparent from §. 42.; for the *y* invariably exerts an assimilating influence upon the *â* or *a*, which precedes the terminations *mi*, *hi*, *ti*, through which those vowels become *ê*. That, however, the *y* of the future makes no exception to this rule is proved, if proof be required, among other proofs, by that of *vacsyêiti* (Vend. S. p. 83), "he will say,"* answering to the Sanscrit *vakshyati* from *vach*. In the dual and plural, the *y* abstains from its assimilating influence, and, in the third person plural, as generally before *n*, it protects the *a* following from being weakened to ε *ĕ*, as occurs elsewhere.

666. The third person dual would give the

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* Anquetil (p. 139), "*voici ce que dit maintenant.*"

csayatô, mentioned at §. 464, Rem. *, if it corresponded to
e Sanscrit वक्ष्यतस् *vakshyatas* from *vah*, "to carry," "to
ar." I now, however, prefer regarding it as the causal of
e Sanscrit root *vaksh*, "*accumulare*," which may perhaps
o signify "to grow," and with which the Gothic root
HS regularly agrees; whence, *vahsya*, "I grow," *vôhs*,
grew," with *h* for *k*, according to a general law for the
inge of sounds. The Zend *ucsyêmi*, "I grow," appears
be a contraction of *vacsyêmi* (compare §. 536. Rem.), as,
Sanscrit, such contractions occur only in forms devoid of
ma; and from *vach*, "to speak," the gerund, indeed,
uktvâ, but the infinitive, which requires Guna, is not
um, but *vaktum*. As, then, in the causal verb the
wels capable of Guna receive it, it need not surprise
if, in Zend, the root *vacs*, as a verb of the fourth class,
which Guna does not belong, were contracted to *uss*,
, in the causal, retained the full form *vacs*, as, in San-
it, the root *vyadh* of the fourth class forms, in the
sent, *vidhyâmi* for *vyadhyâmi*, but, in the causal,
dhayâmi.

367. That the Zend, also, occasionally uses the conjunctive
vel *i* in its future is proved by the form 𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎 *biyanti*, "they will disturb," from the root *dab*, which
responds to the Sanscrit *dambh*, "to deceive," and in the
ceding and several other forms, which occur in the Vend.
has, through the influence of the *i* of the following syllable,
eived an *i* in the root (§. 41.). It is translated by Anque-
in various passages by *affliger* and *blesser*. The future
n mentioned occurs Vendidad Sade, p. 215, 𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎 𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬎 *yôi vîo daibisyanti*,* "which will disturb you
." Anquetil renders this strangely enough "*vous deux,*
gez ceux qui me tiennent dans l'oppression." In another
age (p. 223) we find the third person plural of the future

* I believe it is to be written thus, instead of —*ti*.

to §. 21., require the change of the *s* into *sh*, for wh
Zend, 𐬯 *s* or 𐬱 *sh* is regularly written. After such
however, as, in Sanscrit, leave the *s* unaltered, an *h* n
expected in the Zend future, according to §. 53., ins
the sibilant; and this we find, also, in the passive pa
zaṇhyamana, "the man about to be born" (Vend. S.
from which we may safely infer an indicative *zaṇhyê*,
about to be born." Anquetil, indeed, renders the
𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬥𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬰𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬥𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬰𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬥𐬨𐬀𐬌 *naraṅm*
tanaṇmcha zaṇhyamanaṅanmcha, "and to the person b
about to be born,"* by "*les hommes qui naissent et*
drent," according to which 𐬰𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌 *zaṇhyaman*
be considered as a middle present participle; but it is
sible that the root *zan*, = Sanscrit जन् *jan*, can arriv
h without thereby expressing the future. At most w
be in doubt, whether *zaṇhyamana* should be regarde
the middle or of the passive voice, as these voices
general tenses, as also in the special tenses of the
class, are not distinguished from each other. The
grammarians take *jâyê*, "I am born," as a middle,
ya passes as the characteristic of the fourth cla
§. 109ᵃ. 2.); but as the passive, also, in the special
annexes the syllable *ya* and may reject the *n* in the r

ꞩ *ṇ*, however, I do not believe it to be the transferred radical ꞩ *n* of the root ꞩ *zan*, but I assume that the radical *n* is dropped, and I explain the *ṇ* as euphonic, as in *usazayaṇha*, "thou wast born" (§. 56ᵃ.), where the *n* of the root *zan* has likewise been lost. But if we are to suppose that this root retained its nasal in the future, then we should expect either the form ꞩ *zanisyê*, with a conjunctive vowel, or ꞩ *zaṅśyê*, without the vowel, as the Sanscrit sound अंस् *aṅs* regularly makes its appearance in Zend in the form ꞩ *aṅś*.

669. From the roots *dâ*, "to give," and *dâ*, "to place," might, according to §. 56ᵇ., be expected the future form *dâoṇhyêmi*: as, however, in Zend, sometimes also *khy* occurs as the representative of the Sanscrit *sy* (see p. 280), we must be prepared for a form *dâkhyêmi*; and the passive participle of this we find in Vend. S., p. 89, where, in like manner, the passive participle, *uz-dâtanaṅm*, "of these held up," precedes the genitive plural of the future participle *uzdâkhyamnanaṅm* (=Sanscrit *uddhâsyamânânâm*), "of those about to be held up,"* as above we have seen *zâtanaṅm-cha* and *zaṇhyamananaṅm-cha*, "close together." As we have, therefore, the sibilant of the verb substantive here before us in the shape of a guttural, we will again draw attention to what has been said above of the probable origin of the κ of ἔδωκα, δέδωκα, from σ (§§. 568. &c.). As the Zend root *dâ*, "to place," "lay," "make,"† corresponds to the Greek τίθημι, consequently the *dâkh* of the *dâkhyamnanaṅm*, which has been mentioned, would be identical with the Greek θηκ of ἔθηκα, τέθηκα.

670. As respects, however, the origin of the exponent of

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* With a perhaps erroneous rejection of the *a* of the participial suffix. Anquetil's translation, also, "*qu'il fant toujours tenir élevés*," is evidence that this may be regarded as expressing the future.

† The corresponding Sanscrit *dhâ* means also "to hold."

the future, *ya*, with which that of the potential and precativ *yâ* is to be ranked, I am still of the opinion already expresse in my System of Conjugation, that these syllables proce from the root इ *i*, "to wish." Consequently the Greek opta tive, which is founded on the Sanscrit potential and preca tive, would, according to its signification, have its name fro the same verb to which it owes its formal origin. If the con junctive vowel of the first and sixth class be added to the roo इ *i*, it would make *ya*, according to the same phonetic prin ciple by which the root *i*, "to go," forms, in the third perso plural, *yanti*. From this *yanti*, therefore, the termination o *dâ-s-yanti*, "they will give," cannot be distinguished. I cannot be denied, too, that the root *i*, "to go," to which Wüllner (Origin of Lingual Forms, §§. 46, 47.) has betaken himself in explaining the future, is, in respect of form, just as suitable as *i*. But the meaning "to wish," "to will," is certainly more adapted to express the future and the opta tive than that of "to go." This is also confirmed by the use of language, as several idioms, quite independent of one another, have simply, through internal impulse, come to the decision of expressing the future by "to will." It is certain that the New Grecian and Old High German (§. 661.), nay, even the various German dialects, have, in this respect, borrowed nothing from one another nor imitated each other. The Old Sclavonic, also, sometimes employs an auxiliary verb, signifying "to will," to express the future. It is not, however, to be overlooked, that the examples which Dobrowsky (p. 380.) adduces from the translation of the Bible are all preceded by μέλλω in the Greek text; for which reason, unless other instances occur where this is not the case, we must conjecture that the wish of keeping as close as possible to the Greek text must have suggested to the Sclavonic translator his хощꙋ *choshchû*; thus Luke xxi. 7, *yegda chotyat siya byti*, ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα γένεσθαι; Matt. xi. 14, *chotyaĭ priiti*, ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι. Respecting the conjectural

relationship of the Greek μέλλω with the Indian *manyé*, "I think," see p. 889.

671. The Sanscrit sometimes uses its desiderative form to denote the future, as in the episode of the Draupadî *mumûrshu*, "wishing to die," occurs in the sense of "about to die;" and, conversely, in different languages, the expression of the future is occasionally used to denote that of "to will:" and the Latin forms its desideratives from the future participle in *tûrus*, abbreviating the *u*, and adding the characteristic of the fourth conjugation, the *î* of which, however, has nothing to do with the Sanscrit future suffix *ya*, but, as has been shewn, is founded on the characteristic of the tenth class *aya*, which is frequently used in Sanscrit to form denominatives. The Greek forms desideratives from the future in σω, or perhaps from the older form in σίω; so that in forms like παραδωσείω, γελασείω, the ι would be strengthened only by an ε, which would give the Guna augment. These desideratives, however, and the future, may be regarded as cognate forms, so that both, independently of each other, but by a similar formation, would have proceeded from the verbal theme, as there are in Sanscrit also desideratives, which have the form of the future but have not proceeded from it, but, following its analogy, have sprung from a nominal base; *e. g. vṛisha-syâmi*, "to desire the bull," *madhv-asyâmi*, "to ask for honey." In the latter example the *a* of the root of the verb substantive is perhaps contained. But usually in denominative desideratives the verb substantive is quite omitted, or has become obsolete, and they only contain the syllable *ya*, *i.e.* the auxiliary verb "to wish," which is characteristic of the future; *e.g. patî-yâmi*, "I wish for a spouse," from *patî*, "spouse." It is not improbable that the desideratives which have been formed from primitive roots by the addition of a sibilant, and which are furnished with a syllable of reduplication, had originally a *y* after the sibilant, and therefore, likewise, the root of "to wish" alluded to;

thus, *e.g. pipâ-sâmi*, "I wish to drink," from *pipâ-syâmi*, agreeing with *pâ-syâmi*, "I will drink." If this is the case, then *pipâsâmi* has the same relation to the pre-supposed *pipâsyâmi* that the Greek δώ-σω, from δωσίω, has to the Sanscrit *dâsyâmi*. The root being burthened with the reduplication might, perhaps, produce a weakening in the final portion of the word, similar to that through which the reduplicated verbs in the third person plural have lost the nasal belonging to this person; and *bibhrati* "they carry," is said for *bibhranti* (§. 459.). We shall recur hereafter to the desideratives.

FORMATION OF THE MOODS.

POTENTIAL, OPTATIVE, AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

672. The Sanscrit potential, which, with several peculiarities of use, combines in itself the Greek subjunctive and optative, but in form adheres to the latter, is, in that conjugation which corresponds to the Greek in μι, formed by the syllable *yâ*, which is prefixed to the personal terminations. The class peculiarities are retained; *e.g. vidyâm* "*sciam*," from *vid*, class 2; *bibhṛiyâm* "*feram*," from *bhṛi*, class 3; *striṇuyâm*, "*sternam*," from *stṛi*, class 5; *syâm* for *asyâm* "*sim*," from *as*, class 2. We easily recognise the modal exponent *yâ* in the Greek ιη, in which the semi-vowel has become a vowel, according to the Greek system of sounds; the ι, however, always forms a diphthong with the preceding radical vowel, as there are no present forms like ἔδμι (Sanscrit *admi*, Lithuanian *edmi*), and therefore no optatives also like ἐδίην, which would resemble the Sanscrit *adyâm*. But διδοίην corresponds tolerably well to the Sanscrit *dadyâm*, especially if its radical vowel is restored, which, through a particular irregularity, it has lost. According to rule, *dadâyâm* would correspond to the Greek διδοίην; but the root *dâ*, under the retro-active influence of the heavy personal terminations and of the modal characteristic under discussion, suppresses its radical

owel according to the same principle by which the Greek verb ortens its ω; thus *dadyâm* = διδοίην, as *dadmas* = δίδομεν ee §. 481. Table). The Sanscrit root *as*, "to be," loses, by special anomaly (which is, nevertheless, founded on the law f gravity, which acts with such astonishing consequences), ts initial *a* in those places where *dâ* drops its final vowel; ence *syâm*, "I may be," answering to the Greek εἴην, be- ause σ between two vowels very easily admits of being islodged, but the root ΕΣ firmly protects its vowel; hence, lso, in the present indicative, ἐσμέν, ἐστέ, are more full than he Sanscrit cognate forms *smas*, "we are," *stha*, "ye are."

673. The agreement of the Greek and Sanscrit is very emarkable in this point, that both languages have, in the niddle, entirely lost the long vowel of the modal exponent â, η; hence, διδοῖτο, διδοίμεθα, for διδοίητο, διδοιήμεθα, as n Sanscrit *dadîta*, *dadîmahi*, for *dadyâta*, *dadyâmahi*. The ause clearly lies in the weightier personal terminations of he middle; but I would not maintain, that the wound in- icted by them, in both languages, in one and the same place, n the preceding modal exponent took place so early as the eriod when Greek and Sanscrit were still one. The prin- iple of the form-weakening retro-active influence of the eight of the personal terminations must, however, have xisted at that time; and several circumstances in our Euro- ean circle of languages point to this, that at the time of the dentity of the languages, which are now separated, several onvulsions took place in the organization of each family of anguages. In the preceding case, however, the Greek διδοῖτο by its accent shews itself to be a comparatively recent contraction; for if the rejection of the η was primitive, and had taken place before the separation of languages, δίδοιτι would be accented like λέγοιτο. The Greek shews itself, too, in the suppression of the η, independent of the Sanscrit, in this, that it admits this vowel in the two plural numbers of the active, and for διδοίημεν also διδοῖμεν, while the San-

thus, *e.g.* *pipâ-sâmi*, "I wish to dri[illegible] *dima*, but both agreeing with *pâ-syâmi*, "I will dri[illegible] ation the modal then *pipâsâmi* has the same re[illegible] plural numbers of *pipâsyâmi* that the Greek δέ[illegible] ts these two num- Sanscrit *dâsyâmi*. The roo[illegible] s their terminations plication might, perhaps [illegible] portion of the word, si[illegible] coincides in form with the plicated verbs in the [illegible] scrit potential. Its agreement belonging to thi[illegible] ht have been perceived, without the said for *bibhrar* [illegible] the Sanscrit, from *sim*, *velim*, *edim*, and desideratives [illegible] *dal i* of which coincides with the Greek ι of [illegible] but these Latin forms resemble the Sanscrit still [illegible] ly than the Greek; for instance, *edim* answers [illegible] to the Sanscrit *adyâm*, the *yâ* of which, in the 6[illegible] if *ad* were used in that voice, must be contracted ri[illegible] so that *adî-mahi* would correspond to the Latin [illegible] *mus*. Thus *sim*, for *sîm*, answers to *syâm*, and *sîmus* still more exactly to the middle *sîmahi*. The obsolete form *siem*, *sies*, *siet*, corresponding to the Sanscrit *syâm*, *syâs*, *syât*, is so far a grammatical jewel, that the full modal characteristic या *yâ*, Greek ιη, is contained in it, and it may thence be inferred, that *edim*, also, &c., was preceded by an older *ediem*, *edies*, *ediet* = *adyâm*, *adyâs*, *adyât*, and *velim*, *duim*, &c., by a more full *veliem*, *duyem* (from *dayem*). The more weighty terminations of the plural have, by their retro-active shortening influence, effected the suppression of the *e* before them earlier than before the more light terminations of the singular. It may, however, be reasonably assumed, that the forms *siêmus*, *siêtis*, *sient* = *syâma*, *syâta*, *syus* (from *syânt*), have existed in some other more early epoch of the language; and to them, *sûmus*, &c., has the same relation that, in Greek, the abbreviated διδοῖμεν has to διδοίημεν.

675. The German, in which the subjunctive is likewise based on the Sanscrit potential and Greek optative, forms

the preterite of this mood according to the principle of the Sanscrit second conjugation of the second, third, and seventh class, and of the Greek conjugation in *μι*, *i.e.* by attaching the modal element to the root direct; and, in fact, in Gothic, the first person in *yau* resembles very strikingly the Sanscrit *yâm*, only that the *â* has been shortened, and the *m* vocalized to *u* (§. 432.). Compare, after removing what belongs to the relation of time, *êtyau*, "I ate,"* with the Sanscrit *adyâm*, "I may eat." In the other persons, the Gothic follows the analogy of the Sanscrit and Greek middle; *i.e.* in suppressing the *a* of *ya*, while the *y*, as in Sanscrit, becomes long *î*, for which, in Gothic, *ei* is written; hence, *êt-ei-ma*, Old High German *âzîmês*, resembles the Sanscrit *ad-î-mahi* and Latin *ed-î-mus*; *êt-ei-th*, Old High German *âzît*, the Sanscrit *ad-î-dhvam*, and Latin *ed-î-tis*; in the second person singular, *êt-ei-s* (*êt-î-s*) is almost identical with the Latin *ed-î-s*. In the third person, however, the personal sign has been lost (§. 432.), and in consequence of this loss the long *i* sound, which comes to stand at the end, is shortened; thus *êti* answering to the Sanscrit *adîta* and Latin *edit*.

676. It scarcely requires to be remarked, that I do not understand the resemblance between the Gothic *êt-ei-ma* and Sanscrit *ad-î-mahi*, as though the Gothic subjunctive preterite, with exception of the first person singular, was really referable to the Sanscrit middle; the contraction of *ya* to *ei*=*î* is rather a pure Gothicism, which was probably preceded by a weakening of *ya* to *yi*, according to the principle

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* *Ita*, "I eat," from the root *at*, is so far the most remarkable verb of its class, because *étum*, "we ate" (for *âtum* from *a-atum*, Old High German *âzumês*), contains a reduplication without having experienced abbreviation like *sétum* and similar forms (§. 605.). The Old High German *âzumês* corresponds almost exactly to the Sanscrit reduplicated *âd-i-ma* from *a-adima*.

by which nominal bases in *ya* exhibit in the nominative singular *yi-s* for *ya-s*, in case this syllable is preceded by only one syllable, and, in fact, a short one. But if a vowel long by nature or by position, or more than one syllable precedes, the syllable *ya* is not only weakened to *yi*, but is contracted to long *î* (*ei*), and at the end of a word to short *i*; hence, *andeis* "end," for *andyis* from *andyas*, accusative *andi* for *andya*. Before a final nasal or *ns* the syllable *ya* remains in its original state; hence, in the dative plural, *andya-m*, accusative *andya-ns*. On the same phonetic law is based the phenomenon that the *u* of the first person singular of our modal-form, which has arisen from *m*, has preserved the syllable *ya* in its complete form; and hence, *êtyau* from *êtyam*, "I ate," may be compared with the dative plural *andyam*; *êteis*, "thou atest," with the nominative and genitive singular *andeis*; and the third person singular *êti*, which terminates with short *i*, with the accusative *andi*.

677. In Old Sclavonic there are some remains of the Greek conjugation in *μι*, or the Sanscrit second conjugation. These have preserved the personal termination in the first person singular of the present, and in the imperative (which I believe I must in its formation identify with the Sanscrit-Zend potential, the Latin-German subjunctive, and Greek optative) annex the exponent of the modal relation direct to the root. The modal characteristic, however, has preserved only the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *yâ*, and as in the second person singular the *s* of *yâs*, since from the oldest period it has stood at the end, must, according to a universal law of sound, disappear, so ѣ́ждь *yashdy* (euphonic for *yady*), "eat," corresponds to the Sanscrit *adyâs*, "thou mayest eat," and Latin *edîs*; вѣ́ждь *vyeshdy* (for *vyedy*) "know," to the Sanscrit *vidyâs*; and да́ждь *dashdy* (for *dady*), "give," to the Greek *διδοίης*, and still more to the Sanscrit *dadyâs*, since, like it, it has lost the radical vowel. The Sclavonic forms which have been cited pass also as third persons; for यास् *yâs* and

sign.

In the first person plural, ꙗѫдьмы *yashdymy*, ы *vyeshdymy*, даждьмы *dashdymy*, answer to *dyâmas*, *edîmus*, विद्यामस् *vidyâmas*, दद्यामस् *dadyâmas*, *duimus*; and in the second, ꙗѫдьте *yashdyte*, *vyeshdyte*, даждьте *dashdyte*, to अद्यात *adyâta*, द्यात *vidyâta*, दद्यात *dadyâta*, διδοῖτε, *duitis*. The se-son plural represents, in the Old Sclavonic impera- the third person; a misuse which may have been by the fact, that in the singular the third person is guished from the second, from reasons connected law of sounds; and in the dual, also, the terminations ताम् *tâm*, for which the Greek uses τον, την, have me *ta*; for though the Sclavonic *a* generally repre- long Sanscrit *â*, still it sometimes stands for the lso; and therefore *ta* has as good a foundation in the rson dual as in the third; but through the else- ry common corruption of *a* to *e* the dual second s become like that of the plural. For the rest, the rson is most used in the imperative, and this may an additional cause why, in the plural, the third per- een entirely removed from lingual existence, which re less surprising than that, in Old and Anglo- e second person plural should represent the other

have given way, and as the vowel of the modal expressior *yâ* has, in general, disappeared, only *dashdy* could have cor responded to the Zend *daidhyaiṅ*, Greek διδοῖεν, and Ol Latin *duint*. This apparent identity with two persons of th singular might have accorded less with the language tha the actual exchange for one of the same number.

679. I refer, also, the Lithuanian imperative, in its origin, to the department of the mood here discussed; for in all verbs, without exception, the vowel *i* is its characteristic, which admits of no other comparison than with the Sclavonic *y*, just mentioned, the Greek ι of of all optatives, the Latin *i* of *sim*, *edim*, *velim*, *duim*, and the Sanscrit-Zend *yâ*, or *î*. The Lithuanian imperative, however, gains a peculiar appearance, and one estranged from the corresponding sound of the cognate languages, in that it conceals the true exponent of the modal relation behind a *k*, which is always prefixed to the *i*; only that, if the root itself ends with *k*, for two *k*'s only one is used. As in the second person singular, in which the *i* ought to conclude the form, this final vowel is generally suppressed, but the *k* is extended to all persons of the imperative, with the exception of the third, of which hereafter, we may be easily tempted to regard this *k* as the true imperative suffix, and thus quite disengage the Lithuanian in this mood from its otherwise close union with the other cognate languages. From the root *bu*, "to be," proceed the forms *búki*, or *búk*, "be," *búkite*, "be ye," *búkime*, "let us be," *búkiwa*, "let us two be," *búkita*, "let them two be." So *dů̊ki*, or *dů̊k*, "give thou," *dů̊kite*, "give ye," &c. In most cases it happens, that the *k* appears between two vowels: for, in the preceding examples, the root, and in Mielke's three last conjugations, the class syllable, corresponding to the Sanscrit *aya* (§. 506.), end with a vowel and as the verb *sukù*, "I turn," given as example of th first conjugation, on account of the *k*, which terminat

the root, abstains from the affix under discussion, Mielke's Grammar, therefore, is utterly deficient in an instance exhibiting the combination of the *k* of the imperative with a consonant. But Ruhig gives, from *laupsinù*, "I praise," the imperative *laupsink'* (*laupsinki*), and, according to Mielke's rule, given at p. 78, we must expect from infinitives like *ras-ti*, "to find" (euphonic for *rad-ti*), imperatives like *ras-k'*, or *ras-ki*, since a *k* should take the place of the infinitive suffix.

680. As respects the origin of the *k*, which is peculiar to the Lithuanian imperative, it is probably, as has been already observed, a corruption of the *s* of the verb substantive, and consequently *dů̊ki*, "give thou," is doubly related to the Old Sclavonic *dach*, "I gave," and to the Greek ἔδωκα, δέδωκα (see §§. 568. 569.), as also to the Zend *dâkhyêmi*, "I will give" (=Sanscrit *dâsyâmi*), which I am unable to quote, but I believe I may safely deduce it from the above mentioned participle of the root *dâ*, "to lay," which has the same sound with *dâ* "to give" (see §. 669.). The same relation that the Zend future *dâkhyêmi* has to the Sanscrit *dâsyâmi* is held, as respects the employing a guttural instead of an original sibilant, by the Lithuanian *dů̊ki* to the Sanscrit precative middle *dâsîya*. In the dual, the Lithuanian *dů̊kiwa* answers to the Sanscrit *dâsîvahi*, and, in the plural, *dů̊kime* to *dâsîmahi*. The Sanscrit precative is, however, in fact, nothing else than a modification of the potential, and has, in essentials, the same relation to it that the Greek aorist optative has to the present optative; *i.e.* the class differences are removed. Compare *dêyâs*, *dêyât* for *dâyâs*, *dâyât*;* Zend *dâyâo*, *dâyât*, with δοίης, δοίη. In all the other persons, the Sanscrit adds

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* A radical *â* passes into *é*, in most roots, through the assimilating influence of the *y* following, but not in Zend.

an *s*, *i.e.* the verb substantive, to the modal exponent *yâ*, and thus *dêyâsam* resembles the Greek third person plural δοίησαν. This dissimilar introduction of the verb substantive may be regarded as a phenomenon, which first made its appearance after the separation of the languages; for which reason the Zend, though it continued with the Sanscrit much longer than the European cognate idioms, does not share in it, and in the plural contrasts 𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬌𐬁𐬨𐬀 *dâyâma*, 𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀 *dâyata*, 𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬌𐬁𐬥 *dâyaṅm*,* with the Greek δοίημεν, δοίητε, δοῖεν, and Sanscrit *dêyâsma*, *dêyâsta*, *dêyâsus*. In the first person singular I find 𐬛𐬌𐬌𐬁𐬥 *dyaṅm* (probably erroneously for *dâyaṅm*) in a passage already cited with a different object (see p. 277), a form in good analogy with the Greek δοίην, for which in Sanscrit *dêyâsam*.

681. In the middle, the Sanscrit, in the precative, commits to the verb substantive the function of denoting the modal relation, exactly as, in the future of the two active forms, the relation of time. As, therefore, in *dâ-syâmi dabo*, the last portion is the future of the verb substantive, so in *dâ-sî-ya*,† "I may give," its precative or potential aorist is contained, and the Lithuanian *dů-ki*, "give" (without any personal termination), is rightly analogous to *dâsî*, the sibilant being hardened to *k*, which alone distinguishes the imperative from the future. Compare *dů-kite*, "give ye," with *dů-site*, "ye will give." In spite, however, of the great agreement between *dů-ki* and *dâ-sî*, it is still requisite to assume that the Lithuanian has brought with it from its Asiatic place of origin the preceding form of its imperative, and that *dů-ki-te*, "give ye," is the transmission of the Sanscrit *dâ-sî-dhvam*, *detis*, with the substitution only of an active personal termination for a middle one; but the very natural accession of the verb

* Compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Note, pp. cl. clii.

† The *y* is a euphonic insertion, and *a*, for *ma*, the termination.

stantive may be admitted in both languages independently of one another. The firm adherence to the ancient lal character, the original *yâ* of which has been conted in the Sanscrit middle, precative, and potential, to ı the Lithuanian imperfect to *i*, has, in the preceding :, effected a surprising similarity in the languages, ch have been from time immemorial distinct, and sub- to their own separate destiny. The conjecture, how- r, that the *k* of the Lithuanian imperfect has arisen n *s*, is supported by the Old Prussian, which is most mately connected with the Lithuanian, and which furhes us with an optative or subjunctive, in which *s* is ıtrasted with the Lithuanian *k*; at least, I have no ıbt that forms like *da-se*, "he may give,"* *galb-se*, "he y help," *bou-se*, "he may be," *bou-sei*, "they may be," *si-se*, "he may be silent" (Sanscrit *tûshṇîm*, "still," ilent"), are to be looked upon as cognate forms of the thuanian imperative and Sanscrit precative; and thus -se (without a personal termination, like the Greek δοίη) y be contrasted with the Sanscrit *dâ-sî-shta*, "he may ve."

682. In support of my assertion that the Lithuanian perative is based on the Sanscrit precative, not on the tential, may be specially adduced the circumstance that, the latter case, in those verbs which correspond to the nscrit first class, it would necessarily retain the vowel serted between the root and the personal termination;). the inserted *a* of *weź-a-mé*, "we carry," *weź-a-té*, "ye rry," would not be lost, but most probably we should ıve in their place *weź-ai-mé*, *weź-ai-té*, which would be ıalogous to the Gothic *vig-ai-ma*, *vig-ai-th*, to the Greek ζ-οι-μεν, ἔχ-οι-τε, and Sanscrit *vah-ê-ma*, *vah-ê-ta* (from

* See Vater's Language of the Old Prussians, pp. 104 and 107.

vahaïma, *vahaïta*). But according to the view just developed, *weſz-ki-mé*, *weſz-ki-té*, is founded, not on *vah-ê-ma*, *vah-ê-ta*, but on *vak-shî-mahi*, *vak-shî-dhvam*, apart from the middle terminations. The Lettish, however, in its imperatives, has retained, of the two modifications of the Sanscrit mood under discussion, the first, *i.e.* the form called potential, corresponding to the Greek optative present; and, in the second person plural, always uses *ai* or *ee* in the place of the indicative *a*; and thus *darrait*, "do ye" (*faciatis*), corresponds, in its relation to *darrat*, "ye do,"* admirably to the Gothic subjunctives like *lis-ai-ts*, "ye two may read," as contrasted with the indicative *lis-a-ts*. I give the dual, as this has the advantage of having, in the indicative, retained the old *a* in its original form; while in the plural *lisith*, as in general before a final *th*, that letter has become *i*. The two twin sisters, therefore, the Lithuanian and Lettish, complete one another's deficiencies in the imperative admirably, since the one supplies us with the Sanscrit potential, and the other with its aorist form, or the precative, and, in fact, furnishes us with the same method of formation (which is the more important) that is to be assigned peculiarly to the middle, and does not occur elsewhere in any other European cognate idiom; while, as has been said, the

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* Though the form in *ait* or *eet* occurs in the indicative also, still here that in *at* is the prevailing and general one: in the imperative, however, that in *eet* or *ait* is the only one, and therefore characteristic of the mood. The true pronunciation of the Lettish diphthong *ee* is hard to be perceived from the description given by Rosenberger, p. 6: it is sufficient, however, for our purpose here, that this diphthong is etymologically only a corruption of *ai*, and, like this, corresponds to the Sanscrit *é* (=*a*+*i*); as, in *dcews*, "God," = देवस् *dêva-s*, from दिव् *div*, "to shine"; *eet*, "he goes," =एति *éti*, from इ *i*; *smee-t*, "to laugh," in the root answers to the Sanscrit *smi*, whence by Guna, through insertion of an *a*, *smé*.

ctive process of formation in the Greek second aorist ptative is reflected, where, in the third person plural, *οίησαν* is contrasted with the Sanscrit *dêyâsus* for *dâyâsant*, nd *δοῖεν* with the Zend *dâyain*.

683. The second person singular of the Lettish imperative s always identical with the corresponding person of the indiative, and here requires no further discussion; and thus, hat which in Lithuanian, was adduced as the third person mperative, is nothing else than the third person of the indicative present, which receives its modal function, corresponding more with the subjunctive than the imperative, by the prefix of the conjunction *te*. There are, however, some anomalous verbs, which have a form differing from the indicative, and this is in reality an unmistakeable brother of the Sanscrit potential of the second conjugation, or of the Greek optative present of the conjugation in *μι*. The personal character has (as usually happens in all tenses of the indicative) been dropped; and thus *ie* corresponds to the Greek *ιη*, Latin *iet* from *siet*, and the Sanscrit-Zend *yât*, *yâṭ*. For example, *essie* corresponds to the Greek *εἴη* (from *ἐσίη*), to the Latin *siet*, and Sanscrit *syât*, but exceeds the Latin and Sanscrit in preserving the radical vowel (as in *esmé*, contrasted with *s-mas*, *sumus*), and the Greek *εἴη*, in retaining the consonant of the root, which is, however, doubled, as occurs in Lettish, also, in several persons of the indicative; *e.g.* in *essam*, "we are," *essat*, "ye are."

684. The Lithuanian *dů̂dye*, "he may give," answers to the Greek *διδοίη*, Sanscrit *dadyât*, and Zend *daidhyât*. The agreement with the two last forms, however, is the greater, as the radical vowel is lost in the base itself; thus *dů̂-die* for *dů̂dů̂ye*, as in Sanscrit *da-dyât* for *dadâyât*, and in Zend *daidhyâṭ* for *dadhâyât*. The relation of *dů̂die* to the other unreduplicated persons of the imperative, as *dů̂ki*, *dů̂kime*, &c., is exactly that of the potential in

Sanscrit and Zend to the precative, and in Greek that of the present optative to the aorist of that mood; thus, as दद्यात् *dadyât* is related to देयात् *dê-yât* (for *dâyât*, middle *dâ-sîshṭa*), or as in Zend 𐬛𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬁𐬙 *daidhyâṭ* to 𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬌𐬁𐬙 *dâyâṭ*, and in Greek διδοίη to δοίη, so is *dûdie*, "he may give," to *dûki*, "give." In this lies a new, and, in fact, very strong proof, that the Lithuanian imperative in the third person of anomalous verbs belongs to the potential or optative present, but in the other persons to the precative or optative aorist; and that the *k* of *dûki* is identical with the κ of ἔδωκα and the *s* of *dâsîya*. It is proper here to recall attention to the division of the Sanscrit tenses and moods into special and general. The latter, to which belongs the precative, as, in Greek, the aorist, have the class-sign removed, which, in *dadâmi*, δίδωμι, and the Lithuanian *dûdu*, consists in the reduplication: this, therefore, is wanting in *dêyâsam*, *dâ-sîya*, δοίην, *dûki*, according to the same principle by which the verb under discussion forms, in the three languages, the future *dâ-syâm*, δώ-σω, *dû-su*. The Lithuanian root *bu*, "to be" (=Sanscrit *bhû*), in consonance with this principle, forms, in the plural of the future, *bú-si-me*, and in that of the imperative, *bú-ki-me*; with which latter we would compare the corresponding Sanscrit precative form *bhav-i-shî-mahi*: on the other hand, *buwa-ù*, "I was," belongs to the special theme *abhavam* (§. 522). With regard, however, to Mielke's second, third, and fourth conjugations preserving the class character in the imperative, this proceeds from their belonging to the Sanscrit tenth class, which extends its *ay* also to the general tenses; and from चुर् *chur*, "to steal," the precative middle is चोरयिषीय *chôr-ayi-shîya*, plural *chôr-ayi-shîmahi*. The *i* of *ayi* is a conjunctive vowel, which in other classes, also frequently enters between the attributive root and the verb substantive. After rejecting this conjunctive vowel, *ay* would be of necessity

:racted to *ê*, and then *chôr-ê-shîvahi*, *chor-ê-shîmahi* ld be identical with Lithuanian forms like *pen-ẽ-kiwa*, t us two nourish," *pen-ẽ-kime*, "let us nourish," as ırds the class-syllable.

35. The Lithuanian offers, beside the imperative, another ›d, which we must bring into comparison with the scrit precative;—I mean the subjunctive, which has y an imperfect to exhibit, which we append in full n the root *dů*, "to give," with the addition of the responding form of the Lettish, which is requisite in ı place, in order to understand the Lithuanian.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.		DUAL.
UAN.	LETTISH.	LITHUAN.	LETTISH.	LITHUAN.
au,	*es dohtu.*	*důtumbime*,	*mehs dohtum.*	*důtumbiwa.*
nbei,	*tu dohtu.*	*důtumbite*,	*yuhs dohtut.*	*důtumbita.*
	winsch[1] *dohtu.*	*důtu*,	*winynyi dohtu.*	*důtu.*

[1] Feminine *winynya.* [2] Feminine *winynyas.*

e third person singular, which, as is universally the ıe in Lithuanian and Lettish, represents, at the same ıe, the plural, and, in Lithuanian, also the dual, would, ısidered of itself, lead us to the Sanscrit imperative, in ich *dadâtu*, "let him give," is identical in termination :h *důtu*, *dohtu*; and the phenomenon, that the Lettish *ıtu* also passes as second and first person, might be ;arded as the consequence of an erroneous use of lan- age; like that, by which, in Old and Anglo-Saxon, the ond person plural of the present, and the third of the :terite, have made their way into the other persons also. ll I hold the *tu* under discussion, not as a personal ter- nation, but as identical with the *tum* of the other rsons, and I regard *důtu* as an abbreviation of *důtumbi*, rticularly as, in the first person plural, *důtum* may be ed for *důtumbime* (Mielke, p. 143, *b*), in which case the *m*

is to be regarded as the character of the first person, and is not to be confounded with that which precedes the *b* in the full form *dûtumbime*. I deduce this from the Lettish, which has everywhere dislodged the syllable *bi*, together with the *m* preceding, but which combines the *tu*, which remains in the plural with the personal sign, but in the singular, as this number has in general lost the consonants of the terminations, leaves it without any addition; thus, *es, tu, winsh dohtu*. A clear intimation is thus given us, that also in the Lithuanian first person singular the form *dûchiau*, and such as resemble it, must be regarded as strongly mutilated; and I have no doubt that *dûchiau* has arisen from *dûtumbiau*, by suppressing the *umb*. Thus the *t* came into direct contact with several combined vowels, and therefore was necessarily changed into *ch*, according to a universal law of sound. The abbreviation of *dûtumbiau* to *dûchiau* (for *dûtiau*) is not greater than that before mentioned of *dûtu(mbi)me* to *dûtum*, for *dûtume*. In both cases three letters have been omitted; in the first, *mb*, with the preceding vowel; in the second, with the vowel following.

686. The Lithuanian subjunctive is very important to me, as I recognise in the syllable *bi* the true exponent of the modal relation, and in this a more than casual coincidence with the expression of the Latin future of the first and second conjugation, which is in form completely the same. Compare *da-bimus* with *dûtum-bime*, *da-bitis* with *dûtum-bite*, *da-bis* with *dûtum-bei*, from *dûtum-bi-i*, *da-bo* for *dabio*, with the *dûtum-biau* presupposed above, and *dabit* with the *dûtum-bi* abbreviated to *dûtu*, likewise only supposed. The identification, however, of a Latin future form with the subjunctive of a cognate language will surprise us the less, as the Latin itself, within its own lingual province, places the future and subjunctive on the same footing in this point, that futures like *legês*, *leget*,

leyėmus, *legêtis*, coincide in form with the subjunctives of the first conjugation.

687. The *i* of the Lithuanian *bi* corresponds, there is scarce any doubt, to the Sanscrit-Zend modal character *yâ*, which, in combination with *bhû*, "to be," forms, in the third person of the precative, भूयात् *bhûyât*, 𐬨𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵 *buyâṭ*. The Lithuanian has dropped the *u* of its root *bu*, whether on account of its appearing in a contraction, or because the *u* stood before a vowel, while everywhere else it appeared before consonants: the syllable *yâ*, however, is retained pretty perfectly in the first person singular in *iau*, and in the other persons, on the contrary, it is contracted to *i*. Compare *biau* (from *biam*, see §. 438.) with the Zend 𐬨𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬌 *buyaṅm* (from *buyâm*), and *bime*, *bite*, from *buyame*, *buyate*, with 𐬨𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀 *buyâma*, 𐬨𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀 *buyata*. As regards the first part of the Lithuanian compound *důtum-bei*, &c., we easily recognise in it the Sanscrit infinitive and the accusative of the Latin supine—दातुम् *dâtum*, *datum*. In its isolated state the Lithuanian supine ends in *tu*, but the lost sign of the accusative has in the contraction been preserved in its original form under the protection of the auxiliary verb following, and principally of the labial initial sound answering to *m*, while everywhere else, in Lithuanian, the accusative *m* has become *n* (§. 149.).

688. The Sanscrit first conjugation suppresses the *â* of the potential character *yâ* both in the active and in the middle,*

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* This suppression would be favoured by the facility with which the *y* vocalized to *i*, becomes a diphthong with *a* preceding it. The prime inducement for it, however, was the effort to lighten the modal element in combination with a verbal theme, which, without that, was of two, or, in the tenth class, of three syllables; thus, *bô-dhes*, "thou mayest know," for *bôdh-a-yâs*; *kâmayês*, "thou mayest love," for *kâm-aya-yâs*. In the second conjugation the combination of the modal syllable *yâ* with radical *â* (there are no roots in short *a*) occurs only in monosyllabic verbal themes; *e.g. bhâ-yâm*. Roots of the third class, however, as they become polysyllabic

and the *y* vocalized to *i* is contracted, with the preceding *a* of the class syllable, to *ê*; *e. g.* भरेस् *bharês*, "thou mayest bear," for *bhar-a-yâs*, as, in Greek, *φέροις* for *φεροίης* (*φερ-ο-ίης*). I am not, however, of opinion, that the diphthong, which is expressed, in Sanscrit by ए, and now spoken as *ê*, had in the earliest time, before the separation of languages, a pronunciation in which neither *a* nor *i* was perceptible; but it is most probable that the two elements were heard in combination, and spoken as *ai*, which *ai* may have been distinguished from the Vṛiddhi diphthong ऐ *âi* by this, that the same breadth was not given to the pronunciation of the *a* sound that it has in *âi*. The same must have been the case with the *ô*: it was pronounced like *au*, and its Vṛiddhi (§. 29.), like *âu*. For to keep to the ए *ê*, if this diphthong was from the early period of the language taken as *ê*, then the *i* sound, which had become utterly extinct as a whole, would scarcely, after the separation of languages, have again been restored to life in single members, and thus the whole make its appearance in Greek, at one time as *αι*, at another as *ει* or *οι* (see Vocalismus, pp. 193, &c.); in Zend at one time as *ê* (or

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polysyllabic by reduplication, lighten the roots by suppressing the *â*, as *dad-yâm* for *dadâ-yâm*, *jah-yâm* for *jahâ-yâm* (compare §. 482.). The ninth class weakens its class syllable *nâ* to *nî*, as before heavy personal terminations (§. 485.); thus, *yu-nî-yâm* for *yu-nâ-yâm;* and therefore the combination of the full modal exponent *yâ* with the heaviest kind of vowel is, in polysyllabic themes, entirely avoided. The roots which annex *nu* or *u* do not suffer any weakening either in the base or in the modal character, for the *â* of *yâ* cannot here be lost, since the *i* cannot become a diphthong with the *u* preceding: the *u* of the class syllable, however, is not necessarily weakened, since *u* is itself one of the lighter vowels; hence, *âp-nu-yâm*, "I may reach." To this would correspond, in Greek, forms like *δεικνυίην*, which, however, as it appears, are avoided on account of the difficulty of pronouncing them, and carried into the *ω* conjugation; while the remains of forms, which have remained true to their own conjugation, have suppressed the *ι*, and, in compensation, lengthened the *υ*; thus *ἐπιδεικνύμην* for *ἐπιδεικνυίμην*.

aê, §. 28.), at another as *ôi*; in Lithuanian in one place as *ai*, in another as *ê*; in Lettish now as *ai*, now as *ê* or *ee* (see §. 682., Rem.); in Latin sometimes as *ae*, as the next descent from *ai*, sometimes as *ê*. But if before the separation of languages the diphthong still had its right pronunciation, then each particular individual of the family of languages which arose after the separation may have either always or occasionally preserved in its full value the *ai* which had been brought with it from the land of its origin; or invariably or occasionally contracted it to *ê*; and as it is natural to derive *ê* from *ai* many of the cognate languages coincide in this process of melting down. While, however, the Sanscrit, according to the pronunciation which has been received by us, causes the diphthong *ai*, when in a position before consonants, to be invariably taken as *ê*, the Greek exhibits the opposite extreme, and displays to us the Sanscrit diphthong as *αι*, *ει*, or *οι*, and, in fact, as *οι* in the preceding case, since the class vowel, which, in the indicative, appears as *ο* only before nasals, in combination with the modal exponent *ι* invariably assumes the *ο* quality. The *η*, however, of the full modal exponent *ιη*, as in Sanscrit the *â*, is suppressd; thus *τέρπ-οι-ς*, *τέρπ-οι-(τ)*, answering to *tarp-ê-s*, *tarp-ê-t*; *τέρπ-οι-τον*, *τερπ-οί-την*, to *tarp-ê-tam*, *tarp-ê-tâm*; *τέρπ-οι-μεν*, *τέρπ-οι-τε*, to *tarp-ê-ma*, *tarp-ê-ta*.

689. It has been already remarked (§. 430.) that the first person singular in *οιμι* is an unorganic form, and that *τυπτοίμην* points to an active form *τύπτοιν*. When I first advanced this conjecture I was not aware that the form arrived at by theory has been actually transmitted to us, though but in the single case of *τρέφοιν*. Besides this, Matthiæ (§. 198. 2.) proposes to read *ἁμάρτοιν* instead of *ἁμαρτεῖν* in Suidas. We will leave it undecided here, whether the forms *οίην*, *οίης*, &c., which occur in contracted verbs, have preserved the original form, and are thus more genuine than those in Sanscrit like *tarp-ê-s* for *tarp-a-yâs*, or whether, as is more pro-

bable, they are carried back by the analogy of the *μι* conjugation. The Sanscrit interposes a euphonic *y* between the diphthong *ê*, and, in the second conjugation, between the *i* shortened from *yâ*, and the personal terminations commencing with a vowel (§. 43.); hence, *tarpê-y-am*, answering to the Greek *τέρποιμι* for *τέρποιν*. Regarding the termination *am* for simple *m*, which would make the euphonic *y* superfluous, and attest a form *tarpêm* for *tarpéyam*, see §. 437.

690. The Latin, in its subjunctives of the first conjugation, exhibits, like the Sanscrit in the form of *ê*, the diphthong which has arisen from the class syllable and the modal vowel *i*; but in the first and third person singular, through the influence of the final *m* and *t*, this is shortened; thus, *amem*, *amet*, in opposition to *amês*, *amêmus*, *amêtis*. The kindred formation of these words with the Greek, like *τέρποιμι*, *τέρποις*, *τέρποιμεν*, *τέρποιτε*, would perhaps never be discovered without the medium of the Sanscrit. But if *amês*, *amet*, *amêmus*, *amêtis*, be compared with the Sanscrit forms of the same meaning, *kâmayês*, *kâmayêt*, *kâmayêma*, *kâmayêta*, it must be assumed that the last *a* of the class character *aya* (whence we have deduced the Latin *â* (=*a*+*a*) of *amâ-re* (§. 109ª. 6.), by the dislodgement of the *y*), has combined with the modal *i*, while in the *â* of *amâs*, *amâmus*, *amâtis*, the two *a* of *kâm-a(y)a-si*, *kâm-a(y)â-mus*, *kâm-a(y)a-tha*, are united. The *ê*, therefore, of *amês*, &c., corresponds to the Greek *οι* in forms like *τιμάοις*, *φιλέοις*, *δηλόοις* (§. 109ª. 6.), and the preceding short vowel is passed over. In the obsolete forms *verberit*, *temperint* (Struve, p. 146), also, the first part of the diphthong *ê* (=*a*+*i*) has been lost, and only the pure modal element has been left. They may have arisen from the consciousness that an *i* was bound up in the *e* of *verberet*, *temperent*, or they may have followed the principle of *sit*, *velit*, *edit* (§. 674.). On the other hand, *do* really belongs to the Sanscrit second conjugation and to the Greek in *μι*, and therefore *duim*, *perduim*, are regular forms.

: *i* of which corresponds to the Sanscrit *y* of *dad-yâm* and the Greek *ι* of *διδοίην*. The weakening of the *a* to *u* in *im* rests, perhaps, on the circumstance, that *ui* is a more vourite combination than *aï*.

691. In *moneâs, moneâmus*, &c., is contained the whole of e Sanscrit causal theme *mân-aya*, "to make to think" (see 110), only that the properly long *ê* (from *a* + *i* = Sanscrit *ay*) , on account of its position, shortened before a vowel, the of the modal expression has disappeared, and, in compensa- on, the preceding vowel is lengthened, according to the rinciple of Greek optatives with *ῡ* for *υι*. As, therefore, πιδεικνῦμην for ἐπιδεικνυίμην, δαίνῦτο, πηγνῦτο for δαινυῖτο, ηγνυῖτο, so *moneâs* for *monenais*. On the other hand, the ase is the same with *carint* (Struve, p. 146), for *careânt* from *areaïnt*, as with the beforementioned *verberit, temperint*.

692. The same relation that *moneâs* has to *monês* is held by *udiâs*, from *audiais*, to *audîs* (§§. 190ª. 6., 505.). The future, owever, which in the third and fourth conjugation is, in ct, nothing else than a subjunctive, as was first remarked my System of Conjugation (p. 98), with which Struve rees (pp. 145, 146), has preserved the modal element, and s been contracted with the *a* of the class character to *ê*, th the exception of the first person singular, in which *em, audiem*, should stand for *legam, audiam*. In the older nguage *dicem, faciem*, are actually transmitted to us by intilian, as forms used by Cato Censor (compare Struve, 147); and thus, in the fourth conjugation, forms like *diem* may well have existed. As, however, in the proper bjunctive the last element of the diphthong *ai* has cast elf upon the *a*, and lengthened that letter, but in the future s been contracted with the *a* to *ê*, two forms have arisen om that which was originally one, of which each has re- ived a portion of that meaning, to represent which properly longs to the two together; as, in the history of language, milar cases have often arisen, and *datûri* and *datôres* (I use

the plural intentionally) both conduct us to the Sanscrit *dâtâras*, which unites the meaning of the two Latin forms in itself. The use of the subjunctive in the sense of a future reminds us of the periphrasis for the future by means of auxiliary verbs which signify "to be requisite," or "to will," as also of the occasional use of the Zend imperative in the sense of the future (see §. 660.). It is clear, however, that the expression of the future, from the most ancient period, has bordered with surprising closeness on the relation denoted by the Latin subjunctive, since the two are distinguished, in Sanscrit, only by the quantity of the vowel—*ya* in the future, and *yâ* in the potential.

693. The future and subjunctive of the Latin third conjugation may perhaps require a little further consideration, though what is most important to be observed respecting them is already deducible from what has been remarked regarding the second and fourth conjugations. Future forms like *vehês*, *vehêmus*, have already appeared in my System of Conjugation as akin to the Sanscrit potentials like *vahês*, *vahêma*, and Latin subjunctives as *amês*, *amêmus*. But in the first conjugation the *ê* was firmly planted; for even if in its *â* a contraction of the Sanscrit *aya* of the tenth class were not recognised, still the *â* is clear to every one's eyes, and also the possibility of melting it down with the *i* of the subjunctive expression which follows to *ê*. But the *ê* of *vehês*, *vehêmus*, appeared incomprehensible, or as a transmission from the third conjugation to the first, as long as the *i* of *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-mus*, passed as the original form of the class vowel of the third conjugation. Through the observation, however, made above (p. 104), according to which the intermediate vowel of the third conjugation is only a secondary *i* weakened from *a*, forms like *vehês*, *vehêmus*, must now appear in a totally different light. Their *ê* contains the primitive *a*, which has become weakened in the indicative, as it occurs elsewhere also, that a word in composition has maintained

lf in a form more close to its original state than when iso-
d and unprotected.* Before the forms *veh-ă-s, veh-ă-mus,*
become corrupted to *veh-i-s, veh-i-mus,* in the indicative,
-ê-s, veh-ê-mus, had arisen from them, and, in the sub-
ctive, *vehâs, vehâmus;* and the corruption of the class
el of the indicative could have had no influence over that
ich was melted down with the modal character.†

694. The Latin third conjugation leads us to the Gothic,
which all the twelve classes of Grimm's strong conju-
ion coincide with the Latin third (§. 109ª. 1.). The
thic has, however, this advantage over the Latin, that
has not admitted the corruption of the old *a* of the indica-
e, throughout, but only before a final *s* and *th;* otherwise
has retained the *a*. We must, therefore, carefully avoid
riving the forms *bairais* "*feras,*" *bairai,* "*ferat,*" *bairaith,*
eratis," from the indicative *bairis, bairith, bairith,* by the
ertion of an *a,* which would imply a principle of forma-
n quite unknown in the Indo-European family of lan-
ages; but the said subjunctive forms must be regarded
the creations of a period in which their indicative pro-
ypes were still *bairas, bairath,* to which also the passive
rms *bair-a-za, bair-a-da,* as regards the intermediate
wel, refer us (§. 466.). In the second person of the dual
d the first of the plural *bair-ai-ts, bair-ai-ma* have the
me relation to the indicative *bair-a-ts, bair-a-m,* that in
nscrit *bhar-ê-tam, bhar-ê-ma* (from *bhar-ai-tam, bhar-*
-ma), have to *bhar-a-thas, bhar-â-mas;* in the third person

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* Thus the guttural of the Latin *facio* has been retained in the French
gnifique, while in *fais, faisons,* it has been corrupted to *s,* or, according
the pronunciation, has been lost entirely in *fais.*

† I have brought forward this theory for the first time in the Berl.
hrb., Jan. 1834, pp. 97, 98 (see Vocalismus, p. 200), to which A. Benary
sents (Doctrine of Roman Sounds, pp. 27, 28), who, however, derives
e modal vowel *i* from *i,* "to go." (Compare §. 670.)

plural *bair-ai-na* (transposed from *bair-ai-an*), "*ferant*," has the same relation to *bair-a-nd*, "*ferunt*," that the Zend *bar-ay-ĕn* has to *bar-a-nti*, and the Greek φέρ-οι-εν to φέρ-ο-ντι. In the first person dual the relation of *bair-ai-va* to *bair-ôs*, from *bair-a-vas* (§. 441.), rests on the same principle on which, in Sanscrit, that of *bhar-ê-va* to *bhar-â-vas* is founded. In the first person singular *bairau*, "I may bear," the modal vowel *i* is wanting, but the *u* is the vocalization of the personal character *m*; *bairau*, therefore (from *bairaim*), has the same relation to *bairais*, *bairai*, &c., that, in Latin, the future *feram* (for *ferem*) has to *ferês*, *feret*, from *ferais*, *ferait*.* The Old High German exhibits the Gothic diphthong *ai* (=*ê*, see §. 78.) graphically in the form *ê*, but shortens it at the end of a word; hence, *bere* (for *berê*), "*feram*," "*ferat*," has the same relation to *berês* (=Sanscrit *bharês*, "*feras*," *berêmês*, "*feramus*") that, in Latin, *amem*, *amet*, bear to *amês*, *amêmus*.

695. The Old Prussian, a dialect which resembles the Lithuanian very closely, employs imperatives like *immais*, "take thou," *immaiti*, "take ye," which stand in a clearer relation to their indicative forms *imm-a-se*, *imm-a-ti*, than, in Gothic, *nim-ai-s*, "*sumas*," *nim-ai-th*, "*sumatis*," to *nim-i-s*, *nim-i-th*. Compare, on the other hand, the Lettish imperatives like *darrait*, "do ye," contrasted with *darrat*, "ye do" (§. 862.). *Dais*, "give," *daiti*, "give ye" (in Old Prussian), contrasted with *dase*, "thou givest," *dati*,

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* Respecting the length of the *â*, see §. 434.

† With regard to the suppression of the *i* of *bairau*, compare, in Gothic, Grimm's third class of the weak conjugation, in which the *i* of the conjugational character *ai* (=Sanscrit *aya*, Latin *ê*) is everywhere lost, where a final nasal, or one standing before a consonant, follows, or ought to follow; thus, first person singular, *haba* for *habai*, Old High German *habêm*; plural, *habam* for *habaim*, Old High German *habêmês*; third person plural, *haband* for *habaind*, Old High German *habênt*; in opposition to *habais*, *habaith*, &c.

ye give," which furnish a commentary on the relation of e Latin *dês, dêtis,* to *das, datis,* as the contraction of + *i* to the *é,* which is not perceived in Latin, is evident Old Prussian. More usually, however, the Old Prus- in exhibits, in the indicative, an *e* or *i* as the conjunctive wel, and in the imperative the diphthong *ei;* e.g. *dereis* ee" = δέρκοις, *ideiti,* "*esset*"* = ἔδοιτε, *edîtis,* अद्यात *adyâta.* ne two moods, however, do not everywhere agree, since *kinnaiti,* "make ye" (Katech. p. 54), does not answer to *kinnimai,* "we make" (l. c. p. 5), but leads us to expect stead of it *tickinnamai.* The simple *i,* also, or, in its lace, *y,* is found in Old Prussian imperatives, as, *mylis,* love thou," *endiris,* "regard thou."

696. The Old Sclavonic has retained only the last lement of the original diphthong *ai* in the second and hird person singular in its imperative in the regular con- ugation, which, as has been before shewn, corresponds artly to the Sanscrit first class with *a* annexed (§. 499.), artly to the fourth in य *ya* (§. 500), partly to the tenth in य *aya* (§. 505.); as, вези *veźi,* "carry," and "let him arry," corresponds to the Sanscrit *vahês, vahêt* (§. 433.), atin *vehês, vehet,* and *vehâs, vehat,* Gothic *vigais, vigai,* Greek χοις, ἔχοι. In the dual and plural, however, where the iphthong is protected by the following personal termination, *ye* (from *é* with *y* prefixed, §. 255. *n.*) corresponds to the ndo-Roman *é,* Gothic *ai,* and Greek οι; thus, везѣмы *veźyemy* = वहेम *vahêma, vehêmus, vehâmus, vigaima,* ἔχοιμεν; везѣте *veźyete*† = वहेत *vahêta, vehêtis, vehâtis, vigaith,* ἔχοιτε; lual везѣта *veźyeta* = वहेतम् *vahêtam,* वहेताम् *vahêtâm,* ἔχοιτον, χοίτην, *vigaits.*

697. Among the other Sclavonic languages, the Car- iolan especially deserves, with respect to the mood under

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* *Ist,* "he eats," euphonic for *idt,* corresponds to the Latin *est.*

† This represents the third person also, see §. 470.

discussion, a closer consideration, as its imperative in those verbs which have *a* as the class syllable is distinguished from the present indicative by the placing a *y* (=*i*) beside the *a*; so that thus *ay* is opposed to the Sanscrit *é*=*a*+*i* of the potential, to the Gothic *ai* of the subjunctive, and to the Latin *é* of the subjunctive and future. The singular, which, in Carniolan also, in advantageous contrast with the other Sclavonic dialects, has a first person, ends in the three persons in *ai*, since the pronominal consonants, which, from the most ancient period, have stood at the end of words, must give place according to the rule for the extirpation of final consonants, which extends to all the Sclavonic idioms (§. 255. *l.*); hence, *dél-ay*, "I may," "thou mayest," "he may work," for *dél-ay-m*, *dél-ay-s*, *dél-ay-t*, opposed to the indicative *dél-a-m* (from *dél-a-mi*), *dél-a-sh* (from *dél-a-shi*), *dél-a* (from *dél-a-ti*), and, in accordance with Gothic forms like *bair-ai-s*, *bair-ai*, Sanscrit like *bharês*, *bharêt*, Latin like *amem*, *amês*, *amet*, *vehês*, *vehet*, Greek like φέροιμι, φέροις, φέροι. In the dual, *dél-ay-wa* answers to the indicative *dél-a-wa*, in the most perfect accordance with the Gothic *bairaiva* and Sanscrit *bharêva*; in the second person dual, *dél-ay-ta* has the same relation to the indicative *dél-a-ta*, that, in Gothic, *bair-ai-ts*, "*feratis*," has to *bair-a-ts* "*fertis*;" and, in the plural, *dél-ay-mo* is to *dél-a-mo* as, in Gothic, *bair-ai-ma* to *bair-a-m*, or, in Greek, φέρ-οι-μεν to φέρ-οι-τε; in the second person, *dél-ay-te* bears the same relation to *dél-a-te* that, in Gothic, *bair-ai-th* to that which we must presuppose as the original form of the indicative *bair-a-th*, whence the corruption *bair-i-th*: hence the Old High German *ber-ê-t* (from *ber-ai-t*), contrasted with its indicative *ber-a-t*, is better compared. The third person dual and plural is wanting in the Carniolan imperative, and is expressed by a periphrasis of the indicative with the conjunction *nay*; thus, *nay délata*, *nay délayo*.

th class, and with that of the Gothic strong verbs.
· see in *dél-a-m*, as in the Polish first conjugation
ı, "I read," *czyt-ay*, "read thou," *czyt-ay-my*, "we
ad," the Sanscrit tenth class,* the character of
ıya, has separated into various forms in the Scla-
lioms as in Latin and the German weak conjuga-
The Carniolan *dél-a-m* and Polish *czyt-a-m* are
much nearer to the Sanscrit like *chint-ayâ-mi*,
k," through the Russian sister forms: дѣлаю *dyé-*
ıтаю *chitáyû* (from *dyél-ayo-m*, *chit-ayo-m*; see
;.). In the third person plural the Carniolan
ınd Polish *czytaya* approaches nearer to the San-
nt-aya-nti: on the other hand the Carniolan *yedo*,
at," corresponds to the Sanscrit *adanti*, from the

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w, also, refer Dobrowsky's first Conjugation in Old Sclavonic,
to §. 500.), at least principally, to the Sanscrit tenth class;
assume the suppression of the first *a* of the character *aya*
ı Grimm's first conjugation of the weak form, which, by this
ecome similar to the Sanscrit fourth class (see §. 109ₙ. 6.). The
ɔnic, however, has also not unfrequently retained the first *a* of
ter *aya*; as in *padayû*, "I fall," *chitayû*, "I read" (Dobr. 522).
ɔots ending with a vowel the *y* may be a euphonic addition, and

root *ad*, the *d* of which in Carniolan is retained unchanged only in the third person plural, but before *t* has been changed to *s*, and elsewhere is dropped: thus *yís-te*, "ye eat," as in Latin *es-tis*, for the Sanscrit *at-tha*; *yés-ta*, "ye two eat," "they two eat," for अत्थस् *at-thas*, अत्तस् *at-tas*. In the imperative, *yéy* for *yédy* answers to the Sanscrit *adyâm*, *adyâs*, *adyât*; dual *yéyva*, *yéyta* = *adyâva*, *adyâtam*; plural *yéymo*, *yéyte* for *adyâma*, *adyâta*.

699. The Zend appears to us, in its potential and in the first conjugation, to use the expression, in a half Greek half Indo-Roman dress, since it exhibits the primitive diphthong *ai* at one time in the shape of *ôi*, at another in that of *ê* (§. 33.), to which latter, however, according to §. 28., another *a* is prefixed. Thus 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬋𐬌𐬱 *barôis* agrees admirably with φέροις, and 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬋𐬌𐬙 *barôiṭ* with φέροι(τ): on the other hand, in the middle voice the third person 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *baraêta* agrees better with the Sanscrit *bharêta*, and, after withdrawing the middle *a*, with the Latin *feret*, than with φέροιτο. The first and second persons plural active in the first conjugation I am unable to quote, but I have no doubt that here again 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 *baraêma*, 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *baraêta*, run parallel to the Sanscrit *bharêma*, *bharêta*, and Latin *ferêmus*, *ferêtis*, and that we should not look for the more Greek form *barôima*, *barôita*. For I imagine I have found that in selecting between *ôi* and *aê* the Zend is guided by what follows the diphthong, according as it is a final consonant, or one accompanied by a vowel. How much the selection falls upon *ôi*, in the former position, to the rejection of *aê*, is seen from this, that bases in *i* in the genitive and ablative regularly exhibit the forms *ôis* and *ôiṭ*, answering to the Sanscrit *ês*.* Through this, therefore, we may explain

* Remark, also, the frequently-occurring 𐬥𐬋𐬌𐬙 *nóiṭ*, "not," = Sanscrit *nét*.

ıe misrelation in form between the middle 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬀 *ıraêta* and the active *barôiṭ* in the third person singular : the potential. But when we find in the first person ural middle the form 𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬁𐬙𐬀 *bûıidhyôimaidhê videamus*" = Sanscrit भुवेमहि *bhudyêmahi*, "*sciamus*," * here ıe exceedingly broad termination, which in the litho-raphed Codex is even separated from the preceding part f the word by a point, may have the effect of a distinct ord; and thus it may be observed, that in the final sound, lso, the diphthong *ôi* is admissible, and in this position is specially favoured by a preceding *y*: hence 𐬌𐬎𐬀 *yôi*, 'which" (ὅι) = ये *yê*, 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬨 *maidhyôi*, "*in medio*" (§. 196.) = मध्ये *madhyê*; but also 𐬨𐬀𐬌 *môi*, "to me," 𐬙𐬀𐬌 *tôi* and 𐬙𐬎𐬀𐬌 *thwôi*, "to thee," 𐬍𐬀𐬌 *hôi*, "to him," with 𐬨𐬀 *mê*, 𐬙𐬀 *tê*, 𐬙𐬎𐬀 *thwê*, 𐬍𐬀 *hê*. I would, therefore, not deduce from *bûıidhyôimaidhê* forms like *barôimaidhê*, still less an active *barôima*; for in both forms the *y*, which favours the *ôi*, is deficient, and in the latter, also, the breadth of termination giving the appearance of a separate word, for which reason, in the third person singular, not *bûıidhyôita* but *bûıidhyaêta* answers to the *bûıidhyôimaidhê* which has been mentioned (Vend. S. p. 45.).

700. In the third person plural the old *a* of the original diphthong *ai* has been retained unaltered, but the *i* has, on account of the following vowel of the termination, passed into its corresponding semivowel *y*; and thus, 𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬈𐬀𐬌𐬈 *barayĕn* answers to the Greek *φέροιεν*; and thus, for the one *οι* of the Greek optative in Zend, we have, according to the quality of the termination following, three forms, viz. *ôi*, *aê*, and *ay*. Frequently, however, as the third person plural in the mood under discussion of the first active form can be quoted, the first person singular is,

* Vend. S. p. 45, twice; once, erroneously, *bûıidhîôimaidhê*; and once, *bûıidhyôimaêdê*.

on the contrary, of extremely rare occurrence, though it ought properly to be our point of starting. It must excite our curiosity to learn whether it resembles more the *φέροιν* which is to be pre-supposed in Greek, and which, §. 689, we have found supported by *τρέφοιν*, or rather Latin forms like *amem*, or Sanscrit as *bharê-y-am* (§. 43.). As in the third person plural *barayĕn* answers to the Sanscrit *bharê-y-us* (from *bharê-y-ant*), so in the first person singular *bara-y-ĕm* might be expected for *bharêyam*. As, however, in Zend, if a *y* precedes the termination *ĕm*, the *ĕ* is regularly suppressed, after which the semivowel becomes a vowel, so might *baraêm** or *barβim* be anticipated: neither of these forms, however, occurs, but one with the personal character suppressed, and otherwise corresponding to the second person 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬎 *barôis*, and to the third 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬑 *barβiṭ*, if the 𐬚𐬌𐬨𐬎 *nĕmoi*, which twice occurs Vendidad Sade p. 359. is the correct reading; and there 𐬐𐬀𐬵 𐬚𐬌𐬨𐬎 𐬐𐬀𐬵 *kaṅm nĕmoî zaṅm* (which Anquetil translates "*quelle terre invoquerai-je*") really means literally (in all probability) "*qualem invocem terram?*" † After this follows 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬚𐬀 𐬚𐬌𐬨𐬎 𐬫𐬀𐬰𐬭𐬀 *kuthrâ nĕmβi ayêni*, &c., according to Anquetil "*quelle prière choisirai-je*," perhaps literally, "whither shall I go (𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌 *ayêni* = अयानि *ayâni*) that I may adore?" We look with eagerness for the light which may be thrown on this passage by the aid of Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation. Among the other potentials of the first conjugation which occur in the Vend. S., we may here further mention the frequently-occurring *upa-zôit*, "he may beat," from the root *zan* = Sanscrit हन्

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* According to the analogy of *vaêm*, "we," for the Sanscrit *vayam*; for after rejecting the *a* preceding the *m* the preceding *ay* must be melted down to *ê*, and, according to §. 28., an *a* must be prefixed to the *ê*.

† Compare with *nĕmôi* the Sanscrit *namas*, "adoration," from the root *nam*.

ıich, after rejecting the *n* of the preceding radical is treated as though it were the annexed vowel of : class; in which respect may be observed what has ›efore remarked regarding the Sanscrit root स्था . 508.). And [illegible] *štĕrĕnaêta,* "he may (Vend. S. p. 377) deserves special notice, since in ›rd the class syllable *nâ* (ninth class), after abbre- the *â,* follows the analogy of the short *a* of the asses of the first conjugation; and thus, in this , [illegible] *štĕrĕnaêta,* after withdrawing the final *a,* becomes similar to the Latin future *sternet*

In the second conjugation the Zend answers in its ıl tolerably well to the Sanscrit, with the exception third person plural, in which the termination men- in §. 462. does not occur; and also in the middle the ıat enigmatical termination *ran* (§. 613.) is repre- by a form which corresponds better to the general le for the designation of the person, regarding we shall treat hereafter. In the first person sin- ›f the active, according to §. 61., *yaṇm* corresponds to ınscrit *yâm* and Greek ιην; *i.e.* the *daidhyaṇm,* y place, make," already mentioned above (§. 442. 5.) ›onds to the Sanscrit दध्यास् *dadhyâm* and Greek

In the second person, according to §. 56[a], is found *yâo* for यास् *yâs,* ιης; *e.g.* [illegible] *fra-mruyâo* "=प्रब्रूयास् *pra-brûyâs* (Vend. S. p. 451.); and in the [illegible] *yâṭ*=यात् *yât,* ιη(τ), *e.g.* [illegible] *kĕrĕnuyâṭ* " (Vend. S. p. 457.)=कृणुयात् *kṛiṇuyât* of the Veda (p. 117). I am unable to quote the plural in the potential, though I can do so in the precative, has completely the same signification, and which far more frequently in Zend than in Sanscrit, and ınguished from the potential only by the removal of ıss characteristics, so that the form of the potential

may be safely inferred from the precative. In the first person plural *yâma* stands for the Sanscrit *yâsma* and Greek *ιημεν*, *e.g.* [illegible] *buyâma** = Sanscrit *bhûyâsma* (Vend. S. p. 312.); and hence I deduce the potential *daidhyâma* from the above-mentioned *daidhyaṅm*. In the second person, *yata* (with the vowel of the modal character shortened) stands for the Sanscrit *yâsta* and Greek *ιητε*; *e.g.* [illegible] *buyata*, "*sitis*"† = भूयास्त *bhûyâsta*; [illegible] *dâyata* "*detis*"‡ = देयास्त *dê-yâsta*, *δοίητε*. Hence I deduce, in the potential, the form *daidhyata* = Sanscrit *dadhyâta*, Greek *διδοίητε*. Here the shortening of the syllable *yâ* is remarkable in comparison with the length of quantity preserved before the termination *ma* of the first person; and as this contrast can hardly be fortuitous, we must perhaps assume that the termination *ta*, on account of the mute with which it begins, is sustained with more difficulty by the language than the termination *ma*, which begins with the lightest consonants; and hence occasion has arisen for weakening the preceding syllable, in the sense of §. 480.

702. In the third person plural the combination of the modal syllable *yâ* with the personal termination *ĕn*, originally *an*, produces the form *yaṅn* for *yân*, according to the analogy of the first person singular in *yaṅm* for *yâm*. Before the final nasal therefore, the latter half of the long *â* = *a* + *a* has been weakened to the nasal sound of the Sanscrit Anusvâra. We may take as an example [illegible] *nidithyaṅn*, "they may lay down" (Vend. S. pp. 203, 204), for which I should have anticipated *nidaithyaṅn*, as, in the third person singular

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* The root *bû* shortens its vowel in the precative, compare Burnouf, Yaçna, Note S., p. 152.

† Vend. S., pp. 115, 457, 459, and, according to Burnouf's Yaçna, Note S. p. 152, in the still unedited part, p. 556.

‡ According to Burnouf, l. c., in the still unedited part of the Vend. S., pp. 542, 543, 548.

of the middle, [illegible] *paiti ni-daithîta*, "he may lay down" (Vend. S. p. 282, ZZ. 2, 7, 12, 17), is found from the root *dath*, from *dâ* extended by the addition of a *th* (see p. 112), which, through the influence of the *y* following, has received the addition of an *i*, which in *ni-dithyaṅn* above has remained alone. From the root *dâ*, "to give," we should anticipate [illegible] *dâyaṅn*, or perhaps, with the radical vowel shortened, *dayaṅn*, which comes very near to the Greek δοῖεν, while the Sanscrit *dêyâsus* (from *dêyâsant*) agrees more with δοίησαν. The Sanscrit annexes, as has been already remarked, in its precative the verb substantive to the root, with the exception of the second and third person singular of the active, in which properly *dêyâss*, *dêyast*, would be required, which, in the present state of the language, according to a strict law of sound (§. 94.), is impossible, and the language has therefore preferred rather to drop the auxiliary verb than the personal character; thus, *dêyâs*, *dêyât*, answering to the Zend *dâyâo*, *dâyâṭ*. It is, however, very worthy of remark, that the Zend abstains entirely from employing the verb substantive, and thus sides completely with the Greek, only that the latter agrees in δοίησαν with the Sanscrit, and in δοῖεν with the Zend.

703. In the middle voice, also, the Zend precative abstains from annexing the verb substantive; and on the contrary, according to the principle which the Sanscrit follows in the potential (§. 673.), contracts the syllable *yâ* to *î*, and in the plural, at least in the third person, to short *i*. While, therefore, the Sanscrit and Lithuanian make common cause through forms like *dâ-sî-dhvam*, *dû-ki-te* ("*detis*," "*date*"), the previously-mentioned Zend form *paiti-nidaithîta* ranks with the Greek θεῖτο, since in both a simple *i* sound is combined with the root. I view the form *yaôsh-daithita*,* which

* The last portion of this verb is radically identical with the just-mentioned *paiti ni-daithîta*: see §. 637.

often occurs in the Eighth Fargard, as of more importance: it is everywhere regarded by Anquetil as singular, and we should be the more easily led to suppose him in the right, as the Sanscrit gives us no direct information regarding this form; and, in fact, it has more the appearance of a singular than a plural, and if once recognised as a precative would rather lead us to the Greek *θεῖτο* than to *θεῖντο*. The Sanscrit supplies us with no direct information regarding the form [illegible] *yaôshdaithita;* for, according to the theory of Sanscrit, we must have expected, instead of the termination *itha, hîran* (from *sîran*), and for the abovementioned singular *îta, hîsta.* But as the Zend precative, in the active, renounces the verb substantive, we may be prepared for the like in the middle; and as, in the third person singular in the potential, *îta* is formed from *yât,* a similar *îta* in the precative cannot surprise us. It is clear, however, that *daithîta* is a precative, and not a potential,* since the root *dath,* which is extended from *dâ,* in its conjugation follows the first class, and not the second, and therefore, in the potential, forms *dathaêta,* and not *daithîta.* The third person plural, *daithita,* however, answers neither to the Sanscrit potentials middle like *dadhîran, τιθεῖντο,* nor to the precatives like *dhâsîran, θεῖντο*; but perhaps to the universal principle of formation of the third person plural middle, and, in particular, to that form which, according to §. 459., rejects the *n,* which belongs to the plural. Thus, [illegible] *daithita,* "they should lay," agrees with the Sanscrit forms like *dadhata,* "they lay," and Ionic like *διδόαται, τιθέαται.* As this rejection of the *n* in the Sanscrit middle special tenses has become the rule of the whole class of the second conjugation, and the precative agrees with the potential of the second

* I retain the terms derived from the Sanscrit, though it is unsuitable to distinguish various forms of one and the same mood, as if they were of different moods.

ss, we are the less surprised at finding the Zend *daithita* ficient in the *n*. This *daithita*, however, appears to me be a contraction of *daith-yata*, since the modal element, nich we have seen above (§. 702.), in the singular *daithîta*, the form of an *î*, must in the plural become *y* be- re the termination *ata*, which the Sanscrit requires in e secondary forms: from *yata*, however, by casting out ne *a*, would easily be formed *ita* (Compare p. 760.). But f the termination of the third person plural had always een *ita*, we should be unable to perceive any reason why he modal vowel should be long in the singular and short n the plural before the same termination.

"Remark.—It remains further to be shewn that the word [illegible] *yaôsh-daithita*, which has hitherto appeared solated, but which occurs perhaps seven times in the Eighth Fargard of the Vendidad, is (in spite of Anquetil's or his Parsí teacher's opinion that it is a singular) actually a plural. We read in Vendidad Sade pp. 266, &c., [illegible] *nṭ tâ narâ yaôshdayaṅn aṇhĕn . . . yâ naṡâ (naṡvâ?) ava ĕrĕta ṡûnô vâ para-iristahê mashyêhê vâ âaṭ mraôṭ ahurô nazdâo yaôshdayaṅn aṇhĕn . . . kava (kva?) yêva yêzi aêsha asus âiwighnicta ṡûnô vâ kĕrĕfs-kharô vayô vâ kĕrĕfs-kharô aṭ hvaṅm tanûm pairi-yaôshdaithita geus maêṡmana apâcha aiti avatha yaôshdayaṅn.* According to Anquetil (II. 336), "L'homme sur le quel on a porté quelque chose du adavre d'un chien ou de celui d'un homme, est il pur? rmuzd repondit, il est pur; comment? Lorsque (le mort) été regardé par le chien qui mange les corps, ou par l'oiseau

qui mange les corps. Il se lavera ensuite le corps avec de l'urine de boeuf, avec de l'eau, et il sera pur." So much is certain, that mention is here made, not of one man, but of several (*tâ nara yâ*, "those men who," see §. 231.), and that *yaôsh-dayaṅn aṇhĕn* signifies, not "he will be pure," but "they are purified," or "they become purified."* Hence, it is self-evident that *yaôshdaithita*, also, must be a plural. I translate verbatim, "How do those men become (are) purified who are touched by the carcase † either of a dead dog or of a man? To this Ormuzd said, They become purified where, or how (by what means? so that *yêva* would stand for *yâ-vâ* = Sanscrit येन वा *yêna vâ*)? If that carcase touches them (?), either that of a body-devouring dog or of a body-devouring bird, then they (those men) should purify their bodies with cow urine and with water: so (*avath-*

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* It may here be added to what has been remarked in §. 637. regarding the expression *yaôshdayaṅn*, that it might also be the third person plural of the precative, the *â* of the root *dâ*, "to make," being shortened, and the analogy of *buyaṅn*, "they may be," being followed (see §. 702. and Burnouf's Yaçna, Note S., p. 152). The placing together of two verbs in the third person plural would consequently rest on a syntactical peculiarity, and *yaôshdayaṅn aṇhĕn*, "they are purified," would literally signify "they are (that) they purify." The passive signification would be expressed by a periphrasis, in which the verb substantive would be combined with the active expression of the attributive verb. To this opinion I give the preference above that delivered in §. 637.; and I remind the reader, that, in Arabic, the imperfect is expressed by a circumlocution, in which the preterite of the verb substantive is prefixed to the present of the attributive verb, without the intervention of a conjunction; *e. g.* كَانَ يَجْلِسُ *kâna yajlisu*, "he sate," properly "he was he sits," for "he was that he sits." At the end of the passage quoted above يَوْشْدَيَنْ *yaôshdayaṅn* (to which the preposition *paiti* = Sanscrit *prati*, belongs) is indisputably the precative.

† I will not affirm that *ava-bĕrĕta* (from *bĕrĕta*, "borne," in combination with the preposition *ava*) here signifies "touched"; but hitherto I have not discovered any more suitable meaning for the whole sense.

must they purify them. At pp. 268, L. 9, &c., we read 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬠𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 *âaṭ hvaṅm tanûm pairi-yaẟshdaithita âpô* (?) *nôiṭ maêṡmana zaṡta hé** *paẟirîm fraṡnâdhayĕn âaṭ yaṭ hê zaṡta nôiṭ fraṡnâta âaṭ viṡpaṅm hvaṅm tanûm ayaẟshdaithita kĕrĕnôita, i. e.* "Then they should purify their bodies with water, not with urine: they should first purify their hands, for if their hands are not purified, then they make impure their whole bodies." Here it is plain, from the palpable plural *fraṡnâdhayĕn*, that *yaẟshdaithita* also is no other than a plural, 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 *ayaẟshdaithita* is likewise the third person plural of the precative in combination with the negative particle *a*. But as above, in a peculiar construction (*yaẟsh dayaṅn aṇhĕn*, see p. 944, Rem. *) we saw the passive expressed by a circumlocution of an active expression in combination with the verb substantive, so in 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬠𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 *ayaẟshdaithita kĕrĕnôita* we see the active expressed by means of the auxiliary verb "to make." *Ayaẟshdaithita kĕrĕnôita*, "they make impure, they make" (properly *contaminent faciant*) should signify nothing else than "they make impure," and is the opposite to the abovementioned passive *yaẟshdayaṅn aṇhĕn*, where *aṇhĕn* (= आसन् *âsan*, "they were,") has a modal function, and replaces the potential (see §. 520.). The present *henti* would scarcely be admissible here, though we could exchange *anhĕn* for the present indicative. In *ayaoshdaithita kĕrĕnôita* both verbs are in the

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* From this *hé*, "*sui*," we see that the Zend reflexive, like the kindred Latin, German, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic, unites with the form of the singular the meanings of the plural numbers.

qui mange les corps. Il se lavera ensui[illegible] the same l'urine de boeuf, avec de l'eau, et il s[illegible] st and the certain, that mention is here made[illegible] *kĕrĕnôita*, if several (*tâ nara yâ*, "those mer[illegible] sider the *ô* to *yaôsh-dayaṅn aṇhĕn* signifies[illegible] remaining *ita* "they are purified," or "th[illegible] e termination of is self-evident that *yaô*[illegible] ain *kerenôita* also translate verbatim, "[illegible] able *nu* is replaced by fied who are touche[illegible] ght into the first conjugation: of a man? To [illegible] in this view of the matter; for then where, or how [illegible] rring *barayĕn*, "they may carry," must, for *yâ-vâ* [illegible] be *barôita*, which, as long as such forms are touches t[illegible] back with certainty, I do not believe, as I should of a bo[illegible] ecture *barayanta*. In respect to syntax, the use of rify [illegible] tive and potential in the passage in question is to [illegible] ed in a conditional conclusion; while, according to the [illegible] of other languages, the indicative would be looked [illegible] With regard to syntax I will here further mention that in another passage of the Vendidad (in Olshausen, p. 1.) the potential follows *yêdhi* if in the sense of the pluperfect of the subjunctive—*yêdhi nôiṭ daidhyaṅm*, "If I had not made:" on the other hand, the present after *yêzi* is generally expressed by the mood called Lêt, which corresponds to the Greek subjunctive. It need not surprise us that each individual language, in the syntactical application of its moods, follows its own course in certain points: the grammatical identity of forms in the different languages is not, however, destroyed by such syntactical discrepancy.

704. In a still unedited portion of the Zend-Avesta occurs the form [illegible] *dayadhwĕm*, "ye may give," which Burnouf (Yaçna, Note D. p. 38), as it appears, regards as an imperative, and renders by *donnez*. In order, however, to regard *dayadhwĕm* as the imperative, we must be able to prove that the root *dâ*, in Zend, is inflected according to the fourth class, of which I entertain

ubts. I look upon [illegible] *dayadhwĕm* as the second rson plural of the precative middle, and, as such, there nothing surprising in it (after our having already seen it the Zend precative, in both active forms, abstains from nexing the verb substantive), except that the modal aracter *yâ* is not contracted, as in the third person sin-lar middle, and in all persons in the Sanscrit, to *î*, but s merely shortened its *â*, as in the corresponding person the active, to which Burnouf has shewn the form *dâyata* longs. The middle *dayadhwĕm* has shortened the wel of the root, on account, as it appears, of the greater ight of the termination; and in this respect, therefore, *-ya-dhwĕm* has the same relation to *dâ-ya-ta*, that, in eek, δίδομαι has to δίδωμι.

705. In the Sanscrit and Zend potential there is no tinction of tenses, except that, as has been before served, the precative stands in the same relation to it it, in Greek, the optative of the second aorist does to it of the present. *Dê-yâs, dê-yât*, for *dâ-yâs, dâ-yât*, has same relation to *adâs, adât*, that, in Greek, δοίης, δοίη r δωίης, δωίη), have to ἔδως, ἔδω. For precatives like *lhyâs, budhyât*, there are no corresponding indicative ms, as the fifth formation of the Sanscrit aorist is limited roots terminating with a vowel (see §. 573.): it may, how-er, originally have occurred also in roots ending with a nsonant; so that there would have existed multiform pre-ites like *abudh-am, abhut* (for *abhut-s*), *abhut* (for *abhut-t*), *adhma*, &c., to which belong precatives like *budh-yâsam*. da forms like *vidêyam* "*sciam*," *śakêyam*, "*possim*," *mêyam*, "*eam*" *vôchêma*, "*dicamus*" (Pânini, III. 1. 86.), not need to be regarded as potentials of the first class, which the roots of these forms do not belong; but they e, as it were, the prototypes of Greek aorists of the tative mood, like τύποιμι, and must be regarded as erivatives of the aorists of the sixth formation (*avidam*,

aśakam, agamam, avôcham), the conjunctive vowel of which has combined with the modal vowel *i*; just as the Greek *o* of *τύποιμι* has united the conjunctive vowel of *ἔτυπ-ο-ν* (which is interchanged in the indicative with *ε*) with the modal vowel. In proof of the correctness of this opinion may be particularly adduced the abovementioned *vôchêma*, "*dicamus*"; for there is no other root *vôch*, which, if it existed, could be assigned to the first class, from which might be formed *vôchêma*, according to the analogy of *tarpêma, τέρποιμεν*; there is, indeed, an aorist *avôcham*, which we have explained above as a reduplicate form from *a-va-ucham* (for *a-vavacham*).

706. In the Vêda dialect also exist traces of modal forms, which exhibit the construction of the Greek optative of the first aorist. For example, *tarushêma*, according to the sense = तरेम *tarêma*, "*transgrediamur*" (Pânini, III. 1. 85.), but, according to form, a derivative from an indicative aorist like *adik-sham*, *ἔδειξα* (§. 555.), only not with the direct adjunction of the auxiliary verb, but with the insertion of a conjunctive vowel *u*. But this तरुषेम *ta-ru-shêma* can hardly be an isolated attempt of the language at a modal formation, which now appears to us abnormal; but it is probable, rather, that, in an earlier state of the language, which has in this point been transmitted to us more correctly by the Greek, these forms extended to all aorists of the second formation (§. 551.). We may suppose, therefore, that, in an earlier period of the language, a precative of *adiksham* existed, *dik-shêyam*, plural *dik-shêma* = *δείξαιμι, δείξαιμεν*, in which the modal element *yâ*, contracted to *i*, became a diphthong with the preceding vowel, in the same manner as above in *bhar-ê-y-am, bhar-ê-ma, φέρ-οι-μι, φέρ-οι-μεν*.

707. In Latin, the imperfects of the subjunctive admit of comparison with the principle of formation of Greek aorists like *δείξαιμεν*, and Sanscrit like the presupposed

dik-shaima, and the Vêda *tarushêma*. In fact, *sta-rêmus* is surprisingly similar to the Greek στήσαιμεν, in so far as its *r*, like that of *eram*, is a corruption of *s*, and its *ê*, like that of *amêmus*, *legêmus*, a contraction of *ai*. As, however, *sta-bam* is a new compound, I cannot but recognise in its subjunctive, also, a new formation; and in this respect I adhere to the opinion, which I have already expressed in my System of Conjugation (p. 98). A subjunctive *sta-bem* from *sta-baim* would be in conformity with the indicative *sta-bam*, and *sta-ram* from *sta-eram* would be analogous as an indicative to *sta-rem*. The language, however, divides the two roots of *to be* at its disposal between the indicative and subjunctive, and thus brings *sta-bam* and *sta-rem* into a certain degree of false relation, where it appears as if the *r* of *starem* had a share in the expression of the modal relation, which is nevertheless confined to the *i* alone that is contained in the diphthong *ê*. It will be readily admitted that *possem* (from *potsem*) contains the combination of the verb substantive with *pot*, just as much as *pos-sum* and *pot-eram*. But if *pos-sem* is a new and genuine Latin formation, the *es-sem*, "I ate," which is analogous to it, from *ed-sem*, is so also; and with this agrees, too, the obsolete *fac-sem*, which, in form at least, is an imperfect, as *fac-sim* is a present; for if these forms had arisen from the perfect *feci*, they would be *fexem*, *fexim*. While, then, after consonants, the old *s* is either retained or assimilated to a preceding *r* or *l* (*fer-rem*, *vel-lem*), between two vowels it has passed into *r*; and this is usually the case, as the imperfect preserves the class-syllable; thus, *leg-e-rem*, *dic-e-rem* (from *leg-i-rem*, *dic-i-rem*, see §. 554.). But if the imperfect subjunctive were, in its origin, connected with the Greek optative aorist, then for *dic-e-rem* we should anticipate *dixem* = δείξαιμι. The forms *es-sem* ("I ate") and *fo-rem* are established by the circumstance that these verbs, as is shewn by their affinity with the Sanscrit, dis-

tinctly belong to the conjugation without the conjunctive vowel; so that *es-sem* agrees with *ê-s, es-t, es-tis* = Sanscrit *at-si, at-ti, at-tha; fer-rem* with *fer-s, fer-t, fer-tis* = Sanscrit *bibhar-shi, bibhar-ti, bibhṛi-tha.* Hence we see that it is in no way admissible to derive *fer-rem* from *fer-e-rem*, by rejecting an *e*. We should rather be compelled to explain *fer-e-rem*, if this form existed, by including it in the principal conjugation with the conjunctive vowel, as from *es-sem* has been developed *ed-e-rem*.

708. But how stands it with *es-sem*, "I would be," for which we should have conjectured *erem*, corresponding with the indicative *eram*? But *eram* stands for *esam* = Sanscrit *âsam* (§. 532.); and from this primitive form *esam* has arisen the form *esem* (from *esêm*), through the commixture of the modal *i*, which is contracted with *a* to *ê* — according to the same principle by which *amem* has been formed from the theme *ama*. If *esem* had once been formed from *esam*, then, in the course of time, the indicative parent form may have followed its disposition to change the *s*, on account of its position between two vowels, into *r*, without there being hence a necessity that the derivative form *esem*, also, should follow this impulse; for it is not a general rule in Latin that every *s* between two vowels must be changed into *r*. Through the first retention, therefore, by the subjunctive, of the old, and subsequently doubled sibilant, *eram* and *esem, essem*, stand in the same opposition as, conversely, in Old High German, *was*, "I was," does to *wâri*, "I would be," in which the weakening of the *s* to *r* has its foundation in the increase of syllables (see §. 612.). The doubling of the *s* in *essem* I believe may be explained according to the same principle by which, in Greek, in the epic language, the weakest consonants (the liquids and σ)—occasionally, and under certain circumstances, ρ—are, in the common dialect, regularly doubled. The Sanscrit doubles a final *n*

after a short vowel, in case the word following begins with a vowel. If, then, which I believe to be the case, the doubling of the *s* in the Latin *essem*, and in the infinitive *esse*, is likewise purely of a euphonic nature, it may be compared especially with Greek aorists like ἐτέλεσσα, since the σσ of these tenses likewise belong to the verb substantive: observe, also, the Lithuanian *essie*, "he may be" (§. 474.). Regarding ἔσσομαι, see §. 655. But should the double *s* in *essem* have its foundation in etymology, which I do not believe, then it must be assumed, that when the *esem*, which arose from *esam*, had firmly attached itself to attributive verbs in the abbreviated form of *sem*, or, more generally, *rem*, and in this position was recognised as nothing else than it really is, so that the whole *sé*, *ré*, was considered as the modal exponent, then the root *es* combined with itself; according to which, *essem* would properly mean "I would be," in analogy with *es-sem*, "I would eat," and *pos-sem*, "I would be able." And the analogy of *es-sem*, "I ate," and *possem*, "I could," as also that of *ferrem* and *vellem*, might have so far operated on *essem*, "I would be," that, according to their example, without the languages furnishing any particular reason for it, the consonant preceding the *e* was doubled. Be this as it may, *essem*, and the *esem* preceding it, remain in so far a new formation, as in the Sanscrit no mood whatever proceeds from the imperfect, any more than in Greek. The Latin subjunctive, therefore, of the imperfect meets with its nearest point of comparison only in the Greek optative aorist; since *esem* (*eram*) is produced from *esam*, just as τύψαιμι from ἔτυψα.

709. No trace of the production of moods can be shewn to attach to the Sanscrit reduplicate preterite or perfect.*

* I do not agree with Westergaard in regarding Vêda forms like *sasrijyât*

As, however, the potential of the second and sixth aorist formation in the Vêda dialect is, as it were in its moment of extinction, still to be met with in its remnants as *turushêma*, *gaméyam*, *vôchêyam* (§. 705.), it might be assumed that the extirpation of the moods, which have arisen from the reduplicate preterite, only made its appearance somewhat earlier, or that the relics of them, which have remained to the period when the Vêdas were composed, may be lost to us, together with the memorials in which they occurred. But if there existed a potential of the perfect, it is a question whether the conjunctive vowel *a* (see §. 614.) was retained before the modal element or not? In the former case, forms like *tu-tupêy-am*, *tutupê-s*, *tutupê-t*, would have arisen, to which would correspond the Greek τετύφοιμι (from τετύφοιν, see §. 689.), τετύφοις, τετύφοι (whence might be expected, also, τετύφαιμι, &c.): in the latter case, forms like *tutupyâm* would have existed, as prototypes of the Gothic subjunctives of the preterite like *haihaityau* "I might be called," or with the loss of reduplication, as *bundyau*, "I might bind," which would lead us to expect Greek forms like τετυφίην, which must afterwards have been introduced into the ω conjugation. The close coincidence of the Greek and German forms makes the origin of such modal forms in the time of the unity of language very

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sasṛijyât as potentials of the perfect, but of the intensive (comp. §. 51[illegible] which, in the Vêda dialect, presents several deviations from the classical language, and in roots with middle *ṛi* (from *ar*) exhibits in the syllable of repetetition *a*, more frequently *â*, and also, in conformity with the common dialect, *ar*: thus *vâvṛidhâti* (Rig V. 33. 1.) is the *Let* of the intensive, and *vâvṛidhasva* (Rig V. 31. 18.) its imperfect middle. Westergaard also refers the participle present middle *tâtṛishâṇa*, "thirsting" (Rig V. 31. 7.), to the intensive, though it might be ascribed to the perfect with the same justice as *sasṛijyât* and *vâvṛidhasva*.

probable; the Gothic forms, also, like *haihaityau*, are too classical in their appearance to allow of our ascribing to them a comparatively recent origin. But if, nevertheless, they are specially German, and the Greek, as is known of a few like τετύφοιμι, specially Greek, then the two sister languages have, in fortuitous coincidence, only accorded a wider extension to a principle of modal production, which already existed in the period of their unity with the Sanscrit and Zend.

710. Latin perfect subjunctives like *amave-rim*, from *ama-vi-sim*, are nevertheless new productions, viz. the combination of the base of the perfect with *sim*, "I may be," the *s* of which, in its position between two vowels, has been corrupted to *r*; and, on account of this *r*, the *i* of *amavi*, *amavi-sti*, has been corrupted to *e* (compare p. 967.). We might also, if necessitated, divide thus, *amav-erim*,* as *ima* stands for *esim*, like *sum* for *esum*. But in composition there was still more reason to withdraw the *e* of *esim*, than in the uncompounded state; and the corruption of the *i* to *e* before an *r* is too much in rule not to admit of it here.

711. We here give a general view of the points of comparison, which have been obtained in treating of the Sanscrit and Zend potential and precative, and of the moods corresponding to them of the European sister languages.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITH.	OLD SCLAV.
dadyâm[1],	*daidhyaṁm*[2],	διδοίην,	*duim*[3],	....	.....
dadyâs,	*daidhyâo*,	διδοίης,	*duîs*,	....	*dashdy*.[4]
dadyât,	*daidhyâṭ*	διδοίη,	*duit*,	*dŭdie*[5]	*dashdy*.[5]
dadîta[6],	*daidîta*[7],	διδοῖτο,	....	....	.....

* So in my System of Conjugation, p. 100.

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	LITH.	OLD
dadyâva, ...		. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	*dasi*
dadyâtam, ...		*διδοίητον,*	. . . .	. . . .	*dasi*
dadyâtâm, ...		*διδοιήτην,*	. . . .	. . . .	*dasi*

PLURAL.

dadyâma,	*daidhyâma,*	*διδοίημεν,*	*duîmus,*	. . . .	*dash*
dadyâta,	*daidhyata*[8],	*διδοίητε,*	*duîtis,*	. . . .	*dash*
dadyus[9],	*daidhyaiin*[10],	*διδοῖεν,*	*duint*	. . . .	like
dadîran[12]	*daidita*[13],	*διδοῖντο,*	. . . .	. . . .	. .

[1] For *dadâyâm*, see §. 672. [2] §. 442., Remark 5, an
[3] §. 674. [4] §. 677. [5] §. 684. [6] I give only the thir
singular and plural of the middle, and for the rest I refer the rea
doctrine of middle terminations, §§. 466. &c., and to the conju
adîya. [7] §. 703. [8] §. 701. [9] §. 462.
[11] §. 470. [12] §. 613. [13] §. 703.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.		LATIN.	GOTHIC.	O. H. G.	OLI
adyâm, act.	*adîya,* mid.[1]	*edim,*[2]	*êtyau,*[3]	*âzi,*	.
adyâs, act.	*adîthâs,* mid.	*edîs,*	*êteis,*	*âzîs,*	*yas*
adyât, act.	*adîta,* mid.	*edit,*	*êti,*	*âzi,*	*yas*

DUAL.

adyâva, act.	*adîvahi,* mid.	. . .	*êteiva,*	. . .	*ya.*
adyâtam, act.	*adîyâthâm,* mid.	. . .	*êteits,*	. . .	*ya.*
adyâtâm, act.	*adîyâtâm,* mid.	. . .	. . .	. . .	*yas*

PLURAL.

adyâma, act.	*adîmahi,* mid.	*edîmus,*	*êteima,*	*âzîmês,*	*ya.*
adyâta, act.	*adîdhvam,* mid.	*edîtis,*	*êteith,*	*âzît,*	*ya.*
adyus, act.	*adîran,* mid.	*edint,*	*êteina,*	*âzîn,*	lik

[1] The middle of *ad* is not used in the present state of the
which, however, does not prevent us from annexing it here on a
the theory. [2] §. 674. [3] §§. 675. 676. [4] §. 677.

SINGULAR.			DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.
dêyâsam,[1]	*dâyamṅ*,[2]	δοίην.	*dêyâsva*,	. . . .
deyâs,[3]	*dâyâo*,	δοίης.	*dêyastâm*,	δοίητον.
deyât,[3]	*dâyâṭ*,	δοίη,	*dêyâstâm*,	δοίητην.

PLURAL.		
SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.
dêyâsma,	*dâyâma*,	δοίημεν.
dêyâsta,	*dâyata*,[4]	δοίητε.
dêyâsus,	*dâyaṅn*,	δοῖεν, δοίησαν.

[1] For *dâyâsam*, see §. 680.

[2] I believe I am right in giving this form instead of the *dyaṅm* mentioned in §. 680.

[3] §. 703., conclusion.

[4] For *dâyâta*, see §. 701.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.	
SANSCRIT.	LITH.	SANSCRIT.	LITH.
dâsî-y-a,	. . .	*dâsî-vahi*,	*dûki-wa*.[1]
dâsî-shṭhâs,[2]	*dûki*.	*dâsî-y-âsthâm*,[2]	*dûki-ta*.
dâsi-shṭha,[2]	. . .	*dâsî-y-âstâm*,[2]	. . . . .

PLURAL.	
SANSCRIT.	LITH.
dâsî-mahi,	*dûki-me*.
dâsî-dhvam,	*dûki-te*.
dâsî-ran,	. . . .

[1] See §§. 699. 680. [2] §. 549.

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTHIC.	
bharê-y-am,[1]	*barôi,*[2]	(*φέροι-ν,*)	*feram,*[4]	*baira-u,*[5]	*b*
bharê-s,	*barôi-s,*[7]	*φέροι-ς,*	*ferê-s,*[4] / *ferâ-s,*	*bairai-s,*	*b*
bharê-t,	*barôi-ṭ,*	*φέροι-(τ),*	*fere-t,* / *fera-t,*	*bairai,*	*b*
bharê-ta,	*baraê-ta,*	*φέροι-το,*	.....	*bairai-dau,*[5]	

DUAL.

bharê-va,	.....	.....	.....	*bairai-va,*
bharê-tam,	.....	*φέροι-τον,*	.....	*bairai-ts,*
bharê-tâm,	.....	*φέροι-την,*	.....	.....

PLURAL.

bharê-ma,	*baraê-ma,*[9]	*φέροι-μεν,*	*ferê-mus,* / *ferâ-mus,*	*bairai-ma,*	*i*
bharê-ta,	*baraê-ta,*[9]	*φέροι-τε,*	*ferê-tis,* / *ferâ-tis,*	*bairai-th,*	
bharê-y-us,	*baray-ĕn,*	*φέροι-εν,*	*fere-nt,* / *fera-nt,*	*bairai-na,*	
bharê-ran,	*baray-anta?*	*φέροι-ντο,*	.....	*bairai-ndau,*[6]	

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTH.	OLD SCLAV.
vahé-y-am,[1]	*vazôi,*[2]	(ἔχοι-ν,)[3]	*veham,*[4]	*viga-u,*[5]	. . . .
vahé-s,	*vazôi-s,*[7]	ἔχοι-ς,	*vehé-s,*[4] / *vehâ-s,*	*vigai-s,*	*veʒi,*[10]
vahé-t,	*vazôi-ṭ,*	ἔχοι,	*vehe-t,* / *veha-t,*	*vigai,*	*veʒi,*[10]
vahé-ta,	*vazaé-ta,*	ἔχοι-το,	. . . .	*vigai-dau,*[8]	. . . .

DUAL.

vahé-va,	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	*vigai-va,*	*veʒye-va.*
vahé-tam,	. . . .	ἔχοι-τον,	. . . .	*vigai-ts,*	*veʒye-ta.*
vahé-tâm,	. . . .	ἐχοί-την,	. . . .	. . . .	*veʒye-ta.*

PLURAL.

vahé-ma,	*vazaé-ma,*[9]	ἔχοι-μεν,	*vehé-mus,* / *vehâ-mus,*	*vigai-ma,*	*veʒye-m,*[11]
vahé-ta,	*vazaé-ta,*[9]	ἔχοι-τε,	*vehé-tis,* / *vehâ-tis,*	*vigai-th,*	*veʒye-te,*
vahé-y-us,	*vazay-ĕn,*	ἔχοι-εν,	*vehe-nt,*	*viyai-na,*	like 2d p.
vahé-ran,	*vazay-anta?*	ἔχοι-ντο,	. . . .	*viyain-dau,*[8]	. . . .

[1] §§. 688. 689. [2] §. 700. [3] §. 689. [4] §§. 691. 692. 693. [5] §. 694. [6] §. 694. conclusion. [7] §. 699. [8] §. 468. [9] §. 706. [10] §. 696. [11] §. 696., in which we ought to read ВЕЗѢМ *veʒyem* for ВЕЗѢМЫ *veʒyemy*.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
SANSCRIT.	LATIN.	SANSCRIT.	LATIN.
tishṭhe-y-am,	*ste-m,*	*tishṭhé-ma,*	*sté-mus.*
tishṭhé-s,	*sté-s.*	*tishṭhe-ta,*	*sté-tis.*
tishṭhé-t,	*ste-t.*	*tishṭhé-y-us,*	*ste-nt.*

SINGULAR.

PRESENT.		POTENTIAL IMPERFECT.	
Sanscrit.	*Carniolan.*	*Sanscrit.*	*Carniola*
smayâ-mi,[1]	*smèya-m,*	*smayai-y-am,*[2]	*smèyay-(*
smaya-si,	*smèya-sh,*	*smayai-s,*	*smèyay(*
smaya-ti,	*smèya-(t),*	*smayai-t,*	*smèyay(*

DUAL.

smayâ-vas,	*smèya-va,*	*smayai-va,*	*smèyay-*
smaya-thas,	*smèya-ta.*	*smayai-tam,*	*smèyay-*
smaya-tas,	*smèya-ta,*	*smayai-tâm,*	. . . .

PLURAL.

smayâ-mas,	*smèya-mo,*	*smayai-ma,*	*smèyay-*
smaya-tha,	*smèya-te,*	*smayai-ta,*	*smèyay-*
smaya-nti,	*smèyay-o,*[5]	*smayai-y-us,*	. . . . .

[1] The active of *smi*, "to laugh," which, by Guna, forms *smé*, and with *a* the class vowel, *smaya*, is not used in the present state of tl guage, and stands here only on account of the surprising resemblar tween *smayâmi* (=*smayâmi*) and the Carniolan word of the same ing, *smèyam* (see, however, N. [5]), as also between the potential *sma* =*smaiyaiyam* and the Carniolan imperative *smèyay(m)*, &c.

[2] I here express the Sanscrit diphthong *é*, according to its etymo value, by *ai*, in order to exhibit the more clearly the remarkable a of the Sanscrit potential to the Carniolan imperative (see §. 697.).

[3] The diphthong *ai* is expressed in Carniolan by *ay*. Regardi loss of the personal terminations and the similarity of the three p singular which proceeds from it, see §. 697.

[4] Is expressed by a periphrasis formed of the present indicative the particle *nay*.

[5] Regarding the *y* preceding the termination *o* see §. 698.; but if of *smèyay-o* is connected with *aya*, the characterstic of the Sanscrit class, as is usually the case in verbs in *am*, then *smèy-am* is properly l not on *smayâmi* of the first class, but on *smâyayâmi* of the tenth; ac ing to which *smi*, also, is inflected (also in the middle only), and *smè* is therefore =*smâyayanti*. But if this is really the case, as I belie is, then for our present object—viz. in order to place in a clear light analogy of the Carniolan imperative to the Sanscrit potential in a ve

kindred root, it would be better to contrast with the Carniolan *smèyam* the word *smayâmi*, which is more similar to it than *smâyayâmi*, though the affinity of the latter is greater. For the rest, the Carniolan in the third person plural present extends the termination *yo*, by an abuse, even to verbs which have not the *y*; *e. g.* most verbs of Kopitar's third example* correspond to Dobrowsky's third conjugation in Old Sclavonic, and therefore to the Sanscrit first class. The third person plural, therefore, should not be *griseyo* but *griso* = Sanscrit *gras-a-nti*; and, in fact, many verbs of this class may, in the third person plural, employ *ò* instead of *eyo* (Kopitar, p. 337); as *nesò*, "they carry" (for *nèseyo* or *nesèyo*) = Old Sclavonic *nesûty* from *nes-o-nty* (see §. 255. *g.*). The *y* of forms like *griseyo* may also be regarded as a euphonic insertion to avoid a hiatus, as, in Sanscrit, *bharé-y-am*, "I may carry" (§. 689.); but even with this explanation, which I prefer, *griseyo*, "they bite," remains an unorganic form, since then the conjunctive vowel of the Sanscrit first class remains contained in it doubled, once as *e*, as in *gris-e-te*, "ye bite," = *gras-a-tha*, and next as *o*, which, in Carniolan, appears as the termination of the third person plural, but ought properly only to be the supporter of the dropped termination, and which corresponds to the Greek *o* of λέγ-ο-ντι, while the *e* of *gris-e-te* coincides with the Greek *ε* of λέγ-ε-τε. In both languages the nasal of the termination, retained or dropped, exerts an influence on the colouring of the conjunctive vowel (see §. 255. *g.*). We must further notice here the Carniolan verb *dám*, "I give," since it is clear that in the third person plural *dáyo* (or *dayò*) the *y* is a euphonic insertion, which is dropped in the more genuine *dadò* (=Sanscrit *dadati* for *dadanti*, "they give"), since, in this word, the *d* prevents the meeting of the *a* and *o*, and thus the insertion of a foreign letter is rendered unnecessary. In *das-te*, "ye give," *das-ta*, "ye two give," "they two give," we have forms exactly coinciding with the Sanscrit *dat-tha*, *dat-thas*, *dat-tas* (see §. 436.). With the form *das-te*, "ye give," may be compared, in Zend, the form *daś-ta*, which perhaps does not occur, but may be safely conjectured to have existed (see §. 102.).

712. It remains to be remarked, with respect to the Gothic subjunctive, that those weak verbs which have contracted the Sanscrit class character *aya* to *ô* (= *a* + *a*)

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* *Grisem*, "I bite," is perhaps akin to the Sanscrit *gras*, "to devour"; therefore *gris-e-m*, *gris-e-sh*, = *gras-â-mi*, *gras-a-si*.

(see §. 109[a]. 6.), are incapable of formally denoting the modal relation, since *i* in Gothic does not combine with an *ô* preceding it, but where *ôi* would occur, the *i* is swallowed up by the *ô*; hence *friyôs* means both *amas* and, *ames*, and, in the latter case, stands for *friyôis*;* so in the plural *friyôth* means both *amatis* and *ametis*. In the third person singular *friyô*, "*amet*" (for *friyôith*) is only unorganically distinguished from *friyôth*, since the subjunctive, according to §. 432., has lost the personal character. The Old High German subjunctives like *salbôe*, *salbôês*, *salbôêmes*, are unorganic, since the *ê* of *salbôês*, &c. (which is shortened in the *auslaut*) is a contraction of *ai* (see §. 78.), of which the must belong to the class character. But in the *ô*, therefore, which is equivalent to *a* + *a*, the whole of the primitive form अय *aya* is contained, with the exception of the rejection of the semi-vowel: there does not, therefore, remain any other *a*, which might, had it existed, have been contracted with the modal-vowel *i* to *ê*. Hence we must assume that the *ê* has found its way into this class of verbs only through a mal-introduction from those verbs where it has a legitimate ground for entering, at a time when the language was no longer conscious that the last half of the *ê* = *ai* belongs to the modal designation, but the former half to the derivation. Such is the case, for example, with forms like *habêês*, "*habeas*," *habêêr*ês, "*habeamus*," in which the first *ê* contains the two first elements of the class syllable अय *aya* (which are alone represented in the indicative *hab-ê-m*, *hab-ê-s*, see p. 10);

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* I am not of opinion that in the indicative, also, we should derive *salbôis* from *salbois*, and, in the first person, *salbô* from *salbôa*; for as in *vig-a-*', *vig-i-s*, *vig-i-th* (see §. 507., Table), the *a* and *i* belong, not to the personal sign, but to the derivation or class syllable, so in *salb-ô-*', *salb-ô-s*, *salb-ô-th*, the *ô* only represents the *a* of the strong conjugation, which is interchanged with *i*: the personal terminations, however, are as complete as in the strong conjugation.

but the second *ê* contains the last *a* in contraction with the modal vowel *i*; so that, therefore, in *var-manêês* the second *ê* coincides with the Sanscrit *ê* of *mânayês* and the Latin *â* of *moneâs* (from *moneais*, see §. 691.), and the first, with the Latin *e* and Sanscrit *ay*, which we have seen above (p. 110) also, in the Prakrit *mâṇêmi*, contracted to *ê*. The Gothic does not admit the diphthong *ai* twice together uninterruptedly; hence, *habais*, "*habeâs*," stands in disadvantageous contrast with the Old High German *hâbêês*, and is not distinguishable from its indicative.

713. The Vêda dialect possesses a mood which is wanting in the classic Sanscrit, and which occurs in the Vêdas even only in a few scanty remnants: it is called, by the Indian Grammarians, *Lêṭ*, and is rightly identified by Lassen with the Greek subjunctive. For as λέγ-ω-μεν, λέγ-η-τε, λέγ-ω-μαι, λέγ-η-ται, λέγ-ω-νται, are distinguished from the corresponding indicative forms λέγ-ο-μεν, λέγ-ε-τε, λέγ-ο-μαι, λέγ-ε-ται, λεγ-ο-ντι, only by the lengthening of the vowel of the class-syllable, so, in the Vêda dialect, *ṛt-â-ti*, "*cadat*," is in like manner distinguished from *ṛt-a-ti*, "*cadit*"; *gṛihyâ-nt-âi*, "*capiantur*," from *gṛih-ya-ntê*, "*capiuntur*"; only that in the latter form the tendency of the mood under discussion to the utmost possible fulness of form is manifested in this also, that the final diphthong (=*ai*) is augmented to *âi*, in agreement with the first person imperative, which in general accords more with the mood *Lêṭ* than with the other persons of the imperative, since the person of the imperative which corresponds to the first person plural middle *bibhṛimahê*, "we carry," is *bibharâmahâi*.

714. In Greek, neither the subjunctive nor any other mood is derived from the imperfect, but in Vêdic Sanscrit the mood *Lêṭ* comes from it; as also in Zend, which uses this mood very commonly, and, indeed, principally in the imperfect tense, but with the meaning of the

subjunctive present; as, *char-â-ṭ*, "eat," from [illegible] *char-a-ṭ*, "*ibat*"; *van-â-ṭ*, "*destruat*," from [illegible] *van-a-ṭ*, "*destruebat*"; [illegible] *pat-aṅ-n*, "*volent*" (for *pat-â-n*, see §. 702.), [illegible] *bar-aṅ-n*, "*ferant*," from *pat-ĕ-n*, *bar-ĕ-n*, or rather from their primitive forms *pat-a-n*, *bar-a-n*. Thus in the Vêda dialect, *pat-â-m*, "*cadam*," from *apat-a-m*, "*cadebam*"; *prachôdayât*, "*incitet*," from *prâchôd-aya-t*, "*incitabat*."

715. I am of opinion that the Sanscrit potential and precative, and the moods in the kindred languages which may be classed with them, are connected with the principle of formation of the *Lêt*, or Greek subjunctive, in so far as the auxiliary verb contained therein, which these moods share with the future (see §. 670.), has a long *â* as the conjunctive vowel, while the future has a short *a*. Consequently the Sanscrit *dad-yât* and *dê-yât*, the Zend *daidh-yâṭ* and *dâ-yâṭ*, the Greek διδο-ίη and δο-ίη, would properly signify, "he would give," and thus this mood would be only a more polite form of the *Lêt*, or subjunctive, as our expression, "*Ich bitte, mir dies gestatten zu wollen*," "I pray you to be willing to allow me this," is more polite than the abrupt "*mir dies zu gestatten*, "to allow me this." On the other hand, the future *dâ-s-yati* signifies "he will give," or, literally, "he will be giving;" and the "willing" is here not an expression of politeness, but the symbol of the time not being the present; or it denies the present in a less decided manner than is the case in the augmented preterites by the *a* of negation.

END OF PART II.

W. WATTS, PRINTER, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

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A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

SANSCRIT, ZEND,

GREEK, LATIN, LITHUANIAN, GOTHIC, GERMAN,

AND SCLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

BY

PROFESSOR F. BOPP.

PART III.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

PART III.

VERBS.

FORMATION OF THE MOODS.

POTENTIAL, OPTATIVE, AND CONJUNCTIVE.

716. In the dialect of the Vêdas the *Lêṭ* mood or conjunctive is also formed by the insertion of an *a*, in cases where, in the corresponding indicative form, an *a* is wanting, by the lengthening of which the mood in question might be formed. Thus, from the aorist *abhût*, "he was," comes the conjunctive *bhuvat*, "he may be;" where, by the augment being dropped, the meaning of past time is also removed, as is likewise the case in the potential and imperative: from *akar*, "he made" (for *akart*, according to §. 94.*), comes *karat*, "he may make;" from *chikêt-ti*, "he recognises" (R. *kit*. Cl. 3.), *chikêtati*, "he may recognise." So in Old Persian, *ahatiy*, "he may be," from *astiy*, "he is" (Behist. IV. 38. &c.), where the Sanscrit स् *s* in Old Persian is retained before *t*, but before vowels becomes *h*.

From the aorists also, in the Vêda dialect, come conjunctive moods with the terminations of the present; hence, *karati*, "he may make" (Rig V. 46. 6.), from *akar*. The Vêda dialect even forms the conjunctive mood by the simple

* Aorist of the fifth formation, which in the Vêda dialect is more extensively used than in classical Sanscrit.

annexation of the personal terminations of the present to the base of the aorist, thus *e.g. vivôchati* (*vi* prep.), "he may announce," from *vyavôchat* (Rig V. CV. 4.).

IMPERATIVE.

717. This mood, which, in classical Sanscrit, is formed only from the present indicative, is distinguished from the latter merely by the personal terminations (the first person of the three numbers excepted: see §. 713.), which have been already discussed. The dual and plural, with the exception of the third person plural, have the secondary terminations; so that e.g. *bharatâm*, "let the two carry," is distinguished from *abharatâm*, "the two carried," only by the omission of the augment. In Greek the difference of the termination *των* of *φερέτων*, from *την* of the imperfect *ἐφερέτην*, is unorganic, as *των* and *την* are originally one, and both rest on the Sanscrit *tâm*.

718. The second person singular of the Sanscrit first principal conjugation—*i.e.* that which corresponds to the Greek conjugation in *ω*, to the Latin fourth conjugation, and to the German strong and weak conjugation — is distinguished from the second principal conjugation, which corresponds to the Greek *μι*, inasmuch as in the active (parasmâip.) it has lost the personal termination; so that e.g. *bhar-a*, "let him carry" (Zend, *bar-a*) terminates with the class-syllable, to which, in the dual and plural, the personal terminations are annexed (भरतम् *bhar-a-tam* = *φέρ-ε-τον*, भरत *bhar-a-ta* = *φέρ-ε-τε*). The loss of the personal termination appears of great antiquity; as in Greek too, *φέρ-ε* is said for *φέρ-ε-θι*; and in Latin *leg-e*,* *am-ā*, *mon-ē*, and *aud-ī*, are likewise devoid of the personal sign.

* The *e* of *lege* is, in its origin, identical with the *i* (from *a*, see §. 109ª. 1.) of *leg-i-te*, and rests on the principle, that in Latin, at the end of a word, *e* is preferred to *i*; hence, *e.g. mare* from the base *mari*.

719. In German the strong verbs have, in the second person singular of the imperfect, rejected the class vowel, and terminate, therefore, with the final letters of the root,* without, however, in most cases, containing the actual root itself, as the vowel of the root, according to the analogy of the present indicative, appears at one time weakened; as *e.g.* in Gothic, *bind*, from the root *band*, "to bind" = Sanscrit, *bandh*; at another time with Guna, hence, in Gothic, *biug*, "bend," from the root *bug* = Sanscrit, *bhuj*; *beit*, "bite," from the root *bit* = Sanscrit, *bhid*, "to cleave" (see p. 105). The Sanscrit also, and Greek, retain, in the present imperative, the Guna gradations of the present indicative, or, most generally, that of the special tenses; hence, *e.g.* in Sanscrit, *bôdha*, "know" (from *baudh*) from *budh*, and in Greek, φεύγε from φυγ. The German weak verbs retain their class character (see §. 109*. 6.) corresponding to the Sanscrit *aya*, of the tenth class: the syllable *ya*, however, is contracted to *i* (Gothic *ei* = *î*), as in general the syllable *ya* at the end of a word lays aside its vowel, and changes the *y* into one. Compare, *e.g.* the Gothic *tam-ei*, "tame," from *tamya*, with the Sanscrit causal *dam-aya*; Latin *dom-â*; Greek δάμ-αε. In the second weak conjugation, let *laig-ô*, "lick," be compared with the Sanscrit causal *lêh-aya*, from *lih*, "to lick:" in the contraction of *a(y)a* to *ô*, however, *laigô* approaches nearest to Latin imperatives like *dom-â*, as the Gothic *ô* = *â* (§. 69.). In the third weak conjugation, compare *hab-ai*, *thah-ai*, *sil-ai*, with the Latin forms of like signification, *hab-ê*,

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* Thus in Latin *dic* for *dice*. With regard to *fer* it is to be observed, that *fero* also, in the indicative, is to be joined rather with the Sanscrit *bharâmi*) of the third class than with that of the first. Thus, as *fer-s*, *fer-t*, *fer-tis*, corresponds to *bi-bhar-shi*, *bi-bhar-ti*, *bi-bhṛi-tha*, so *fer* answers to *bibhṛi-hi* (from *bibhar-dhi*), the personal termination being suppressed, as *es* = Greek, ἴσ-θι, Sanscrit *ê-dhi* from *ad-dhi* (for *as-dhi*).

tac-ê, sil-ê, where the *ê* is a contraction of *ai,* and answers to the Sanscrit *ay* of *aya* (see p. 110). In the second person plural *tam-yi-th* (from *tam-ya-th*) corresponds to the Sanscrit *dam-aya-ta,* Latin *dom-â-te,* Greek δαμ-άε-τε. In Greek and German the imperative second person plural is not distinguishable from the present indicative. In Sanscrit, however, the imperative has the termination of the secondary forms (*ta*) opposed to the *tha* of the primary: thus दमयत *damayata,* "tame ye," opposed to दमयथ *damayatha,* "ye tame." In Latin *domâte* is distinguished from *domâtis,* where the latter form answers to the Sanscrit dual indicative present (दमयथस् *damayathas,* Gothic *tamyats*), the former to दमयत *damayata,* "tame ye" (see §. 444.). The termination *to,* of the second and third person of the so-called future of the imperative, and the Greek termination τω of the third person singular, correspond to the Vêda termination *tât,* which answers for the second as well as the third person;* and in the latter, as has already been remarked, is most correctly retained in the Oscan *tud* (*licitud, estud.*) As in तात the expression of the person is twice contained, so it is in the Latin second person plural *tôte,* for which in Sanscrit तात *tâta* might be expected, which, however, does not occur. In the third person plural *nto* answers to the Greek ντων (*legunto*=λεγόντων), which was before compared with the Sanscrit middle forms in *antâm* (φερόντων=*bharantâm.*)

720. The Sanscrit termination तु, plural न्तु, is derived from the pronominal base त *ta,* by weakening the *a* to *u*, a vowel of middle weight, while in the present indicative,

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* See §. 470. The edition of the First Book of the Rig V. by Fr. Rosen, which has appeared since this work was commenced, has confirmed *tât* to be the termination of the second person of the imperative. H. XLVIII. 1 occurs प्र नो यच्छतात् *pra no yachchhatât,* "give us" and CIV. 5. चर्कृतात् *charkṛitât* from the intensive of the root कृ *kṛi,* "to make."

enerally in the primary forms the extreme weakening to *i* akes place. We have, therefore, the forms *-ta*, *-tu*, *-ti*, as in ne interrogative, in the isolated case *ka*, *ku*, *ki*. In Zend ne *u* of the imperative termination is occasionally lengthned; *e.g.* in the frequently-occurring 𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 *mraotû*, "let im say:" on the other hand, Vend. Sade, p. 142, 𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎 *hâratu*, "let him eat," 𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 *vaṇhatu*, "let him put n."

721. The Sanscrit middle termination *sva* (from *tva*, see 443.) of the second person singular is in Zend corrupted ith a preceding *a* to *aṇuha* (for *aṇhva*), where the *v* is hanged into the vowel *u*, and has stepped before the *h*; ne nasal, however, which, according to §. 56ª., is placed bere the *h*, remains, though otherwise 𐬦 *ṇ* occurs as a gutural nasal, only in *direct* combination with *h*. The combination *ṇhv* appears, however, too uncouth to be admitted n Zend; and wherever, therefore, it would occur, we find in ts stead 𐬦𐬵 *ṇuh*: hence, too, 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 *vivaṇuhatô* = Sanscrit विवस्वतस् *vivasvatas*, "of the Vivasvat" (Vendidad Sade, p. 40.). Several examples of imperatives in *aṇuha* occur in the eighteenth Fargard of the Vendidad, where, however, the text corrected by Burnouf (Yaçna, Note A. p. 17) according to the manuscripts is to be referred to, as the lithographed copy (pp. 457, 458) has, more than once, *aṇha* faultily for *aṇuha*: 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 *aiwi vaštra yâoṇhayaṇuha*,* "put on the clothes;" 𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎 𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 *frâ zašta šnayaṇuha*, "wash thy hands;"† 𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 𐬀 *â aêšmaṅm yâšaṇuha*,

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* This form is based on the causal of the Sanscrit root यस् *yas* "to strive."

† I take 𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 *šnayaṇuha* as a passive verb with a middle signification; thus Vend. Sade, p. 331, twice 𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎 𐬵𐬎 𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎 *uš tanûm šnayaêta*, "let him wash his body" (Anquetil, p. 360, "*il lavera son corps*"): on the other hand, p. 330, *uša* (*ušĕ* ?) *tanûm šnayâêta*, with a conjunctive vowel between the preposition *uš* (=Sanscrit उत् *ut*) and the

"spread out wood" (compare Sanscrit यम् *yam*, in the special tenses यच्छ् *yachh*, with the preposition आ *â*, "to extend"). So also in the Vend. Sade, p. 39, for 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵 *hunvaṇha* we ought to read 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵 *hunvaṇuha*, according to the manuscripts made use of by Burnouf, and for 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 *višaṇha*, "hearken" (Vendidad Sade, p. 123.), perhaps also 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 *vîsaṇuha* should be read.

Remark.—In the Latin Edition of my Sanscrit Grammar of the year 1832 (p. 330) I have taken the form 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵 *hunuvaṇuha*, or, as the lithographed manuscript reads, 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵 *hunvaṇha*, as the imperative middle, and translated *frâmaṅm hunvaṇuha kharĕteê* (according to Anquetil, "*qui me mange en m'invoquant avec ardeur,*") by "*me celebra ad edendum.*" The root *hu* is, as is remarked *l. c.*, added to the conjugational character of the first class, besides that of the fifth class *nu*, for without this unorganic adjunct the form would be *hunushva* (=Sanscrit सुनुष्व *sunushva*). It is certain that the Zend root *hu* must in Sanscrit be *su*, and the opinion which Burnouf ascribes to me (Journal Asiatique, 1844, Dec. p. 467), that the Zend *hu* rests on the Sanskrit हु *hu*, "to offer," has been neither expressed by me at p. 781, nor in my Critical Grammar, p. 330, nor anywhere else. That a Zend 𐬵 *h* never corresponds to the Sanscrit ह् *h* has been expressly remarked in §. 57.; and it is also remarked in §. 53. that 𐬵 *h*, in an etymological respect, never corresponds to the Sanscrit ह् *h*, but always to the pure or dental स् *s*. Had I wished to compare, therefore, *l. c.* its Sanscrit type with the Zend *hu* I could only have referred to one of the roots सु *su*, of which one, like the

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the following word (see §. 518. p. 737). The transitive meaning of the root *śnâ* is, on the other hand, usually represented by 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬌 *śnâiḍh* in the active; *e. g.* Vendidad Sade p. 233, 8.: 𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵 *aêtâo vaêtrâo fraśnâdhayĕn* "let them wash these clothes."

Zend *hu*, belongs to the fifth class. On the meaning "*celebrare*," which I have given to the Zend *hu* (according to Anquetil "*invoquer avec ardeur*") I did not desire to lay any particular stress; for my chief object was to settle the value of the grammatical forms which Anquetil mistook, and I wished to recognise, in the interrogative form, an imperative termination based on the Sanscrit *a-sva*, and in *kharĕteê*, the dative of an abstract substantive, while, according to Anquetil's translation ("*qui me mange*") it might be taken for a third person present. In both respects I now find myself supported by the Sanscrit translation of Neriosengh, which is given (*l.c.*) by Burnouf, which renders [illegible] *hunvaṇuha* by परिसंस्कारं कुरु *parisaṅskâram kuru*,* and [illegible] *kharĕteê* by खादनाय *khâdanâya* ("for the eating," or "the food.") The explanation of the appended commentary is आहारार्थं सन्मानय *âhârârtham sanmanaya*,† *i.e.* "on account of the food honour (me)."‡ The root [illegible] *hu* occurs several times in the ninth Ha of the Izeschne, from which our passage is taken; and indeed in the third person of the imperfect *hunûta* (once *hunvata* with the addition of the character of the first class), which Anquetil everywhere paraphrases by "*ayant invoqué et s'étant humilié*," I have translated it (*l.c.*) by "*laudabat*," and regret that Burnouf has not given us Neriosengh's trans-

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* Burnouf remarks, "Nos manuscrits sont très-confus en cet endroit: celui de Manakdji a सस्कारश्चरु *saṅskâraścharu*, mais je ne suis par sûr du श्च *śch*; le numero II. F. lit. संस्कारंकु *saṅskâraṅku* avec श्च *śch* au-dessus de la ligne." However, I have no doubt that Burnouf is right in reading कुरु *kuru*.

† So Burnouf reads for the सन्मारय *sanmâraya* of the manuscripts, which is unmeaning.

‡ Burnouf translates "*honore-moi comme nourriture*," in which I cannot agree with him; for *âhârârtham*, can only mean "on account of the food," not "as food;" and in *khâdanâya*, as the translation of *kharĕteê*, the relation of cause is apparent.

lation of this expression also. Undoubtedly, however, the circumstance that the verb derived from *hu* everywhere refers to [illegible] *haoma*, the personified Sôma-plant, speaks in favour of Burnouf's opinion, that the Zend [illegible] has the same signification as the Sanscrit root सु *su*; viz. "to press out the sap," where it is to be further remarked, that in Sanscrit the verb from this root is especially used in relation to the Sôma-plant. I avail myself of the occasion which has led me to speak of the ninth Ha of the Izeschne, to correct an error to which I was led by a false reading of the lithographed manuscript of the Vendidad Sade. Four times in this Ha the masculine nominative of the interrogative occurs before the accusative of the pronoun of the second person. The lithographed manuscript reads once [illegible] *kaśê thwaṅm* (p. 42), once [illegible] *kasê thwaṅm* (*s* [illegible] for [illegible] *ś*, p. 40, by mistake), once [illegible] *kaśêthwaṅm* (p. 41), and once [illegible] *kaśithawaṅm* (p. 39). Here, therefore, two readings support the separation of the two pronouns, and two their combination; and at first I supposed that the form of writing in which they were separated was the right one, where, in the *ê* or *i* of *kaśê* and *kaśi*, was to be recognised an appended pronoun, like the Greek demonstrative ι (οὑτοσί, ἐκεινοσί: see §. 157*., and Gram. crit. Add. ad r. 270). The *ś*, however, I regarded as the sign of the nominative, and this it really is; for though the Sanscrit termination *as* in Zend regularly becomes *ô*, but *s* in the middle and beginning of a word before vowels *h*, there might, however, be an exception in the case of the termination *as* occurring before an enclitic, where *as* might retain its original form; for in Zend [illegible] *ś* is not so much the palatal sibilant as the श् in Sanscrit is, for the latter occurs before no other mutes but palatals only; while [illegible] occurs before mutes of all organs (see §. 49.), and before mutes which are not palatals always corresponds to

e Sanscrit स *s*, except before *p*, where this springs from the nscrit *v*, as *e.g.* in 𐬯𐬞𐬀 *śpâ* = Sanscrit स्व *śva*. As, however, e learn from the notice of the various readings of the Paris anuscripts, which have been in the meantime published Burnouf (Yaçna, Note R. p. 134), that 𐬐𐬀𐬯𐬆 *kaśĕ*, and e combination of the interrogative with the following 𐬚𐬎𐬱𐬙𐬀 *thwaṅm*, "thee," is the prevailing reading (we find e words joined seven times, and separated only five times, d seven times *ĕ* occurs—for *i* twice, and for *ê* three times) admits of scarce any doubt that the vowel which stands tween *kaś* and *thwaṅm* is inserted only to assist the terance, and that we must regard *kaśthwaṅm* as the iginal form; so that, as is the case before the enclitic rticle *ka*, the sibilant of the nominative has maintained self under the protection of the following consonant, and emained too when a conjunctive vowel was inserted aid the pronunciation.* I shall not decide whether is vowel must necessarily be an 𐬆 *ĕ*, and could not be ither *i* or *a*. Let, however, the quite similar case be onsidered, where, between the preposition 𐬎𐬱 *uś*, and the erb 𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬙𐬁𐬨𐬌 *histâmi*, in the lithographed manuscript at east, at one time 𐬆 *ĕ*, at another 𐬌 *i*, at another 𐬀 *a* occurs as the vowel of conjunction (see §. 518. p. 737). We nay indeed expect, that in all places where the lithographed manuscript has *i* or *a* some one or other of the nanuscripts has *ĕ*; and undoubtedly this, the shortest of ll the vowels, is best adapted for insertion as a mere owel of conjunction, as, too, it is regularly used for this

* Thus, as ought to have been remarked at §. 47., the forms 𐬠𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬀 *tya*, "of the second," and 𐬚𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬀 *thritya*, "of the third," point to a me when the *î* of the Sanscrit *dvitîya*, *tṛitîya*, was still present, on which ccount the *y* has not communicated an aspiration to the preceding consonant, as is the case *e. g.* in *mĕrĕthyu*, where the combination of the T-sound with the semi-vowel is primitive.

purpose, to prevent the direct combination of *r* with a following consonant (§. 30.), without any other vowel being used for this object. Here, too, the question might be started, why no interposed vowel is to be found in the combinations *kaṡtê*, "who to thee," and *kaṡnâ*, "which man?" (for "who" generally: see p. 281,) mentioned by Burnouf *l. c.* (p. cxxxix), while *kaṡthwaṅm* nowhere occurs? The reason of this, I doubt not, lies herein, that *thwaṅm*, on account of its double consonant, less easily unites with a preceding *ṡ*, than *tê* and *nâ*; while 𐬯𐬙 *ṡt* and 𐬯𐬥 *ṡn* are quite favourite and usual combinations. On the other hand, *histâmi*, though its initial sound is one of weak consonants, required the interposition of a vowel when combined with *uṡ*, because *ṡh* is an impossible combination in Zend. At the beginning of the twenty-first Fargard of the Vend. (Vendidad Sade, p. 498) we five times find *nĕmaṡĕ tê*, *i.e.* "adoration to thee!" (=Sanscrit नमस् ते *namas tê*,)* each time written separately, though the two words evidently ought to be joined, as the vowel of conjunction *ĕ*, and the retention of the termination *aṡ*, for which *ô* would otherwise be substituted, sufficiently demonstrate. It appears, however, that on account of the polysyllabicalness of the word, to which in this case the enclitic *tê* is attached, the phonetic combination appears less intimate, and this may also be the reason why the *t* cannot, as in *kaṡṭê*, follow the *ṡ* without an intermediate vowel. We may see how much the Zend inclines to use monosyllabic pronominal forms enclitically, in that it attaches them even to prepositions, which have become detached from the verbs to which they belong: hence, 𐬟𐬭𐬁𐬨𐬌𐬙𐬨 𐬵𐬎𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬢𐬎𐬵𐬀 *frâmaṅm hunvaṇuha* in the passage cited above; so 𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬙𐬨 𐬌𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬵𐬀 *âmaṅm yâṡanuha*, which

* That Anquetil's translation "*addressez votre prière*" is incorrect requires no proof.

Neriosengh translates by मां समीहस्व, *i.e.* "wish or obtain me;" and Burnouf (Journ. As. Dec. p. 465) by "*invoque-moi.*"* We may also here preliminarily remark that, for the first time, we have learned, through Rawlinson's late ingenious discoveries, that in Old Persian also the pronouns readily attach themselves as enclitics to the preceding word, and that if we read without the *a* (which in old Persian is sometimes contained in the consonants, and sometimes not), *i*, which is regularly added to the *i* at the end of a word, as well as to the diphthong *ai*, the old Persian enclitics will, in like manner, be all monosyllabic. For this, as for other reasons, I read *auramazdâmaiy*, "Auramazda to me," for Rawlinson's *-maiya* (former reading *miya*).

722. The first person of the three numbers of the imperative follows in Sanscrit and Zend a peculiar principle of formation, which, as has already been remarked, corresponds rather to the conjunctive or *Lêṭ* than to the other persons of the imperative. An *â* is prefixed to the

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* Anquetil altogether omits to translate this expression, for which, in the lithographic manuscripts (p. 39), occurs by mistake *yâsaṇha*. Burnouf thinks he recognises in the root *yâṡ*, the Sanscrit याच् *yâch*, "to command, ask;" but a difficulty arises in the ṡ *ṡ* for Sanscrit च् *ch*, of which I have elsewhere met with no example. The root यच्छ *yachh*, as substitute of यम् *yam*, answers better, on account of its final consonant, as *chh* in Zend is regularly represented by *ṡ*; on which account I have above (§. 721.) preferred *âyâṡaṇuha*, "spread out," to this root. Here, however, the meaning of the Sanscrit यम् *yam*, यच्छ *yachh*, preposition आ *â*, does not suit. Perhaps the *â* (*mânm*) *yâṡaṇuha* in question is radically identical with the frequently-occuring *âyéṡé*, "I praise" (or "invoke"?) which leads to a Sanscrit root *yaṡ*, which is only retained in यशस् *yaśas*, "glory." With regard to the Zend *é* for the Sanscrit *a* or *â* see §. 42. It is probable, however, that in *âyéṡé*, as also in genitives in *yéhé* for *yahé*, and in present forms in *yêmi*, besides the preceding *y* the vowel also of the following syllable has an assimilating influence in the change of *a* or *â* to *é*: hence we find, indeed, *âyéṡé*, but not *âyéṡaṇuha*, but *âyéṡaṇuha*.

personal terminations, the terminations of the present indicative middle which end in *ê* lengthen this diphthong to *â* and the verbal theme keeps, in the second principal conjugation, the strengthened form, which elsewhere enters only before the light personal terminations. The first person singular has *ni* for its ending, where *n* is clearly a corruption of *m* and is suppressed like the latter in the Sanscrit middle, while the Zend maintains this decided advantage over the Sanscrit, that it for the most part retains the personal character, and presents *ânê* to match the Sanscrit *âi*. This 𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀 *ânê* therefore bears the same relation to the active 𐬀𐬌 *âni*, that, in the Greek present indicative, *μαι* does to *μι*. In order to exhibit the principle of formation of the Sanscrit first person imperative I here present the said person of the three numbers of the two active forms of the root द्विष् *dvish*, "to hate," compared with the corresponding forms of the present indicative.

	ACTIVE.		MIDDLE.	
	INDIC.	IMPERAT.	INDIC.	IMPERAT.
Sing.	*dveshmi,*	*dvêsh-â-ṇi.**	*dvishê,*	*dvêshâi.*
Dual	*dvishvas,*	*dvêsh-â-va.*	*dvishvahê,*	*dvêsh-â-vahâ*
Plur.	*dvishmas,*	*dvêsh-â-ma.*	*dvishmahê,*	*dvêsh-â-mahâ*

So in Zend, Vendidad Sade p. 477, several times 𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 *jan-â-ni* (= Sanscrit *han-â-ni*) "I will smite, destroy,"

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* The lingual *ṇ* occurs on account of the euphonic influence of the preceding lingual sibilant according to §. 94ª. of my Sanscrit Grammar.

† In Sanscrit also the first person imperative sometimes occurs in the sense of the future or present indicative, to express a decided volition or positive impending action, *e. g.* Sunda and Upas. I. 26. Anquetil takes *janâni* as the third person of a preterite, and renders it (p. 413.) by "*il frappa,*" and once by "*seront anéantis.*" It needs, however, no proof that *janâni* is really the first person imperative, for Zoroaster speaks to Ahriman the words 𐬞𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬞𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬞𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌 *duschda aṇrô mainyô janâni dâma daêvô dâtêm*, &c., "Vicious Ahriman

). 132, 479. 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯-𐬀-𐬯𐬉 *kěrěnav-â-nê* "I should make," =Sanscrit *kṛiṇ-avâni* from *karnav-â-ṇê*).

723. In verbs of the first principal conjugation and of e ninth class, as also in roots in *â* of the second or third ass, the modal *â* combines with the preceding *a* or *â*; nce *e.g.* भराणि *bharâni*, "let me carry;" Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *barâni*, iddle 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬉 *barânê* (Vendidad Sade, p. 480). So 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬉 *ʿdnê*, "I will obey;"* 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬉 *yazânê* (see p. 278), "I ould offer;" 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬉 *pěrěnânê*, "I should destroy" (Vendad Sade, p. 335, compare Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 530, ff.); 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬉 *yaoschdathânê*, "I should purify" l.c. p. 480).†

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hriman I will destroy the Daêva-created people." Upon which (p. 478) riman says to Zoroaster,

𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬉 𐬛𐬀𐬥𐬀 𐬨𐬭𐬚𐬀𐬴𐬀 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬥 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬎𐬹𐬭𐬀

mâmê dâma měrěchaṇuha ashâum Zaratustra

"Slay not my people, O pure Zoroaster!

* Vendidad Sade, p. 124. 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬉 𐬵𐬉𐬥 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀 *azĕm tê vîs'ânê*, "I ll obey thee," so *l. c.* are other imperatives in the sense of the future, 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬉 𐬵𐬉𐬥 𐬜𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬉 *azĕm tê gaêthâo varêdhayêni*, I will make thy lands increase" ("make fruitful," Anquetil p. 271. "*je idrai votre monde fertile et abondante*").

† See §. 637. I am now, however, of opinion, in departure from what s been remarked at p. 112, that the *th* of *dath* is a substitute of *dh*, and ake *da* as the syllable of reduplication, as in the Sanscrit *dadhâmi*. The 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀 *nidaithyaṅn*, "deponant," mentioned at p. 112, corresponds the Sanscrit निदध्युस् *nidadhyus*, 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬵𐬀 *ni-daithîta* to the Sanit निदधीत *ni-dadhîta*. (§. 702.) In the genitive of the participle of the luplicated preterite 𐬛𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬴𐬀 *dathushô* corresponds to the Sanscrit *dhushas*; while in the nominative 𐬛𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬴 *dadhvâo* (= Sanscrit वान् *dadh-i-vân*) and in the accusative 𐬛𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬴𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬥 *dadhvâoṇhĕm* Sanscrit *dadh-i-vâṅsam*), the alteration of *dh* to *th* does not take place, alteration which most probably is found only in the weak cases. rhaps in Zend *th* is considered weaker than *dh* and *d*, and this may be reason that the interrogative verb, where it appears without a prepoion or other incumbrance of composition, or even with compositional umbrance, but without reduplication, also exhibits no *th* in the examples with

After 𐬌 *y* comes *ê* for *â*; hence *e.g.* 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 *varĕdhayê-mi*, "I will make to grow" (Vend. Sade, p. 124); 𐬢𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 *frahârayênê.** In the production of this *ê*, however, the *i* or *ê* of the termination bears the most important part, for if the *y* alone was the efficient cause, it would also influence the following vowel, if *i* or *ê* did not occur in the termination; this, however, is not the case, hence *e.g.* 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *varĕdhaya*, "make to grow" (Vend. S., p. 124); 𐬭𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *raßchaya*, "make to give light, kindle" (p. 457); 𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 *yaŝnayata*, "*sacrificio colite*" (Burnouf, Yaçna, Note A. p. 13.† So in the second person plural middle, 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *vârayadhwĕm*, "defend ye;" 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *dhârayadhwĕm*, "preserve ye" (Burnouf, l.c. Note D. p. 38.)

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with which I am acquainted; while, where the reduplicated verb is burthened by composition, *th* almost universally occurs in the base-syllable, though *dh* also is occasionally found, *e.g.* in *yaoshdadhâiti* (Burnouf, Yaçna p. 360.) In cases where the forms with *th* follow the analogy of the Sanscrit first class, as *e. g.* in *nidathĕm*, "I have made," (Burnouf l. c.) I regard the vowel which follows *th* not as the class vowel, but, as in the conjugation of the root स्था *sthâ*, 𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *ŝtâ*, as the shortening of the radical vowel (see §. 508.) I also now consider the verbal-theme *snâdha*, "to wash," as a compound of the root *ŝnâ* and *dhâ*, the radical vowel of the latter being shortened (compare Benfey Wurzel lex., II. 34.) The perhaps not numerous forms may appear surprising in which the vowel of the syllable of reduplication of the Zend root *dhâ* (without a vowel preceding, *dâ*) is long, as in the example mentioned by Burnouf (l. c.) *nidhâthayĕn*, "they may lay down." Here either the lengthening of the syllable of repetition is a compensation for the shortening of the base-syllable, or the genius of the language takes *dâth* for a secondary root, without being conscious that the *d*, with its vowel, is in fact a syllable of reduplication, as in Sanscrit the forms *dé-hi*, "give," (from *dad-dhi*, Zend *daz-di*) and *dhé-hi*, "place," (from *dhad-dhi*), no longer give the impression of reduplicated forms.

* Vendidad Sade, p. 82. 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *hé urvânĕm vahistĕm ahûm frahârayénê*, "I will make his soul go to the most excellent place;" Anquetil, p. 139, "*je ferai aller librement son ame aux demeures célestes.*"

† *Yaŝnayémi* is a denominative from *yaŝna* = Sanscrit *yajna*, "offering."

emark.—An explanation—and I am now much inclined lopt it—might be given of the *a* of the terminations *âva*, &c., in the first principal conjugation, as follows; by recognising in it only the lengthening of the short the class-syllable, while only *ni*, &c. is regarded as the onal termination. There is a twofold occasion, how-, for the lengthening of the *a* of the class-syllable; that in the *Lêṭ* mood, or conjunctive, to which, ac-ing to its principle of formation, the first person of the erative belongs, the *a* of the class-syllable is lengthened §. 713.); and secondly, that especially before pronominal-onants of the first person, in case of their being fol-d by vowels, an *a* originally short is lengthened; and e forms like *ami*, *avas*, *avæ*, &c. nowhere occur, where-*ani* also is not to be looked for. On the latter prin-may be explained the *â* of *dvesh-â-ṇi*, *bibhar-â-ṇi*, *j-â-ni*, *kinav-â-ni*, and *karav-â-ṇi*; so that we may assume the *a*, which, according to §. 716. is added in the con-tive, is lengthened simply on phonetic grounds. It is ain that the first person plural of the l. c. cited, भुवत् *at*, "let him be," can only be *bhuvâma*, and this is at same time the imperative of the fifth aorist-formation §. 573.). The first person plural of the Old Persian *y*, "let him be," quoted in §. 716., is most probably *ahâma*, h would correspond to the Sanscrit imperative असाम *ma*. If this view be correct, then in the ninth class the words *yu-nâ-ni*, *yu-nâ-va*, &c., must not be divided *yu-nâ-âni*, &c., but we must assume that, as here, an *â* he original word precedes the personal termination, no ber *a*-sound could be added. The ninth class already ts the requirement for fulness of form in the first per-in this way, that the syllable *nâ* is not, as in the weak ms, weakened to *nî*. The roots *dâ* and *dhâ*, which reject ir *â* before the heavy terminations, retain the same in imperative by reason of their inclination to fulness of

vîsâi in the fourth Card of the Vispered (Vend.
where [illegible] *azĕm vîsâi*, occurs seven tin
Anquetil renders by "*j'obeis.*" With the preced
rative *âstâya*, "bring,"* the present indicativ
best; so that, in the want of positive examples,
believe [illegible] *vîsâi*, to be only a more energetic
the present indicative *vîsê*. The form [illegible]
which occurs several times in the twenty-secon
of the Vend., is rendered by Anquetil "*rendez*
and the context requires also the second person,
&c., expresses the command of Ormuzd directed to
to whom he promises, as the reward of the reverenc
of him, that which follows, *dathâni*, "I will give
scrit ददानि *dadâni*, first person imperative). I s
reason to assent to Burnouf in placing (Yaçna,
words [illegible] *yazâi*, &c., in the mouth of Zoroa
I take *yazâi* to be the imperative active of the ca
and, indeed, as a contraction of *yazaya;* whether
this expression really has a causal signification,
"let honour," or that the causal form has here
meaning as the primitive form, as in Sanscrit a
unfrequently the case. In a phonetic view, the
yazâi to *yazaya* resembles that of [illegible] *nâi*, "co
the Sanscrit नय *naya*. With regard to *yazâi*, as

on of the final *a*, the *a* of the preceding syllable is length-
ıed, or, which comes to the same thing, the *a* of the final
·llable is transposed, nearly as in the change of *ashavan* pure," into *ashâum* (with *m* for *n*) in the vocative. The
rm 𐬯𐬀𐬌 *nâi*, "conduct," occurs six times at the end of
e ninth Ha of the Izeschne in combination with *nâsĕm** end. S., p. 47). Anquetil (p. 112) renders 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬥 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬥 *šemnâi kĕhrpĕm* by "*enseignez-moi le moyen d'anéantir son ps.*" The literal meaning, however, is "conduct the body destruction," (e. g. *azĕis*, "of the snake," = अहेस् *ahês*.) ere, perhaps, the composition of the imperative with the ausative *kĕhrpĕm* may have given occasion for the con-action of *naya* to *nâi*. This, however, does not prevent ıe assumption that, without any special occasion, a trans-osition of the *a* of the syllable *ya* may also take place, nce the Zend is particularly fond of transposing the *a* of ıe syllables *ya* and *va*, and forming them into a diphthong ith the vocalized semi-vowel. I shall return to this sub-ct in the emendations to §. 42.

725. In respect to Syntax, it deserves notice that the rst person of the imperative in Zend not only, as has been lready shewn by some examples, sometimes supplies the lace of the future indicative, but is also used as the conjunc-ve, governed by 𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬁 *yatha*, "that." Thus, in a pas-age quoted by Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 427) with a different bject from the fourth chapter of the Yescht de Gosch, 𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬁 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬠𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌 *yatha azĕm bandayêni*, "that I bind;" 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬠𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌 *uta baśtĕm vâdhayêni*, &c., "and (that I) beat those who are bound;" 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬠𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌 *uta baśtĕm upanayêni*, "and (that I) conduct those who are bound." On passages of this kind Burnouf's

* This word is not once written quite correctly in the lithographed manuscript; the correct reading, however, may be easily found by a comparison of the several erroneous ones.

opinion may be based, that the forms in *âni* (or *ẻni*), i point of sense, belong as well to the imperative as to th potential, while he denies in toto that the middle form i *ânê* (or *ênê*), which was first brought to light by Fr. Win dischmann (Jenaische Allgemeine Litt. Z. July 1834, p. 138 belongs, in point of signification, to the imperative, and ex plains the forms in *âi* according to their meaning a genuine imperatives middle of the first person (Yaçna, p. 53 Note). I cannot assent to this opinion, as *e.g.* *yazânê*, "offer," in the passage quoted above (p. 278), has a imperative a meaning as the first person for the most par admits of, while *visâi* (§. 724.), according to its significatior is rather a present indicative, and *yazâi* (l.c.) is explaine as the second person imperative active of the causal.

726. Among the European sisters of the Sanscrit, th Gothic alone presents a first person of the imperative but only in the plural, where, e.g., *visam*, "*simus*," (Lu xv. 23.) corresponds to the Sanscrit *vasâma*, "*habitemus*, without, however, being formally distinguished from th present indicative; as the Sanscrit terminations *mas* an *ma* in Gothic are represented by mere *m*, except in th conjunctive, where *ma* corresponds to the Sanscrit म m of the secondary forms. It has been already remarke that, according to its formation, the imperative of th Sclavonic and Lithuanian does not belong to the prope imperative (see §§. 677. 699.).

I here give a general view of the points of comparisc which have been arrived at for the imperative present.

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.
1. p. sg. act.	*han-â-ni,*	*jan-â-ni,*	. . . . .	. . . .
	bhar-â-ṇi,	*bar-â-ni,*[1]	. . . . .	. . . .
1. p. sg. mid.	*karav-âi,*	*karav-â-nê,*	. . . . .	. . . .
	bar-âi,	*bar-â-nê,*	. . . . .	. . . .

[1] *Barâni* cannot be supported by quotation, but is clearly deduced from the middle *barânê* (§ 723.) and the plural *barâma* (V. S. p. 206).

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTH.
pl. act.	*bar-â-ma,*	*bar-â-ma,*	. . . . .	. . . .	*bair-a-m.*
sg. act.	*dê-hi,*[2]	*daz-di,*[3]	(δίδο-θι),	. . . .	. . . .
	ê-dhi,[4]	. . . . .	ἴσ-θι,	. . . .	. . . .
	bhar-a,	*bar-a,*	φέρ-ε,	. . . .	*bair.*
	vah-a,	*vaz-a,*	ἔχ-ε,	*veh-e,*	*vig.*
	vah-a-tât,[5]	. . . . .	. . . . .	*veh-i-to,*	. . . .
sg. mid.	*dat-sva,*[6]	. . . . .	δίδο-σο,	. . . .	. . . .
	bhar-a-sva,	*bar-aṇ-uha,*[7]	φέρου, from φέρ-ε-σο,	. . . .	. . . .
. du. act.	*bhar-a-tam,*	. . . . .	φέρ-ε-τον,	. . . .	*bair-a-ts.*
. pl. act.	*bhar-a-ta,*	*bar-a-ta,*	φέρ-ε-τε,	. . . .	*bair-i-th.*
	bibhṛi-ta,	. . . . .	. . . . .	*fer-te,*	. . . .
	vah-a-ta,	*vaz-a-ta,*	ἔχ-ε-τε,	*veh-i-te,*	*vig-i-th.*
p. pl. mid.	*bhar-a-dhvam,*	*bar-a-dhwĕm,*	φέρ-ε-σθε,	. . . .	. . . .
p. sg. act.	*vas-a-tu,*	*vaṇh-a-tu,*	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .
	vah-a-tât,	*vaz-a-tâṭ,*[8]	ἐχ-ε-τω,	*veh-i-to,*	. . . .
p. du. act.	*bhar-a-tâm,*	. . . . .	φερ-έ-των,	. . . .	. . . .
p. pl. act.	*bhar-a-ntu,*	*bar-a-ntu?*	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .

[2] *Dê-hi* from *dad-dhi* for *dadâ-hi* from *dadâ-dhi,* See §§ 450. 481.

[3] [illegible] *dazdi* from *dad-di,* See § 450., where for *dazdhi* read [illegible] *dazdi,* as [illegible] *dh* occurs only between two vowels. Thus we twice read in V. S. p. 50, [illegible] *dazdi-mê,* "give to me," with *mê,* "to me," enclitic, where we must remember, that in Sanscrit, also, the forms मे *mê,* "*mei, mihi,*" and ते *tê,* "*tui, tibi,*" are used only enclitically; just as in Old Persian *maiy* and *taiy.* We must therefore take the (in V. S. pp. 505, 507, 508) frequently recurring [illegible] *dathâni tê,* "I will give to thee," as = *dathânitê,* since composites in Zend are frequently separated in writing. If, however, *dathânitê* is to be taken as one word, I should then explain the *th* as being for *dh,* on the same principle as that by which the root *dâ,* "to lay," in the reduplicated forms, when they appear in composition, regularly exhibits *th* for *dh* in the radical syllable. (See p. 964, Rem. **.)

[4] From *ad-dhi* for *as-dhi.*

[5] 956 Rem.

[6] For *dadâ-sva.* (See § 481.)

[7] See § 721.

[8] See p. 653, Note †.

727. In the Vêda dialect and Zend occur forms also which correspond to the imperative of the aorist in Greek,

* See § 97. With regard to the transition of final *s* into *ν* c
"he was, "with the Doric *ἦς* and वास *ās* of the Vêdas:
suff. *θεν* = Sanscrit *tas*, Latin *tus* (§§ 421. 531.). The f
approaches closer to the Sanscrit *tas* and Latin *tus* than *θε*
regarded as more organic than the latter, which, as Buttm
(§ 116. 4. Rem. 1.), is of frequent occurrence only in certai
which the original meaning ("whence") is not so perceptibl
elsewhere but seldom where the metre requires it (*ἀντρόθε*
Calimm., *Λιβύαθε*, *πάντοθε* Theocrit.). Observe, also, the c
tion of the *ν* in the acc. of bases ending in a consonant (*πα*
pitaram, Latin *patrem*), as well as, in particular, the abun
strated fact, that final letters are the most exposed to
complete extinction. The weakening of *s* to *n* is too, in it
remarkable than that of *s* to another liquid, viz. *r*; whic
so frequently takes place according to settled laws, and o
cally also in Greek (see §. 22.), and is found in several
guages in certain parts of Grammar; as, *e.g.*, in Irish th
mar of the 1st p. pl. represents the Sanscrit *mas*, Latin *m*
which latter, in the common dialect, is corrupted to *μεν*.
secondary termination *ma*, which also occasionally occurs
is very probably an abbreviation of *mas* (see §. 439.), which
after the separation of dialects; an abbreviation which
extensively into Old Persian, since there the final *s* aft
become the weakened form of all terminations. There
agree with Pott (Etym. Forsch. II. 306.)—to whom G. Cu
tion of the Tenses and Moods, p. 27) assents—in deriving

from δόθι. We should therefore have to regard -σαθι as the original form, and from that -σας, and afterwards -σον, with the change of α to ο, which is preferred before nasals (see p. 104). In this manner, if the ν of τύπ-σο-ν appears to be the personal termination, and, in fact, in a place where the Vêda dialect has lost the personal termination (*bhû-sha* from *bhû-sha-dhi*), then it must be remarked that, in Prâkrit also, the termination *hi*, which is a mutilated form of *dhi*, is much more extensively used than in Sanscrit (see Lassen, p. 338. Höfer, p. 185). From σαθι a middle termination σασθι may be developed, according to the principle of τυψάσθω from τυψάτω, τύψασθε from τύψατε; for as all terminations, which in the active begin with τ, are preceded in the middle by σ, where τ passes into θ (see §. 474.), so it cannot be matter of astonishment, if, from the to-be-presupposed τύψαθι is formed τύψασθι, and hence, by rejecting the σθ, τύψαι, which presents an accidental agreement with the infinitive active of the aorist,

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at least equal justice as an abbreviation of ντων; as, *vice versâ*, ντων may be looked on as a lengthened form of ντω, for the Doric dialect has not in all cases preserved the most ancient forms. Pott (l. c.) finds, in a physiological view, the interchange between *s* and *n* difficult to comprehend; as, though both are dentals, yet the difference in their pronunciation is vast. Still greater, however, is the difference between that of a mute and the nasal corresponding to its organ; and yet, in Sanscrit, final mutes, if they occur before a nasal, pass into the nasal of their organ (*atishthan mûrdhni*, "he stood at the top," for *-tm*); and in Latin somnus stands for *sopnus*; in Greek σεμνός for σεβνος: while reversedly, in Lithuanian and Sclavonic, without its being occasioned by the neighbouring letters, the *n* of the number nine (Sanscrit *navan*) has become *d* (see §. 317.); and in Greek the *n* of the suffix मन् *man*, Latin *men*, has become τ (ὀ-νοματ=नामन् *nâman*, *nomen*). I am also of opinion that the Vêda termination *tana*, in the 2d p. pl., has arisen from *tata*, and therefore is only a reduplication of the common termination *ta*, and resta, therefore, on the principle of the Latin imperative-ending *tôte*, and the Vêda *tât* of the 2d and 3d pers. singular.

dialect to remark, that to forms like τυπ-σά-τω, irr
of the personal termination, corresponds the नेषतु *nê-*
euphonic for *s*, see §. 21.), which is cited by Pânini (
Schol.) "let him conduct." In the second person d
bhûshatam (उपभूषतम् *upabhûshatam*, see Westerg.,
prefix उप *upa*), corresponds admirably to φύσατο
the third person plural, श्रोषन्तु *śrô-sha-ntu*, "they sh
(Rig. V. I. 86. 5), in respect of the aoristic suffix,
like λυ-σά-ντων.

728. In Zend as yet no imperatives have occurre
like the Vêda भूष *bhûsha*, &c., would correspond to G
peratives of the first aorist; on the other hand, [illegible]
"give" (Vendidad Sade, p. 311 twice, pp, 421, 42
sponds to δό-ς, from δο-θι, [illegible] *dâ-ta*, "give ye"
dad Sade, p. 224)* to δότε, and *dâ-ta* "do ye," "n
(in comp. [illegible] *yaoschdâta*, "purify ye,"
Sade, p. 367, frequently) to θέ-τε. I think I discov
dle imperative aorist in [illegible] *dâoṇhâ*, "gi
(Vendidad Sade, p. 222, l. 1 from the bottom); b
quire to understand the passage where this expre
curs by the aid of Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation,
a comparison of manuscripts. It is probable that
to read [illegible] *dâoṇhâ*, where the long *â* [illegible]

dialect the forms are very numerous which answer to the Greek imperative of the second aorist; thus, *śrudhi*, "hear thou," = κλῦθι,* from *śṛiṇômi* (R. *śru*, Cl. 5, irreg.); *śag-dhi*, "be able," from *śaknômi* (R. *śak*, Cl. 5); *pûr-dhi*, "fill thou," from पिपर्मि *piparmi* (R. पॄ *pṛi*, i.e. *par*, Cl. 3). To अभूत् *abhût*, "he was" (aorist of the fifth formation, §. 573.), corresponds *bhû-tu*, "*esto*." Forms like मुमुग्धि *mumugdhi* "loose thou" (R. *much*, third person, *mumôktu*), strongly resemble the Greek like κέκραχθι. The Sanscrit form, however, as appears (see Westerg.) from the indicative form *amumuktam*, distinctly belongs to the aorist, which in the Vêda dialect also exhibits similar reduplicated forms, combining the personal terminations direct with the root, which therefore stand in the same relation to the fifth formation (see §. 573.), which in the Vêda dialect is used also in roots ending in a consonant, as that in which forms of the seventh formation (§. 579.) do to those of the sixth (§. 576.). The वावृधस्व *vâvṛidhasva*, "grow thou" (Rig. Veda, I. 31. 1.), which has been differently explained above (§. 709. Note), is perhaps an imperative middle of the seventh aorist formation: it would then stand for *vavṛidhasva*, as from *mṛig*, in the aorist indicative active, comes *amamṛigam*. The lengthening of the syllable of reduplication would, according to §. 580., be more authorised in the aorist referred to than in the Vêda perfect indicative *vâvṛidê* (Rig. Veda, 52. 2.), for *vavṛidhê* of the common dialect. The circumstance that no

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* So long as a pres. of the 2d cl. *śrómi* does not occur, I am inclined to regard the forms of the indicative cited by Westergaard, *aśravam*, "I heard"; *aśrôt*, "he heard," as aorists of the 5th formation, with Guna of the short radical vowel, which appears lengthened in the Greek κλῦθι; as, in forms like δείκνῡμι, the ῡ corresponds to the Sanscrit *u* with Guna. Remark, that also in the Vêda aorist *akar*, "he made," *akaram*, "I made," the broader and here the original, but according to Indian Grammar the Gunized, form of the root occurs, while the imper. *kṛidhi*, "make thou," has the shorter form.

indicative occurs corresponding to *vâvṛidhasva*, when r garded as an aorist, would not be a sufficient reason f rejecting this view; for hitherto no indicatives *abhûsha anêsham, aśrôsham*, have been found to correspond to t aorist imperatives mentioned in §. 727., *bhûsha, bhûshata mêshatu, srôshantu*. If, however, with Westergaard, assume potentials and imperatives of the perfect, we c then, with him, derive *vâvṛidhasva* from the perfect indic tive *vâvṛidhê*. But, according to the signification, t reduplicated imperatives and potentials, which all have present meaning, are better derivable from the aori (which in its moods lays aside its past signification togeth with its augment) than from the perfect, where the r duplication expresses past time, and which, therefor must remain in the moods likewise; as, *e.g.*, in Gothi *haihaityau* signifies "I was called," not "I am called." I however, in the Vêda dialect the reduplicated modal form spring, in part at least, from the perfect, we must the assume that they have, through a perversion, surrender the past signification, which belonged to them, so that t German conjunctives of the preterite in this respect sta on older ground. The explanation of the reduplicat- modal forms from the intensive, attempted in §. 709. No is now far from satisfactory to me; and I now hesit between the derivation of them from the perfect, and th deduction from the reduplicated aorist. To the lat might be referred *ni . . sêda*, "seat thyself" (see Weste pp. 177, 179.), as अनेशम् *anêśam* (see §. 582.) presents an a logous indicative. To the *avôcham* mentioned in the sai belongs the imperative *sanvôchâvahâi* (1 p. du. mid. Rig. I. 25. 17.).

729. Traces of an imperative of the auxiliary fut occur in classical Sanscrit. But the few examples hithe found all belong to the 2d person pl. of the middle; प्रसविष्यध्वम् *prasavishyadhvam*, "shew ye" (Bhagavad-G

3. 10.); भविष्यध्वम् *bhavishyadhvam*, "be ye" (Mahâ-Bhârata, III. 14394. Râmâyana, ed. Schl. I. 29. 25); and वेत्स्यध्वम् *vétsyadhvam*, "find ye," "obtain ye" (Mahâ-Bhâr. I. 1111.). The conjecture elsewhere expressed, that by *saṅvakshyata* (in Stenzler's Brahma-Vaivarta-Purani Specimen I. 35.) a future imper. act. of the 2d p. pl. is established, I must now retract; as, by repeated examination of the passage, I find, by the context, that for संवक्ष्यत *saṅvakshyata*, which Stenzler renders "*alloquimini*," we should read *saṅrarhata* (*i.e.* "*arcete*").*

CONDITIONAL.

730. The Sanscrit conditional bears the same relation in respect of form to the auxiliary future that the imperfect does to the present, *i.e.* the augment is prefixed to the root, and the secondary personal terminations supply the place of the primary: hence, *e.g.*, अदास्यम् *adâsyam*, "I would give," and also "I would have given," answering to *dâsyâmi*, "I will give." We may therefore, as in departure from my former opinion I am now inclined to do, regard the conditional as a derivative from the auxiliary future; so that, although the substantive verb is contained in it, there is no necessity for assuming the existence of an obsolete

* Observe, that in manuscripts written in Bengal, and especially in the manuscript used by Stenzler, the *r* is frequently not distinguishable from the *v*, as is remarked l. c. p. 10. The य् *y* after the क्ष *ksh* is added by Stenzler as an emendation. The meaning *alloquimini*, however, does not agree with the context, whilst *arcete principem* corresponds to the sense of the preceding Sl. In Sl. 32 of the same Spec. occurs a form worthy of notice in respect of syntax, viz. the imperative *brûta* as representative of the conjunctive governed by *yadi*: *yadi satyam bruta*, "if ye speak the truth." So in the fifth book of the Mahâ Bhâr. the second person plural middle of the imperative *prayachchhadhvam* governed by *chét*: *nachét prayachchhadhvam amitraghatinó yudhishṭhirasyâ 'ṅśam abhîpsítaṅ svakam*, "if ye do not give the fiend-slaying Yudishthir his required share." In the Rig Vêda (I. 27. 12) we find the first person plural of the imperative, or *Lét*, after *yadi*: *yadi śaknavâma*, "if we can."

mood analogous to the said one in Sanscrit is might lead us to the conjecture, that it is of co late origin, as in Latin the imperfect conju §. 707.), which resembles it most, but has evid up on Roman ground. Compare *da-rem* fro *dâ-saïm* with अदास्यम् *a-dâ-syam*.

731. The Sanscrit employs but seldom its which, in the earlier period of the language, i supplied by the potential: a few examples, th be given here (manuscript vii. 20.), *yadi na p daṇḍan daṇḍyêshv atandritaḥ | śûlê matsyân i durbalân balavattarâḥ*, "If the king did not i punish those worthy of punishment, then t would roast the weak on spits." But here follo tials, all standing in the same relation, which are explained by the Scholiast by conditionals "would eat," by *akhâdishyat; avalihyât* "wou *avâlêkshyat; syât*, "would be," by *abhavishyat;* a "would become," by *prâvartishyat*. In the ei the Mahâ Bh. (Sl. 1614) we read, *vṛijinaṁ hi b yadi karṇasya pârthiva | nâ 'smâi hy astrâṇi di syat bhrigunandanaḥ*, "If any fault attached t Prince, the son of Bhrigu would not have gi

balibhir prapîḍitam | tathâ 'bhavishyad dvishatâm pramôdanam "If thou hadst not freed from danger this band assailed by powerful fiends, then they would have been the joy of their enemies." Thus, in the Naishadha-Char. 4. 88, *api sa vajram adâsyata chêt tadâ tvadishubhir vyadalishyad asâv api*, "If he (Brahmâ) had given also the thunder-bolt (to thee, the God of love, as a mark), so would even this have been rent in twain (have been split) by thy darts."

Remark—In Zend I know of no instance of the conditional; some resemblance to it, however, may be traced in the form 𐬞𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬥 *fravacsyaiṁ*, at the end of the 44th Ha of the Izeschné (V. S. p. 359), which Anquetil translates "*je parle clairement.*" I consider this form to be the first person of the auxiliary future, which, in the absence of examples, I formerly thought must end in *yèmi* (see §. 664.). The fact, that the first person of the future is very frequently replaced by that of the imperative, is perhaps the reason of the rare occurrence of the former. If, however, I am right in explaining the form *fravacsyaiṁ* as the first person of the future, it has lost the *i* of the termination; as in Prâkrit, where, except in the form in *himi* (see §. 615.), the termination *mi* of the future auxiliary has everywhere dropped the *i*, whereby, however, the preceding *a* has been shortened; hence, *e. g.*, सुमरिस्सं *sumarissaṁ*, "I will call to mind," corresponding to the Sanscrit *smarishyâmi*. In Zend, through the loss of the final *i* an occasion also for the mutation of the *â* preceding the *m* to *é* has disappeared; the termination *âm*, however, must, according to §. 61., become 𐬎𐬌 *aiṁ*; thus, 𐬞𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬥 *fravacsyaiṁ* = Sanscrit प्रवक्ष्यामि *pravakshyâmi*. In the same Ha, at the end of which occurs the form 𐬞𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬥 *fravacsyaiṁ*, occurs also six times the form *fravacsyâ* (V. S. p. 356), which Anquetil, in like manner, translates by "*je parle clairement*" or "*je vous parle clairement.*" Then follow the words which Zoroaster (not Ormuzd, as Anquetil

supposes) speaks. If, however, *fravacsyâ* is really a first person, it must still belong to the future only; and it would then, in this form, as compared with that in *aṅm*, be an abbreviation similar to that of the dual case-termination *bya*—for which, in accordance with the Sanscrit *bhyâm*, we should expect *byaṅm*—and to that of the feminine pronominal locative termination *a* (see §. 202.) for the Sanscrit *âm*. The occurrence in *fravacsyâ* of a long *a* is in agreement with the fact that, in the Ha above mentioned, particularly at the end of a word, *â* is found for an originally short *a*; *e. g.* in [illegible] *śraotâ*, "hear ye." If, however, [illegible] *fravacsyâ* is not the first person of the future, it can only be taken as the second person of the future imperative, and must then be regarded as a command addressed by Ormuzd to Zoroaster.

DERIVATIVE VERBS.

732. The appellation "derivative verbs" strictly belongs only to denominatives; for passives, causals, desideratives, and intensives, stand quite as near the root as the ten classes of the so-called primitive verbs, excepting the second class (see §. 109². 3.), which latter may be regarded as the base-form of all the rest. The passive, also, is identical in form with the middle of the fourth class, and the causal with the tenth class; while that form of the intensive which joins the personal terminations direct to the root is distinguished from the third class only by the strengthening of the syllable of reduplication, and in that this extends also to the universal tenses. And here we must observe that the tenth class also extends a part of its class character to the universal tenses. We might—as the passive agrees with the middle of the fourth class, and the causal with the tenth class—reckon in all twelve classes of verbs; so that, perhaps, the intensives would fall under the eleventh class, and the desideratives under the twelfth. It is, however, certain

that the verbs called derivative in idea, and as regards their origin, must be classed under those which express only the simple verbal notion along with the relations of person, time, and mood; and must also be regarded as later, and originating in the first place from these latter. For before there could exist a verb signifying, *e. g.*, "I cause to hear," or "I wish to hear," or "I am heard," there must have existed one more simple with the meaning "I hear;" and though श्रावयामि *śrâvayâmi*, *śuśrushâmi*, and *śrûyê*, may be derived from the root itself, *śru*, more readily than from *śṛiṇômi*, "I hear," or its theme *śṛiṇu* (a contracted form of *śruṇu*), still *śruṇu* may stand as the base form from which the so called derivative and secondary verbs have proceeded, by the suppression of the class-syllable *mi* before the characteristic affix of the derivative base referred to; just as the causal bases, when passives are formed from them, lose their characteristic affix *ay* before the passive character *ya*: as, *e. g.*, from *śrâv-aya-ti*, "he causes to hear," comes *śrâv-ya-tê* (for *śrâv-ay-yatê*), "he is made to hear." According to this scheme the derivative verbs have, in point of fact, only the bare root at bottom as formative material; but the sole reason of this is, that from the primitive verbs, whose offspring they are, all ingredients are removed which do not belong to the expression of the radical idea, in order that the derivative form should not be too unwieldy; just as certain comparatives and superlatives spring, not from the full base of the positive, but from it abbreviated by the removal of the formative suffix (see §. 298. pp. 395, 396.)

733. Let us now consider the formation of derivative verbs severally, beginning with the passives. These in Sanscrit, in the special tenses, annex the syllable य *ya* to the root, and join thereto the personal terminations of the middle. The conjugation agrees exactly with the middle of the fourth class (see §. 500.), so that in the present,

in the example given at p. 696, we have only to annex the middle terminations (see §. 512.) in the place of the active. I give below the 3d per. sing. and pl. with the corresponding persons of the middle (for the class peculiarities of which refer to §. 109ª.) of the roots *budh*, Cl. 1, "to know" (Goth. *ana-bud*, "to command"); *tud*, Cl. 6, "to push" (Lat. *tud*, *tundo*); *vas*, Cl. 2, "to dress oneself" (Goth. *vasya*, "I put on" = caus. *vâsayâmi*);* *bhar* (*bhṛi*, see §. 1.), Cl. 3, "to bear;" *yuj*, Cl. 7, "to bind" (Lat. *jug*, Gr. ζυγ); *star* (*stṛi*, *stṝi*, see p. 680. Note), Cl. 5, "to spread," "to deck;" *prî*, Cl. 9, "to gladden," "to love" (Goth. *friyô*, "I love").

	3D PER. SINGULAR.		3D PER. PLURAL.	
ROOT.	PASSIVE.	MIDDLE.	PASSIVE.	MIDDLE.
budh, Cl. 1,	*budh-ya-tê*,	*bôdh-a-tê*.	*budh-ya-ntê*,	*bôdh-a-ntê*.
tud, Cl. 6,	*tud-ya-tê*,	*tud-a-tê*.	*tud-ya-ntê*,	*tud-a-ntê*.
vas, Cl. 2,	*vas-ya-tê*,	*vas-tê*.	*vas-ya-ntê*,	*vas-atê*.[1]
bhar (*bhr*), Cl. 3,	*bhri-ya-tê*,[2]	*bibhri-tê*.	*bhri-ya-ntê*,[2]	*bibhr-atê*.[1]
yuj, Cl. 7,	*yuj-ya-tê*,	*yunk-tê*.	*yuj-ya-ntê*,	*yuñj-atê*.[1]
star (*stṛi*), Cl. 5,	*star-ya-tê*,[2]	*stṛi-ṇu-tê*.	*star-ya-ntê*,[2]	*stṛi-ṇv-atê*.[1]
prî, Cl. 9,	*prî-ya-tê*,	*prî-ṇî-tê*.	*prî-ya-ntê*,	*prî-ṇa-tê*.[1]

[1] See §. 459. [2] Roots in *ar*, which in the pure or light forms contract this syllable to *ṛi*, when only a single consonant precedes the radical vowel, exhibit the syllable *ri* before the passive character *ya*, which *ri* I consider to be a transposition of *ir*, and the latter a weakening of the old form *ar*, which has remained after a double consonant; hence, *star-ya-tê* corresponding to *bhri-ya-tê*. With regard to the protection which two combined consonants afford to the primitive syllable *ar*, compare the circumstance, that the imperative termination *hi* (from *dhi*) remains in verbs of the 5th class after two combined consonants, but cannot be supported by a single consonant; thus, *chinu*, "collect," opposed to *âpnuhi*, "obtain" (see §. 451.). By this principle I would also explain the fact that, the Latin root *stâ* (=Sanscrit स्था *sthâ*, "to stand") has, almost in every case, preserved the original length of the base-vowel in opposition to *dă* (=Sanscrit *dâ*). The transposition of स्थिर् *sthir* to

* See §. 169ª. 6.

bhri, reminds us of Greek forms like *πατράσι*, which has been ex-ined above as a transposed form of *παταρ-σι*: I am also now of opinion t in Gothic-plural bases like *bróthru*, *dauhtru* – whence come *bróthryu-s*, rother;" *dauhthryu-s*, "daughter"—we must assume a transposition ur to *ru*; so that the to-be-presupposed bases, *brtóhur*, *dauhtur*, corre-nd, as weakened forms of *bróthar*, *dauhtar*, to the Sanscrit genitives ·átur, *duhitur*, which are deprived of their case-termination (see §. 191. te).

734. It must be observed, that the incumbrance which e root receives in the passive by affixing the syllable *ya*, casionally introduces irregular weakenings of the root; , *e. g.*, the contraction of *vach* to *uch* (*uch-ya-tê*, "*dicitur*"), alogously with some anomalous forms of the active chima, "we spoke," from *u-uchima*): so, too, the contrac-n of the syllable *ra* to *ri* in the root प्रच्छ् *prachh*, "to k;" पृच्छ्यते *pṛichchhyatê*, "*interrogatur*;" as, पृच्छामि *pṛi-chhâmi*, "I ask;" *paprichchhima*, "we asked," compared th *paprachcha*, "I asked;" *prashṭum*, "ask ye." This inciple also explains the fact, that some roots in *â* change is vowel in the passive to the lighter *î*; hence, *e. g.*, *dîya* the passive base of the root *dâ*, "to give" (*dîyatê*, *latur*"). The Zend, on the contrary, as a consequence the same principle, shortens the long 𐬀 *â* to 𐬀 *a*, at ast in the examples which occur to me: 𐬙𐬀𐬴𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬌 *dhayêintê*, "*deponuntur*"* (= Sanscrit *nidhîyantê*); 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬯𐬌 *ṡnayaṇuha*, "be washed"† (=Scr. *snâyasva*);

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* Vendidad Sade p. 246: (?𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵) 𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵 𐬉𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵 𐬙𐬀𐬴𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬌 *yaṁya narô iréṡta* (*irista*?) *nidhayêinchê*, "*in quâ rê*) *homines mortui deponuntur*;" according to Anquetil (p. 325), *ns les quels on a mis des hommes morts*," see Note †.

† With middle meaning, "wash thyself" (*zaṡta*, "the hands") (see 57, Note **). Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 361, Note) takes the syllable *ya* his form not as the passive character, which according to him (l. c. 59) must be looked for in Zend little more than in Greek and Latin. ppears to me, however, that we may be very nearly right in regarding the

snayaêta, "let him be washed," or "w himself" (see. p. 957, Note). In support of the view, t the forms *snayaṇuha* and *snayaêta* may be taken as passi with a reflexive signification, it may here also be addu that in Old Persian a similar phenomenon occurs; viz. *patipayanvâ** (Beh. IV. 3 which Benfey, in my opinion rightly, renders "guard t self" (Rawlinson by "*te expeditum habe*"), and refers to Sanscrit root पा *pâ* (with the preposition *pati* = *prati*,) whi therefore, in agreement with the Zend, has shortened long *â* before the passive character.

735. If, with the Indian Grammarians, we regard Sanscrit *jâyé* (irregular for *janyé*) "I am born," as a mi of the fourth class (see §. 500.), then the correspon Zend verb may be explained in the same manner. As, h ever, the meaning "to be born" is strictly passive,

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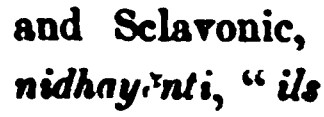
the syllable *ya* in the form above mentioned as the passive chara and the whole as a by-no-means-surprising change of the passive i reflexive or middle meaning, while in Greek, Gothic, Latin, Lithua and Sclavonic, the reverse is the case. If the form  *nidhayẽnti*, "*ils deposent*," which Burnouf has mentioned at p. 36 which I am unable to quote, be only a different reading of the *nidh* mentioned above in the lithographed manuscript, I would also t cognise in it a passive, and draw attention to the fact, that in also, in the passive, the active terminations not uncommonly place of the middle, so that the passive relation is to be discerne the syllable *ya* (see Lesser Sanscrit Gram., 2d Edit. §. 446). ever, we take *nidhayẽnti* as active, we must then explain ' down" in the sense of "one lays down," and consider *naro* i accusative (see p. 247). Constructions of this kind, as far as I not confirmed by unmistakeable forms, and I therefore prefer the verb as passive.

* Rawlinson and Benfey read *patipayuwâ*; I doubt not, h the *a* inherent in *y* must be here read in conjunction w termination *uvâ*, for *huvâ* (euphonic for *hvâ*), corresponds to imperative termination *sva*.

of the middle of the fourth Class is identical with
e passive, I prefer to explain in both languages
with passive signification as really passives; and
or the Sanscrit a middle *jan* of the fourth Class, a
eponent with the active meaning "to bring forth,"
however, but few examples occur, as, *e.g.*, Râmây.
I. 27. 3. पुत्रं व्यजायत *putran vy-ajâyata*, "she bore a
h the prep. *vi*). The Zend root 𐬵𐬀𐬵 *zan*, the
which frequently occurs in combination with the
n 𐬎𐬌 *uś* (=Sanscrit उत् *ut*), likewise rejects the
fore the passive character *ya*: the preceding *a*,
is not lengthened, or the long *â*, which had been
d, is again shortened; which cannot surprise us,
he first the long *â* at the end of a root is shortened
e passive *ya*. Hence, *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬎 *uś-zayêintê*,
e born,"* corresponds exactly to the before-men-
dhayêintê (§. 734). Of the imperfect we find the
nd third person singular; viz. 𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀
ha, "thou wast born," (see §. 466. and §. 518.), and
"he was born".†
as the middle of Sanscrit verbs of the fourth Class
al in form, and, as I believe, in origin also, with
e, and therefore म्रिये *mriyê*, "*morior*," म्रियते *mriyatê*,
" may also stand for the passive, it may here be
, that the corresponding verb in Zend, the con-
of which, *mairyâiti*, frequently occurs (Vendidad

S., p. 136, 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌 𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬎𐬌 𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵

Sade, p. 24[a]), has replaced the middle termination by the active, as also in Sanscrit the active termination frequently takes the place of the middle in acknowledged passives. The above-mentioned *maryâiti* is so far older than the corresponding Sanscrit verb, in that it has experienced neither the transposition of *ir* to *ri* mentioned at §. 733. Note 2. (*mriyatê*, like *bhri-yatê*) nor the weakening of *a* to *i*, but *maryâiti* "*moriatur*" stands for *maryâiti*, in consequence of the assimilative power of the *y* (see §. 41.), and affords us a new proof of the unoriginality of the Sanscrit ऋ *ṛi*; and shews that in Sanscrit not *mṛi*, but *mar*, is the true root, whence comes, in Latin, *mor*, which presents to us in the *io*, *iu*, of *morior*, *moriuntur*, a fine remnant of the Sanscrit passive character *ya* य. Compare *iu* in *mor-iu-ntur* with the Sanscrit *ya* of *mri-ya-ntê*. The conjunctive *mor-ia-r*, *mor-iâ-ris*, gives us still more exactly the character of the Sanscrit passive, only that here the Latin *â* appears long, inasmuch as it has absorbed the modal exponent *i*. The Lithuanian also has, in the said verb, preserved the passive character, which we have already (§. 500.) recognised in *gemmu* from *gem-yu*, "I am born," *gim-yau*, "I was born."* So we have *mir-iau*, "I died," while the present *mir-sztu*, "I am dying," belongs to a different conjugational form. In Latin, too, may be mentioned *fio* as a remnant of the old passive. I divide the word thus, *f-io*, and regard it as an abbreviation of *fu-io*, (just as in Old Persian *b-iyâ*,† "let him be" = Sanscrit *bhûyât*), and therefore analogous to the Sanscr

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* The Gothic also presents a remarkably analogous form to the Sanscr *jâ-yê*, "I am born," in the isolated form *us-kiyanata*, "*enatum*" (Lu viii. 6.), which presupposes in the present *us-kiya*, "*enascor*," and there fore a simple verb, *ki-ya*, "*nascor*," for *kin-ya*, as in Sanscrit, *jâ-yê* fo *jan-yê*.

† Euphonic for *byâ*, as *y* unites very often with a preceding consonan without a preceding *i*.

*bhûyé**, exclusive of the middle personal termination of the Sanscrit. Compare, therefore, *f-iu-nt*, with *bhû-ya-ntê*, *f-ie-t* with *bhû-yê-ta*; *f-iê-mus* with *bhû-yê-mahi*. As the Sanscrit passive is frequently used impersonally in expressions like श्रूयताम् *śrûyatâm*, "let it be heard," instead of "hear thou," आस्यताम् *âsyatâm*, "let it be placed," मत्रे *mamrê*, "let it be dead," I will also here further observe, that in Georgic, whose grammatical relations with Sanscrit I have elsewhere pointed out†, such modes of expression are very common, viz. in the verbs or tenses called by Brosset "indirect," whose element of formation, *ia* or *ie*, presents an unmistakeable resemblance to the passive character; compare, e. *g.*, მგონია *m-gon-ia*, "it is thought by me" (=Sanscrit मया ज्ञायते *mayâ jñâ-ya-tê*, "it is known by me") for "I think," შემიყვარებია *shê-mi-qwareb-ia*, "it was loved by me"="I had loved" (see "The Caucasian members," &c., p. 59). But the common Georgic passive also, where it is retained, corresponds, in its principle of formation, to the here mentioned य *ya*, and most clearly in the third person plural, *e. g.*, in შეიყვარებიან *she-i-qwarebian*, "*amantur*," answering to the active შეიყვარებენ *she-i-qwareben*, "*amant*," the termination of which, in its abbreviation, corresponds to our German forms, as *lieben* (from *liebent*) l. c. p. 56.

737. Originally the Sanscrit passive character *ya* may perhaps have extended over the universal tenses; and in roots ending in *â* or a diphthong I think, even in the pre-

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* The passive of *bhû* "to be," must be looked for as impersonal only in the 3d per. sing., as we also find the neut. of the part. fut. pass. in constructions of this kind; *e.g.* (Hit. ed. Bonn. pp. 17. 20.), *tavâ 'nucharêṇa mayâ bhavitavyam*, "mine is it to be thy attendant"="I must be thy attendant." The idea "to be" is expressed by the active of *bhû*, as bhavâmi means as well "I become," as "I am."

† "The Caucasian members of the Indo-European family of languages."

sent state of the language, I recognise a remnant of it, viz. in the *y*, which, in the aorist, the two futures, the precative, and the conditional, precedes the conjunctive vowel *i*; *e. g.*, in *adâyishi*, "I was given," *dâyitâhê* and *dâyishyê*, "I shall be given," *dâyishîya*, "may I be given," *adâyishyê*, "I might be given." I am led to this view principally by the circumstance, that that form of the intensive which, on account of its passive form and active signification, I term deponent, retains the passive character in the said tenses and moods after vowels other than *â*; hence, *e. g.*, *achêchîyishi*, "I collected," *chêchîyitâhê*, *chêchîyishyê*, "I will collect," from चि *chi*.* If the य् *y* occurred only after आ *â*, it might be assumed, as was formerly my opinion, to be a mere euphonic insertion (see smaller Sanscrit Gram. §. 49ª.), as, *e. g.*, in यायिन् *yâ-y-in*, "going," from *yâ* with the suffix *in*. The reduplicated preterite of the passive is in all verbs, like the corresponding tense in Greek, exactly like that of the middle; so that, *e. g.*, ददृशे *dadriśê* signifies, as middle, "I or he saw," and as passive, "I or he was seen." Moreover, the reduplicated preterite or perfect is that one of the universal tenses of the passive which, with the exception of the third person singular of the aorist, is the only one in common use. I cannot recollect to have seen in any author other universal tenses, or other persons than the third singular of the aorist.†

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* Before the *y* of the passive character *i* and *u* are lengthened, as generally the *y* exerts a lengthening power over *i* and *u* preceding it, except when the *iy* is only a euphonic developement of *i* or *î*, as, *e. g.*, in *bhiy*, "*timoris*," from *bhi* + *as*. Observe, with respect to the lengthening influence of the Sanscrit य, that in Latin also *j* within a word alone produces for itself length by position.

† This ends in *i*, and wants the personal sign, *e.g.*, *ajani*, "he was born." In this *i* might be recognised a contraction of the passive character य *ya*: to this view, however, are opposed forms like *adâyi*, "he

8. With respect to the origin of the passive character
, a very satisfactory explanation, I think, is given of
Sir G. Haughton,* wherein he mentions that in Bengálí
Hindústání the passive relation is expressed by an
liary verb, which signifies "to go": जाना *jânâ* (from
, see §. 79.), in Hindústání, and या *yâ* in Bengálí; in the
r, *e. g.*, करा याइ *karâ yâi* signifies "I am made," as it
: "I go in making." Now in Sanscrit both इ *i* and या
Class 2, signify "to go"; but of these it appears best
ep to the latter root, which, in Bengálí, also expresses
passive relation: and I believe that the shortening of
yllable या *yâ* to य *ya* is to be ascribed to the root being
hened by composition, which rendered a diminution of
weight of the auxiliary verb desirable. The *a* of the
ive *ya* is therefore radical, and not, as in the first and
Class, a conjugational affix: it follows, however, the
ogy of the class syllable *a*, just as, according to §. 508.,
root स्था *sthâ*, "to stand," after its abbreviation to स्थ
subjects its final *a* to the analogy of verbs of the first
sixth Class. Through the middle terminations com-
d with the appended auxiliary verb, and expressing the
exive relation, the auxiliary keeps the meaning "to go
self"; and while the Bengálí *karâ yâi* signifies simply
go in making," the Sanscrit composite implies more,
. "I go (betake) myself in making." Compare the
in constructions like *amatum iri*, "to be gone in love":
ark, also, *veneo* in opposition to *vendo;* as also the ex-
ssions of such common occurrence in Sanscrit, like "to

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given," because here *y* is the passive expression: the *i*, however,
probably is identical with that of *adây-i-shi*, "I was given," *adây-*
ma, "we were given:" *adâyi*, therefore, would be an abbreviation of
dyishta.

* In his edition of Manu, B. I. p. 329, and in his Bengálí Grammar,
68 and 95.

go in joy," "to go in anger," for "to be rejoiced," "to be angered": we even find *grahaṇaṁ samupâgamat* "he went in seizure," for "he was seized," in the Râm. (of Schl. I. i. 73.).

CAUSALS.

739. The Sanscrit and Zend causal is, in its formative character, identical with that of the verbs of the tenth Class (see §. 109ª. 6.). In explanation of the affix अय् *ay*, in the special tenses अय *aya*, the Sanscrit furnishes the roots इ *i*, "to go," and ई *î*, "to wish," "to demand," "to pray": from both arises, by Guna, before vowels अय् *ay*, and in combination with the character of the first Class, अय *aya*. The meaning "to wish," "to demand," appears, perhaps, adapted to represent the secondary notion of the causal verbs, in which the subject completes the action, not by the deed, but by the will: thus, *e.g.*, *kârayâmi*, "I cause to make," would properly mean "I require the making," whether it were intended that "any one made," or "any thing was made." But if the causal character springs from a root which originally signifies "to go," we must then observe that in Sanscrit several verbs of motion signify also "to make"; *e.g.*, *vêdayâmi* might properly signify "I make to know."

740. Although, as has been remarked (p. 109), all German weak verbs are based on the Sanscrit tenth Class, still that form alone, which has most truly preserved the Sanscrit *aya*, viz. that which in Gothic, in the 1st per. sing. pres. terminates in *ya* (Grimm's first weak conjugation), is used for the formation of causal verbs, or of transitive from intransitive verbs, but not in such a manner that the language, like the Sanscrit, could form a causal from every primitive verb, but rather so that it is content with those handed down from old time. These, in Gothic, agree with the Sanscrit causals also in this point, that the radical vowel always appears in the strongest form that the primitive verb has

developed*. Hence, the weakening of *a* to *i*, which the primitive or strong verbs have frequently experienced in the present, is not admitted in the causal; and the vowels *i* and *u*, which are capable of Guna, are Gunized; and, in fact, through the original heavy Guna-vowel *a*, not as in the present of the primitive through *i* (see §. 27.). Generally, in Gothic, the causal exhibits the vowel of the monosyllabic forms of the preterite of the primitive, yet without its being possible to say that it is derived from the latter; but the causal and the singular of the preterite of the primitive stand, with respect to their radical vowel, in a sisterly, not in a derivative relation. Compare, *e. g.*, *satya*, "I place," (R. *sat*) with *sita*, "I sit," *sat*, "I sate," and with the Sanscrit causal *sâdayâmi*, from the root *sad*, perf. *sasâda*; thus, *lagya*, "I lay," from the root *lag* (*liga*, "I lie," *lag*, "I lay"); *nasya* "I make whole," "I heal," from the root *nas* (*ga-nisa*, "I recover," pret. *ga-nas*); *saggvya*, "I sink, make to sink," from the root *saggv* (*sigqva* "I sink," pret. *saggv*); *dragkya*, "I drank," from the root *dragk* (*drigka*, "I drink," pret. *dragk*); *ur-rannya*, "I cause to go up," from the root *rann* (*ur-rinna* "I go up," pret. *ur-rann*). Examples of Gunized *u* in the Gothic causal form are the following: *ga-drausya*, "I make to fall down," "I throw down," from the root *drus* (*driusa*, "I fall," pret. *draus.*, pl. *drusum*; compare Sanscrit *dhvans*, "to fall," §. 20.); *lausya*, "I loosen," from the root *lus* (*fra-liusa*, "I lose," pret. *-laus*, pl. *-lusum*; compare Sanscrit *lû*, "to tear away," "to cut off"). So in Sanscrit, *e. g.*, *bôdhayâmi* (*ô*=*au*), "I make to know," "I awaken," from the root *budh* "to know," "to wake up." The following are examples of the Gunizing of *i* to *ai*: *ur-raisya*, "I set up," from the root *ris* (*ur-reisa*, "I stand up,"

* Those forms only are admitted which have arisen from the contraction of reduplicated preterites (see §. 606.): in Sanscrit, however, the *â*, *e. g.*, of *sâdayâmi* is heavier than the *ê* (=*a*+*i*) of *sêdima*.

pret. *ur-rais*, pl. *ur-risum*); *hnaivya*, "I lower," from the root *hniv* (*hneiva*, "I bow myself," pret. *hnaiv*, pl. *hnivum*). So in Sanscrit, *e. g.*, *vêdayâmi* (ए *ê* = *ai*) "I make to know," Zend. 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 *vaêdhayêmi**, from *vid*, "to know." Our new High German causal remains, such as *setze*, "place," *lege*, "lay," *senke*, "sink," are, by reason of abbreviations of their endings, no longer to be distinguished from their primitives, and furnish a remarkable proof of a corruption of form gradually reaching a point where it becomes imperceptible. Without the fortunate preservation of Gothic forms like *satya*, and other formations of the Old German dialects, corresponding more or less, it would have been impossible to trace in the *e* of *setze* a relation to the Sanscrit *ayâmi* of *sâdayâmi*, and hence an agreement in the principle of formation of the German and Sanscrit causals. So early as the Old German the causal character appears much defaced; *e. g.*, in *nerent*, "*alunt*" (*vivere faciunt*) to be found in Notker, for *neriant*, Gothic *nasyand*; *lego* "*pono*," for *legio*, *legiu*, Gothic *lagya*; *legent*, "*ponunt*," for *legiant*, Gothic *lagyand*, l. c.

741. In Old Sclavonic that conjugation corresponds in which we, in §. 505., have recognised the Sanscrit tenth Class: it therefore corresponds also to the Indo-Germanic causal formation: it also contains the verbs which by their signification alone rank as causals, and to which, as primitive, corresponds a non-causal or intransitive verb. In accordance with the Sanscrit-Gothic principle noticed in the preceding §. these casual verbs exhibit a heavier vowel than the primitive, or they contain a vowel, while the primitive has lost its radical vowel. Thus, as in Sanscrit, from the

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* It often occurs in combination with the prep. *ni*; 𐬌𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 *nivaêdhayêmi*, according to Anquetil, "*je prie*;" according to Neriosengh, निमन्त्रयामि *nimantrayâmi*, i. e. "I summon" (see Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 419). With regard to the foundation of the *ê* of the termination *êmi* see p. 963, Note.

root *mar*, "to die" (in its abbreviated form, मृ, which Grammarians regard as the primitive), comes the causal *mârayâmi*, "I kill," "I make to die"; so in Sclavonic, from the radically abbreviated мрѫ *mrû*, "I die," comes a causal, морѭ *moryû*, "I cause to die" (Dobr. p. 361), which perhaps no longer admits of citation in Old Sclavonic, but is confirmed by the Russian морю *moryû*. The same is the case with варити *var-i-ti*, "to cook" (trans.), compared with врѣти *vr-ye-ti* (intrans.), with бѫдити *bûd-i-ti*, "to wake," compared with бъдѣти *bhd-ye-ti*, "to awake" (Sanscrit *bodhayâmi*, "I wake," *budhyê*, "I awake"). For the *e* of the primitive the causal receives the heavier *o*; hence, *e.g.*, положити *po-losch-i-ti*, "to lay," compared with лежати *lesch-a-ti*, "to lie." The *a* of *sad-i-ti*, "to plant," properly "to set," corresponds to the Sanscrit *â* of *sâd-ayâ-mi* (Goth. *satya*, "I set"), while the ѣ *ye* of сѣсти *syes-ti*, "to place oneself" (euphon. for *syed-ti*, see §. 457.), has probably first weakened the short *a* of the root to *e*, and then (as is commonly the case in Sclav.) prefixed a *y*. Compare the Lithuanian *sêdmi*, "I sit," answering to *sodinù*, "I plant," with the remark that the Lithuanian *o* frequently supplies the place of the long *â*, as, *e.g.*, in the nom. pl. of feminine bases in *a* (*aszwos* = Sanscrit *aśvâs*, "the mares"). Here may also be noticed the Irish *suidiughaim*, "I set," "plant" (answering to *suidhim*, "I sit"), where *gh*, as generally happens in the Irish causal verbs, represents the Sanscrit *y* (compare p. 110, and Pictet, pp. 148, 149). Of Sclavonic causals notice also растити *rast-i-ti*, "to increase," properly, "to make to grow," (*rast-ye-ti*, "to grow"),*

* Sanscrit *vardhayâmi*, Zend *varĕdayêmi*, "I make to grow," "I increase." The Sclavonic verb has retained the affix *t*, whence the radical *d* must become *s*. As, however, the primitive verb had already an *a*, an augmentation of the vowel in the causal was impossible. Compare also the Sanscrit *ṛidh* (from *ardh*), "to grow," which is probably an abbreviation of *vardh*.

вѣшѣти *vyes-i-ti* "to suspend," (*vis-ye-ti*, "to hang"), *na-p*
i-ti, "to give to drink" (*na* prep., *pi-ti*, "to drink"), *po-k*
i-ti, "to quiet," (*po-chi-ti*, "to rest"). As the Sclavo
ѣ *ye* is the usual representative of the Sanscrit ए *ê* =
(see §. 255. e.), so is the vowel relation between *vyes-i-ti*, "
suspend," and the root *vis*, "to hang," like that of
Sanscrit *vêś-ayâ-mi*, "I make to enter," to *viśâmi*, "I go i
The Sclavonic root *vis* is also probably identical with
Sanscrit *viś*, which, in combination with the prep. वि
in the causal, signifies, among other things, "to adjoi
"to annex," and brings us, therefore, very near the s
nification of the Sclavonic causal, viz. "to suspend,"
generally the Sclavonic and Sanscrit roots meet one an
ther in the idea of "approaching" (आविश् *âviś* mea
"to approach," उपविश् *upaviś*, "to place oneself"). Th
formal relation of (*na*)*poiti*, "to give to drink," to *piti*, "
drink," cannot be correctly measured without taking
the Sanscrit; for from a Sclavonic point of view it wou
seem as if *poiti* had arisen from *piti* by the insertion
an *o*, while, in fact, the *o* of *poiti* rests on the Sanscrit
of the root *pâ*, to which corresponds the Greek ω of πω̂-
πέπωκα, and the *o* of ἐπόθην, as also the Latin *ô* of *pô-tu*
pô-turus, and the Old Prussian *uo* of *puo-ton*, "to drink": th
i of *piti* is based, like the *ī* of the Greek πῑ̂-θι, πίνω, on th
weakening which has already occurred in Sanscrit of
to *pî*, whence the passive *pî-yatê*, "*bibitur*," the perf. pa
part. *pî-ta-s*, "drunken," and the gerund *pî-tvâ*, "havi
drunk." The Sclavonic causal has, according to the gen
ral principle, preserved in *po* the heavier vowel of t
root, and that which stands nearer to the original *â*. T
relation of *po-koiti*, "to quiet" (*po-ko-i-ti*, *po* prep.),
po-chi-ti, "to rest," is, however, of a different kind. F
if, as I doubt not, Miklosich is right (Radices ling
Sclav. p. 36) in comparing the Sclavonic root чи *chi* with
Sanscrit *śî* (from *kî*), "to lie," "to sleep," it must then

observed that the said Sanscrit root, as also the kindred Greek root κεῖμαι, assumes an irregular Guna augment, which extends throughout, and which appears in Greek either in the form of κει, or in that of κοι (κοίτη, κοί-τος, κοιμάω, see §. 4.). To the latter form corresponds the Sclavonic *ko* of *po-ko-i-ti*, where, however, the radical vowel is lost, for the following *i* is the expression of the causal relation.

742. The form *i*, in which, in Old Sclavonic, the causal character for the most part appears, corresponds exactly to the form into which, in Gothic, the causal *ya* contracts itself before the appended auxiliary verb of the preterite (see §. 623), and before the suffix of the pass. participle; therefore, as we have in Gothic, *sat-i-da*, "I placed," *sat-i-th`-s*, "placed" (Gen. *sat-i-di-s*); so in Sclavonic, *sad-i-ti*, "*plantare*," *sad-i-ty*, "*plantat*," *sad-i-shi*, "*plantas*," *sad-i-m*, "*plantamus*," *sad-i-te*, "*plantatis*." In the 1st per. sing. and 3d per. pl. of the pres. ѩ *yû* (from *yo-m*), ѧть *yaty* (from *yanty*), corresponds to the Gothic *ya*, *yand*, Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti*, provided that euphonic laws do not introduce an alteration, as is the case, *e.g.*, in сажда *saschdû* for *sadyû*. In the imperative (see §. 626.) the causal character is lost in the mood exponent; hence *sadi*, "*plantes*," "*plantet*" (Goth. *satyais*, *satyai*), садѣмъ *sadyem*, "*plantemus*," садѣте *sadyete*, "*plantetis*" (Goth. *satyaima*, *satyaith*), as *nesi*, "*feras*," "*ferat*." With regard to the preterite of the Old Sclavonic causal, corresponding to the Sanscrit aorist see §. 561., where, however, the *i* of вѣдѫхъ *bûd-i-ch*, "I did wake," corresponds, not to the Sanscrit *i* of *abódh-i-sham*, "I did know," but, as has already been remarked (§. 562.), to the exponent of the causal relation; while in Sanscrit the aorist is, with the exception of the precative active corresponding to the Greek aorist optative, the sole tense in which the Sanscrit divests itself of the character *aya* (in the universal tenses *ay*). As, however, all causals assume the reduplicated form of the aorist (see §. 580.), so the incumbrance of the

root by the reduplication, combined with the augment, is perhaps the reason of the loss of the causal character: perhaps even the reduplication is held as compensating for the causal expression, just as, in Latin, *sisto*, opposed to the unreduplicated and intransitive *sto*, or as in *gigno* = Sanscrit *jajanmi*, "I beget," opposed to *nascor* from *gnascor*.

743. The Lithuanian very seldom uses for the formation of causals from primitive verbs the forms contrasted in §. 506. with the Sanscrit अय *aya*. The only examples which occur to me are *źindau*, "I cause to suck," from *źindu*, "I suck," and *gráu-yu*, "I pull down (make to fall in) a house," from *grûw-u*, "I fall in like a house." The *w* of *grûw-u* appears to be only a developement from the *û*, as, in Sanscrit, forms like *babhûva*, "I was," "he was," from *bhû*. If we take *grû* as the root, the causal form *gráu-yu* corresponds in its vowel increment to Sanscrit causals like *bhâv-ayâ-mi*, "I make to be," "I bring into existence," from *bhû*, "to be." The usual termination of Lithuanian causals is *inu* (pl. *ina-me*), by which, as in Sanscrit by *aya*, are formed denominatives also, as *e.g.*, *ilg-inu*, "I make long," a denominative causal from *ilga-s*, "long." The *n* of these forms, in departure from that mentioned above (§. 496.), extends over all tenses and moods, as well as to the participles and the infinitive; for I cannot agree with Mielcke (p. 98. 10.), in considering it to be a deviation from this rule, that before *s* (according to Sanscrit principles) it passes into the weakened nasal sound, which I express, like the Sanscrit *anusvâra*, by *ṅ* (see §. 10.); thus, *e.g.*, *laup-siṅ-su*, "I will praise."

744. The Lithuanian formations in *inu* agree with the Sanscrit, Zend, German, and Sclavonic causal verbs in this, that they love a heavy vowel in the root; so that many have preserved an original *a*, while the primitive has corrupted that vowel to *i* or *e*; whence they appear to us exactly in the light of the German Ablaut system (see p. 38, Note).

Thus, as *e.g.*, in Gothic, to the intransitive *sita*, "I sit" which is a weakened form from *sata*), corresponds a preterite *sat*, and a causal *satya*, "I place"; so in Lithuanian, to the neuter verb *mirsztu*, "I die," answers a causal *marinu*, "I cause to die" (Scr. *mârayâmi*, Sclav. *moryû*); and to the *gem-mu* (from *gem-yu*), "I am born," represented above (§. 501.) as passive, corresponds a causal *ga-minu*, "I beget." The following are causals, with *a* answering to the *e* of the corresponding intransitive: *gadinu*, "I ruin," "kill," opposed to *gendu*, *nagendu*, "I am ruined"; *kankinu*, "I vex," opposed to *kenchiu*, "I suffer." In the Lithuanian causals also, in place of the organic *a*, *o* is found answering to the *e* of the intransitive (as in Sclav., §. 742.); for example, in *sodinu*, "I plant," answering to *sĕdmi*, "I sit." There is much that is interesting in the vowel relation of *pa-klaidinù*, "I mislead," "bring into error," to *pa-klystu*, "I mislead myself" (euphon. for *pa-klyd-tu*), for the *y* is, in pronunciation, identical with *i*; so *pa-klaidinu*, in respect to its Guna form, corresponds very well to the Gothic causals like *hnaivya*, "I humble," and Sanscrit, as *vêdayâmi* (=*vaidayâmi*), "I make to know" (see 109.[a] 16.). The same is the case with *at-gaiwinu*, "I quicken" (properly "I make to live," compare *gywas*, "living," Sanscrit *jîv*, "to live"), the primitive of which, "I recover myself," "become fresh again," "lively," is probably an abbreviation of *at-giwjù*; *waidinů-s*, "I shew myself" (see §. 476.), contains a stronger Guna vowel than *weizdmi*, "I see," and corresponds to the just-mentioned Sanscrit causal *vêdayâmi*. An example of the manner in which a Lithuanian causal has, just like its corresponding intransitive, corrupted an original *a* to *e*, is *deginu*, "*uro*," answering to the intransitive *degu**, "*ardeo*."

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* In Sanscrit the fourth Class of the root *dah* (*dahyâmi* "*ardeo*") represents the intransitive meaning, and the first Class (*dahâmi* "*uro*") the transitive. On the latter is based the Irish *daghaim* "*uro*."

745. The circumstance that the Lithuanian formation *i* (1st per. sing. *inu*), like the Sanscrit *aya*, forms as well caus as denominatives, and that the causals so formed, like Sanscrit, German, and Sclavonic, prefer a powerful rad vowel, gives us ground, (in variance from the assertion se forth at the end of §. 495. which I gladly retract), for seek *ing* to compare the Lithuanian *ina* and Sanscrit *aya*. We might in the *i* of *ina* recognise the weakened form of an original *a*, as it appears also in the forms mentioned at §. 506. in *iyu*, *iya*. The *n*, then, as semi-vowels are easily interchanged, must be held to be a corruption of य् *y**. The *i*, however, of *ina*, *inu*, as in the forms in *iu*, plural *i-me* (*myl-i-me*, "we love" §. 506.), might correspond to the Sanscrit *y* of the derivative *aya*; so that, *e.g.*, the syllable *in* of *sod-in-ti*, "to plant," would be identical with the *i* of the Sclavonic *sad-i-ti* of the same meaning, and with the Gothic *i* of *sat-i-ta*, "I placed," (compare §. 743.). The *n* of the Lithuanian form would then be an unorganic affix, like a rind which has grown upon the vowel termination of the verbal theme, according to the same principle by which, in German, so many nominal bases have received the affix of *n*; so that, *e.g.*, to the Sanscrit base *vidhavâ*, "a widow" (at the same time a nominative, see §. 137.), to the Latin *vidua* and Sclavonic *vdova*, corresponds a Gothic base *viduvôn* (Nom. *-vô*, §. 140.); and to the Sanscrit feminine participial bases in *antî* respond Gothic bases in *andein* (Nom. *andei*). If this view be taken, we must then assume that the verbal theme of *sodi* (Sanscrit *sâdaya*), extended to *sodiu*, has taken up the character of the Sanscrit first conjugational Class, a

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* See §. 20. As regards the transition of the *y* into another liquid, I mark the relation of the German *Leber* (labial for guttural, as in Greek ἧπαρ, see Graff, II. p. 80) to the Sanscrit *yakrit* (from *yakart*) and Latin *jecur*. With respect to the transition of *l* to *n*, observe, *e. g.*, the relation of the Doric ἦνθον to ἦλθον.

has thus entered into the Lithuanian first conjugation; thus *sodin-a-me*,* "we plant," as *suk-a-me*, "we turn." In favour of the first mode of explanation might be adduced the circumstance that, together with *szlowinu*, "I praise," "extol," exists a *szlówiyu*,† which latter is clearly identical with the Sanscrit *śrâvayâmi*, "I make to hear," and Russian славлю *slavlyû*, "I laud." Since in Latin, as I think I have clearly proved, three conjugations—the first, second, and fourth—correspond to the Sanscrit tenth Class, we have reason to look among these for the Latin causals, as already (p. 110.) *moneo* has been compared with the Sanscrit *mânayâmi* and Prâkrit *mâṇêmi*, "I make to think." The causal meaning, however, is no longer apparent in the Latin *moneo*, as it has not any primitive verb corresponding to it, from which it might have been derived in a regular way, and one, as it were, often trodden for similar purposes; for *memini* may be regarded as a sister form connected with it, both in sound and sense, but not as the parent of which it is the offspring. *Sedo*, which corresponds to the Sanscrit causal *sâdayâmi* and its German-Sclavonic sister forms (*sed-â-s* = सादयसि *sâd-a(y)a-si*), might, according to the sense, be regarded as the causal of *sedeo*; but the latter is in form likewise a causal, and there is a want of other analogous cases for the formation of causals by the change

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* Ruhig doubles the *n* of *laupsinu* in both the plural numbers and in the third person singular of the present and perfect. Mielcke, on the other hand, makes no remark, p. 98, 10. with regard to the necessity of such a reduplication, where it does not already occur in the first person singular of the present. For the rest it may be remarked, that liquids especially are easily doubled, and that, *e. g.*, in Sanscrit a final *n*, if preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in case the word following begins with a vowel.

† The kindred *klausau*, "I listen," has, like the Greek κλύω, preserved the original guttural, which in *szlawiyu*, as in the Sanscrit *śru*, has been corrupted to a sibilant.

from the second to the first conjugation. In Latin, therefore, the three verbs *sido*, *sedeo*, and *sedo*, can only be regarded as three kindred verbs, which, each in its own way, are referable to the Sanscrit root *sad*. To the Sanscrit *trâsayâmi*, (Prâkr. *tâsêmi*), "I make to tremble," "to fear," "I terrify," corresponds *terreo* by assimilation for *terseo*, from *treseo*. The fourth conjugation presents *sŏpio* as a form fairly analogous to the Sanscrit causal *svâpayâmi*, "I make to sleep," (*svapimi*, "I sleep," irregular for *svapmi*), Old Northern *svepium*, "*sopimus*," (singular *svep*), Old High German *in-suepiu*, Russian усыпляю *usyplayu**. The causal notion, however, is lost in this *sŏpio* also, as there is no intransitive *sŏpo* of the third conjugation corresponding to it as a point of departure. The German dialects have, indeed, preserved the primitive (Old High German *slâfu*), but it has become estranged from the causal by the exchange of the semi-vowel *v* for *l* (see §. 20.). In Russian, on the other hand, сплю *splyu*, "I sleep" (euphonic for *spyu*), corresponds, as verb of the Sanscrit fourth Class (see §. 500.), to the causative *u-syplayu* (*u* preposition), the *y* of which is based on the Sanscrit *u* of contracted forms like *sushu-pima*, "we slept," *supta*, "having slept;" with which, also, may be compared the Greek *ὑπ* of *ὕπνος*. I here place opposite to one another the corresponding forms of the Latin and Old High German languages for comparison with the Sanscrit *svâpayâmi* and its potential *svâpayê-y-am* (see §. 689.):

svâp-ayâ-mi,	*sŏp-io,*	*in-suep-iu.*
svâp-aya-si,	*sŏp-ĭ-s,*	*in-suep-i-s.*
svâp-aya-ti,	*sŏp-i-t,*	*in-suep-i-t.*
svâp-ayâ-mas,	*sŏp-ĭ-mus,*	*in-suep-ia-m.*
svâp-aya-tha,	*sŏp-ĭ-tis,*	*in-suep-ia-t.*
svâp-aya-nti,	*sŏp-iu-nt,*	*in-suep-ia-nt.*

* The *l* is only a euphonic affix required by *p*; *ayu* therefore=*ay*[illegible]

*yê-y-am,**	*sôp-ia-m,*		*in-suep-ie.*‡
yê-s,	*sôp-iê-s,*†	*sôp-iâ-s,*	*in-suep-iê-s.*
yê-t,	*sôp-ie-t,*	*sôp-ia-t,*	*in-suep-ie.*
yê-ma,	*sôp-iê-mus,*	*sôp-iâ-mus,*	*in-suep-iê-mês.*
yê-ta,	*sôp-iê-tis,*	*sôp-iâ-tis,*	*in-suep-iê-t.*
yê-y-us,	*sôp-ie-nt,*	*sôp-ia-nt.*	*in-suep-iê-n.*

n the Latin first Conjugation, which has preserved extremes of the Sanscrit causal character *aya* in raction *â*, the verbs *necâre, plôrâre, lavâre* and *cla-* well as the above-mentioned *sedâre*, present them- genuine causals, both in signification and in nough they are no longer perceived to be such by ıs of the language, since their primitive has either or estranged in form. *Necare*, which, specially from a Roman point of view, must be taken as minative of *nex* (*nec-s*), corresponds to the Sanscrit *ni* "*perire facio*," causal of *naś-yâ-mi*, Cl. 4. *pereo*. form of नाशयामि *nâśayâmi*, with softened meaning,

In Greek *νέκυς* and *νεκρός* are to be referred to crit root *naś*, from *nak*. I believe I am right in g *plôro* as a corruption of *plôvo* for the reason ed at §. 20. It would consequently correspond to crit *plâvayâmi*; properly "I make to flow," from *plu*, "to flow," which, in the Latin *fluo*, has ex- d an irregular phonetic modification; while in *pluit*, elongs to the same root, the original tenuis is re-

In *lavare* (Greek *λούω*) one of the two combined onsonants is lost; in other respects, however, *lavo* nds still better than *plôro* to the Sanscrit *plâvayâmi*, h," "to sprinkle" (in middle "to wash oneself,") ch also is based the Old High German *flewiu*,§ "I

. 689. † See §§. 691, 692. ‡ See §. 694.

is, like *lavo* when compared with its intransitive *fluo*, estranged primitive *fiusu*, "I flow," in that it has kept itself free from the *s* (see p. 114).

wash." In Carniolan *plev-i-m*, "I water," "I dissolve (Metelgo, p. 115.), is the regular causal from *plav-a-m*, "I swim" (=Sanscrit प्लवामि *plav-â-mi*). *Clamo* properly signifies (if I am right in explaining its *m* as a hardened form of *v* (see p. 115.), "I make to hear," and possesses therefore, a concealed affinity to *cluo*, κλύω and is identical with the Sanscrit *śrâv-ayâ-mi* (*ś* from *k*), "I make to hear," "I speak," with the Zend *śrâv-ayê-mi* of the same meaning, the Carniolan *slav-i-m*, "I praise," (*sluyem* "I hear"), the Old Sclavonic СЛОВАѦ *slovlyû* (from *blagoslovlyû*, "I bless"), the Russian *slavlyu*, "I praise," and the Lithuanian *szlôwiyu*, id. (see §. 745.).

747. Roots, which in Sanscrit end in *â*, or in a diphthong to be changed into *â*, receive before *aya* the affix of a *p*; hence, *e.g.*, *sthâp-ayâ-mi*, "I make to stand," from *sthâ*; *yâp-ayâ-mi*, "I make to go," "I set in motion," from *yâ*. As labials in Latin are not unfrequently replaced by gutturals*, I believe, with Pott (Etymol. F. p. 195.), that the Latin *jacio* should be deduced fron *japio*, and be identified with the above-mentioned *yâp-ayâ-mi*; though properly only the *io* of the fourth, and not that of the third Conjugation (=Sanscrit य of the fourth Class), corresponds to the Sanscrit causal character. The agreement of forms like *capio*, *capiunt*, *capiam*, &c., and the analogous forms of the fourth Conjugation, might, however, easily favour a transition of the latter into the third. The same appears to me to be the case with *facio*, which I compare with the Sanscrit *bhâvayâmi*, "I make to be," "I bring into existence"; but in so doing I assume that the *e* is a hardening of the radical *v*† (see §. 19.), as roots in *û* in the Sanscrit causal never assume a *p*. The Gothic gives us *bau-a*,

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* Compare, *e.g.*, *quinque* with *pañchan*, πέντε; *coquo* with *pachâmi*, πέσσω, Servian *pechem*, "I roast."

† From *û*—for *âu*, before vowels *âv*, is the Vriddhi form of *û*; see §.

build" (from *bau-ai-m*), as the kindred form to the Sanscrit *bhâv-ayâ-mi* and Latin *facio*: in the second and third persons, therefore, the character *ai* of *bau-ai-s*, *bau-ai-th*, answers to the Sanscrit *aya* of *bhâv-aya-si*, *bhâv-aya-ti*. From a German point of view, however, we could as little perceive the connection between our *bauen*, "to build," and *bin*, "I am," as recognise in Latin the affinity of the roots of *fac-io* and *fu-i*. If, however, I am unable to compare the *c* of the said form with the Sanscrit causal *p*, still I think I can shew in Latin one more causal in which *c* takes the place of a Sanscrit *p*, viz. *doceo*, which I take in the sense of "I make to know," and regard as akin to *di-sco* (properly "I wish to know") and the Greek ἐδάην, διδάσκω. If the *d* of these forms has arisen from *g* (compare Δημήτηρ from Γημήτηρ), then *doceo* leads to the Sanscrit *jñâp-ayâmi*, "I make to know" (*jâ-nâ-mi*, "know," for *jñâ-nâ-mi*), and to the Persian *dâ-ne-m*, "I know". As an example of the Latin causal, in which the original *p* has remained unchanged, let *rapio* be taken, supposing it to correspond to the Sanscrit *râpayâmi*, "I make to give,"* from the root रा *râ*, "to give," which, in my opinion, is nothing but a weakening of *dâ*. There also occurs, together with *râ*, in the Vêda dialect, the form *râs*, just as, together with *dâ*, exists a lengthened form *dâs*. In its origin the root *lâ*, to which are ascribed the meanings "to give," and "to take," appears to be identical with *râ* and *dâ*.

748. To the roots which, in Sanscrit, irregularly annex a *p*

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* The derivation (elsewhere admitted as possible) from *lup* (*lumpâmi*), "to rive," "break," "destroy" (compare Pott. I. 258), to which *rumpo* belongs, is less satisfactory, as *a* in this explanation must be taken as the Guna vowel, with the loss of the proper vowel of the root. The Latin, however, avoids the use of Guna, and generally retains the radical vowel rather than that of Guna; *e.g.* in *video*, which is based on the Sanscrit causal *vêdayâmi*, "I make to know," from the root *vid*.

in the causal, belongs ऋ *ṛi*, i.e. *ar* (see §. 1.), "to go," whence *arp-ayâ-mi*, "I move," "cast," "send" (*śarân arpayâmi*, "*sagittas mitto*"), with which, perhaps, the Greek ἐρείπω is connected,* which, however, as causal, should be ἐρειπέω, or ἐρειπάω, or ἐρειπάζω (see. §§. 19. 109ª. 6.). Inasmuch as the theme ἐρειπ has lost the true causal character, this verb has acquired quite the character of a primitive verb, just like ἰάπτω, which Pott has referred, in the same way as the previously mentioned Latin *jacio*, to the Sanscrit *yâp-ayâ-mi*, "I make to go." If ῥίπ-τω does not belong to *kship*,† "to throw," but, like the others, to *arpayâmi*, it is then a transposed form of ἰρπ-τω.

749. The Sanscrit root पा *pâ*, "to receive," "to rule," assumes, in the causal, *l*; hence *palâyâmi*. So, in the Greek βάλλω, στέλλω, ἰάλλω, the second λ of which appears to have arisen by assimilation from *y*, as ἄλλος from ἀλyος=Gothic *ALYA*, Latin *alius*, Sanscrit *anya-s* (see p. 401). Βάλλω, therefore, is for βάλyω, from βᾱ (see §. 109ᵇ. 1.), the radical vowel being shortened (ἔβᾰλον), which, however, in the transposition βλη (βέβλη-κα) has preserved its original length;

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* Ρειπ might be taken as a transposed form of ειρπ, and the ε as a vowel prefix, as, *e.g.*, in ἐλαχύ-ς=Sanscrit *laghu-s*. Observe, also, that the π of σάλπιγξ, which Sonne (Epilegomena to Benfey's Gr. Roots, p. 24), identifies with the Sanscrit causal *p*, belongs to a root, which in Sanscrit ends in *ar* (*ṛi*), viz. to *svar* (*svṛi*), to which Pott also (Et. F. p. 225) has referred it: σάλπιγξ, therefore, properly="making to sound." Should, too, the Lith. *szwilpinu*, "I whistle," notwithstanding its *sz* for *s*, belong here, then remark the shorter form adduced by Ruhig of the 3d per. sing. *szwilpya*, "the bird whistles," where *pia* corresponds to the Sanscrit forms in *payati*, such as *arpayati*, "he makes to go," "he moves."

† The derivation of *kship* pre-supposes an abbreviation of ῥίπτω from κρίπτω; so that ρ would have taken the place of the Sanscrit sibilant in κρείων, which Fr. Rosen has compared with the Sanscrit root *kshi*, "rule"; see his Rig Vêda Sanhita, Annot. p. xi., where, too, κραιπνός compared with *kshipra*, "swift" (from *kship*, "to cast"), and the Latin *crepusculum* with *kshapâ*, "night" (better with *kshapas*).

τέλλω, from στελγω (ἔσταλκα), for σταλγω, from στᾱ (ἵστᾱμι, ιστημι)=Sanscrit *sthâ*, which, in combination with various prepositions, obtains the notion of movement*; ἰάλλω, from ιλγω, is to be referred, in a manner different from ἰάπτω, to the Sanscrit root या *yâ*, "to go," to which also belongs ημι, as reduplicated form for γιγημι (fut. ἥσω=यास्यामि *yâ-yâmi*, compare Lithuanian *yó-su*, "I will ride"). Perhaps έλ-λω from κελ-γω=Sanscrit *châlayâmi*, "I move," causal of the root चल् *chal*, "to move oneself;" perhaps, also, άλ-λω, from παλ-γω, for παδγω=Sanscrit *pâdayâmi*, causal of *pad*, "to go," to the causal of which may be referred also the Latin *pel-lo* as by assimilation from *pel-yo*. All these forms, therefore, if our explanation of them be correct, have lost the initial *a* of the Sanscrit causal character *aya* of the special tenses, and are hereby removed, as it were, from the Sanscrit tenth Class to the fourth (compare Pott II. 45.). As in Greek, verbs in εω, αω (for εγω, αγω), αζω, are the proper representatives of the Sanscrit causal form or tenth Class; and as these extend their character also over the present and imperfect; so here, too, may καλέω be considered as a concealed causal, which, like the Latin *clamo*, properly signifies "to make to hear," and answers to the Sanscrit *śrâvayâmi* (*ś* from *k*). Accordingly I take καλέω as a transposition of κλα-έω for κλαϝ-έω.

750. The Zend, it appears, has no part in the use of the *p*, which, according to §. 747., is, in the causal, to be added to roots in *â*; at least I know of no example where it is found: on the other hand, we find evidence of the discontinuance of the addition of a *p* in [illegible] *âštâya*, "make to come," "bring" (Vend. S. p. 55. several times)

* Observe, also, that together with *sthâ* there exists a root *sthal*, and with *pâ* a root *pal*. To *sthal* belongs our *stelle*, "place," Old High German *stella*, from *stelyu*; properly, "I make to stand"=Sanscrit *stâlayâmi*.

=Sanscrit *âsthâpaya*, from स्था *sthâ*, "to stand," with the preposition *â*, "to approach." In [illegible] *âstâya*, from *âstâ-aya*, the *a* of derivation has coalesced with the radical vowel; so in Old Persian [illegible] *avâstâyam* (from *ava-astâ-ayam*), "I restored" (Beh. I. 63. 66. 69.), In Prâkrit, on the other hand, those roots also which end in a consonant frequently take, in the causal, the said labial, in the softened form of *b*, where, however, the root is previously lengthened by the addition of an *a*; *e. g.*, *jîvâbêhi*, "make to live," *jîvâbêdu*, "let him make to live" (see Delius, Radices Prâkrit s. r. *jîv*). In Sanscrit also, in the unclassical language of popular tales, forms of this kind occur; and indeed *jîvâpaya*, for the just-mentioned *jîvâbêhi* (Lassen's Anthol. Sanscrit, p. 18), which latter surpasses the Sanscrit in the preservation of the imperative termination *hi* from *dhi*. In the 1st. per. sing. pres. is found, *l. c.*, *jîvâpayâmi* (Prâkrit *jîvâbêmi*), and in the part. perf. pass. *jîvâpitaḥ*=Prâkrit *jîvâbidô*. Lassen, in mentioning these forms, remarks (Institut. linguæ Prâkrit, pp. 360, 361), that causals of this kind still exist in Mahratta; and I was surprised at finding myself able to trace the analogy of these formations even to the Iberian languages*; since in Latin, as G. Rosen remarks, the affix *ap* (only *p* after vowels) always gives a transitive meaning to verbs. Thus *gnap*, "to unveil," "to make evident," corresponds to the Sanscrit *jñâpayâmi*, "I make to know," while *gna*, "to understand," agrees with the Sanscrit root ज्ञा *jñâ*, "to know." In Georgian the said causal affix appears in the form *ab*, *eb*, *ob*, *aw*, *ew*, *ow*, without, however the very numerous class of verbal bases which so terminate being regarded as causals in meaning, which cannot su

* See "*The Caucasian members of the Indo-European family of languages.*"

prise us, as in Latin also, and German, the form of the Sanscrit causals, or tenth Class, is so prevalent as to extend over three Conjugations in Latin, and the three Classes of the weak Conjugation in the German dialects (see §. 109ª. 6.).

DESIDERATIVES.

751. We now betake ourselves to the examination of the Sanscrit desideratives, which, as has been already elsewhere remarked,* are retained also in Greek; if not in signification, at least in form, in verbs like *βιβρώσκω*, *γιγνώσκω*, *μιμνήσκω*, *διδάσκω*, *διδράσκω*, *τιτρώσκω*, *πιπίσκω*, *πιπράσκω*, *πιφαύσκω*, where the guttural is most probably, as in *ἔσκον* and the Old Latin future *escit*, only a euphonic accompaniment of the sibilant, which in all Sanscrit desideratives is appended to the root, either directly, or by means of a vowel of conjunction, *i*. The roots beginning with a vowel repeat the entire root, according to the principle of the seventh aorist formation (§. 585.); *e.g.*, *âsis-i-sh*,† "to wish to sit," as a weakened form of *âsâsish*; *arir-ish*, "to wish to go," for *ararish*, from ऋ *ar* (ॠ *ṛi*). So, in Greek, *ἀραρίσκω*. Roots which begin with a consonant repeat it or its euphonic representative, with the radical vowel, where, however, a long vowel is shortened, and the heaviest vowel *a* weakened to *i* (see §. 6.),‡ according to the same principle by which, in Latin, the *a* especially is excluded from syllables of repetition (see §. 583.). On this account the *i* prevails in repeated syllables, and the agreement

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* Annals of Oriental Literature (London, 1820), p. 65.

† The appended sibilant is originally the dental (स *s*), but, according to §. 21., subjected to a mutation into *sh*.

‡ Though roots with *ṛi* in their middle receive an *i* in the repeated syllables, still this is based on the original form *ar*.

with the kindred forms in Greek is thus the more striking. We find, *e.g.*, *yuyutsâmi*, "I wish to contend" (R. *yudh*), *bubhûshâmi*, "I wish to adorn" (R. *bhush*), but not *jagadishâmi*, but *jigadishâmi*, "I wish to speak"; not *jajñâsâmi*, but जिज्ञासामि *jijñâsâmi*, Mid. *jijnâsé*, "I wish to know," "to learn," "to inquire." To जिज्ञासामि *jijñâsâmi* corresponds in form the Greek γιγνώσκω, and Latin (*g*)*no-sco*; which latter, like all similar Latin formations, has lost the reduplication. To *mimnâsâmi*, desiderative of *mnâ** (*memorare, nunciare, laudare*), corresponds μιμνήσκω, and the Latin *reminiscor*. In the special tenses the Sanscrit places an *a* by the side of the desiderative sibilant, which, according to the analogy of the *a* of the first and sixth Classes, is liable, in the first person, to production (see §. 434.), and also in Greek and Latin, in the same way as the said class-vowel is represented (see §. 109.* 1.). I give, for comparison, the present and imperfect active of जिज्ञासामि *jijñâsâmi* over against the corresponding forms of Greek and Latin.

PRESENT.

	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
Sing.	*jijñâ-sâ-mi,*	γιγνώ-σκω,	*no-sco.*
	jijñâ-sa-si,	γιγνώ-σκει-ς,	*no-sci-s.*
	jijñâ-sa-ti,	γιγνώ-σκει,	*no-sci-t.*
Du.	*jijñâ-sâ-vas,*	. . . . .	. . . .
	jijñâ-sa-thas,	γιγνώ-σκε-τον,	. . . .
	jijñâ-sa-tas,	γιγνώ-σκε-τον,	. . . .
Plur.	*jijñâ-sâ-mas,*	γιγνώ-σκο-μες,	*no-sci-mus.*
	jijñâ-sa-tha,	γιγνώ-σκε-τε,	*no-sci-tis.*
	jijñâ-sa-nti,	γιγνώ-σκο-ντι,	*no-scu-nt.*

* Clearly only a transposed form of *man*, "to think," with the radical vowel lengthened, as, *e.g.*, in Greek, βέβληκα from βαλ, πέπτωκα from πετ.

IMPERFECT.

	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
Sing.	*ajijñâ-sa-m,*	ἐγίγνω-σκο-ν,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-s,	ἐγίγνω-σκε-ς,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-t,	ἐγίγνω-σκε,	. . . .
Du.	*ajijñâ-sâ-va,*	. . . . .	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-tam,	ἐγιγνώ-σκε-τον,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-tâm,	ἐγιγνω-σκέ-την,	. . . .
Plur.	*ajijñâ-sâ-ma,*	ἐγιγνώ-σκο-μεν,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-ta,	ἐγιγνώ-σκε-τε,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-n,	ἐγιγνώ-σκο-ν,	. . . .

In the universal tenses Sanscrit desideratives lay aside only the vowel which is added to the sibilant; while in Greek and Latin the whole formation extends only to the special tenses; and, *e.g.*, γνώ-σω springs from the simple unreduplicated root, and hence stands in no closer analogy to the Sanscrit *jijñâs-i-shyâmi.* That in Latin the future *noscam* departs from the Greek arises from this—that the future of the third and fourth conjugations, according to its origin, is only a mood of the present; and hence, *e.g.*, *noscês* corresponds to the Sanscrit *jijñâsês,* and Greek γιγνώσκοις.

752. It may reasonably be conjectured that the desiderative form is no stranger in Zend, but I am unable to furnish satisfactory examples. Perhaps the forms 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬵 *jijisaṇuha* and 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬛 *jijisâiti,* in the Fifteenth Fargard of the Vend. (Vend. S., p. 431, Anq., p. 393), are to be referred here. The first-mentioned form, which Anquetil translates "*est vivante,*" is evidently, like the 𐬉𐬌𐬵𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬵 *pĕrĕšaṇuha,* "ask," which follows it, an imperative middle; and 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬛 *jijisâiti,* which Anquetil renders "*on s'approchera,*" is, like the 𐬉𐬌𐬵𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬛 *pĕrĕsâiti,* "*interroget,*" which follows it, the 3d per. sing. of the conjunctive active. Perhaps 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬵 *jijisaṇuha* may correspond to the Sanscrit जिज्ञासस्व *jijñâsasva,* "inform thyself," and 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬛 *jijisâiti* be based on a to-be-pre-

springs, like the *s* of the auxiliary future an
of primitive verbs, from the root *as* of the ver
Compare, *e. g.*, *didik-shâmi*, "I wish to she
shyâmi, "I will shew," and *adidik-sham*, "I wi
with the aorist *adik-sham*, and the imperative
mentioned above (§. 727.) like *bhûsha*, *nêshatu*

INTENSIVES.

753. Besides desideratives, there is in San
class of derivative verbs, which receive a
viz. intensives. These require a great em
syllable of reduplication, and hence increas
capable of Guna, even the long ones, by Guna,
a to *â*; *e. g.*, *vêvêśmi* (or *vêviśîmi*), plural *v*
viś, "to enter;" *dêdîpmi* (or *dêdîpîmi*) from *dî*
lôlôpmi (or *lôlupîmi*) from *lup*, "to cut off;"
bôbhûshîmi) from *bhûsh*, "to adorn;" *śâśak*
from *śak*, "to be able." As in Greek ω is a
representative of long *a* (see §. 4.), so, as
were remarked Glossarium, Sanscr. a. 1830,
has quite the build of a Sanscrit intensive,
introduced into the ω conjugation. In *πατπά*

βάσσω, μαιμάζω, μαιμάσσω, the insertion of an ι in the
able of repetition supplies the place of the lengthening of
fundamental vowel; so in ποιπνύω (R. πνυ, πνέω, from
ω, fut. πνεύσω), μοιμυάω, μοιμύλλω, where the υ of the
is, in the syllable of repetition, replaced by ο, since υι
not form a convenient diphthong. On this analogy
s also δοίδυξ and κοικύλλω.

754. Roots beginning with a vowel, of which only a few
ess an intensive, repeat the whole root twice, in such a
ner that the radical *a* is lengthened in the second place;
ce *aṭâṭ* from *aṭ*, "to go," *aśâś* from *aś*, "to eat." I be-
e I recognise a clear counterpart to these intensive
es in the Greek ἀγωγ, though this forms no verb, but
y some nominal forms, as ἀγωγός, ἀγωγεύς. The case of
ω for ᾱ is just the same as in the above-mentioned
άζω. On the other hand, in ὀνίνημι, ὀπιπτεύω, ἀτιτάλλω,
base syllable has experienced a weakening of the vowel,
that which enters into Sanscrit desideratives (§. 751.
init.), which does not, however, prevent me from referring
se forms, according to their origin, rather to intensives
n to desideratives (compare Pott II. p. 75); so also
λάζω and ἐλελίζω exhibit the same weight of vowel in
base and in the syllable of repetition.

755. Roots, also, which begin with a consonant and end
h a nasal, in case they have *a* as the base vowel, repeat
whole root twice in the Sanscrit intensive, but lengthen
radical vowel neither in the syllable of repetition nor
that of the base. The nasal, in accordance with a uni-
sal rule of sound, is influenced in the former syllable,
as to conform itself to the organ of the following con-
nant; and in roots which begin with two consonants, only
e enters into the syllable of repetition; hence, *e.g.*, *dan-*
am from *dram*, "to run;" *bambhram* from *bhram*, "to
nder about;" जङ्गम् *jangam* from *gam*, "to go." So in
reek, παμφαίνω from φαίνω, the ν of which, though not be-

longing to the root, is nevertheless reflected in the syllable of repetition (see §. 598.). On जङ्गम् *jangam* is based, I believe, the Gothic *gagga* (*i.e. ganga*, see §. 89. 1.); so that therefore *gam*, in the syllable of the root, has lost the termination *am**, and *gagg* has entirely assumed the character of a root, which in High German has produced a new reduplication (Old High German, *giang* from *gigang*, our *gieng*, see §. 592.). And in the formation of the word, *gang* holds as an independent root; whence, in Gothic, *gah-ts*†, "gait" (*inna-gahts*, *fram-gahts*). The Lithuanian presents *żengiu* "I step," as analogous form‡.

756. Some Sanscrit roots also, which do not end in a nasal in the intensive, introduce a nasal into the syllable of repetition; *e.g.*, *chañchal* (or *châchal*) from *chal*, "to move oneself:" *pamphul* from *phal*, "to burst," with the weakening of the *a* to *u* in the base syllable; so *chañchur* from *char*, "to go." As liquids are easily interchanged, it may be assumed that here the nasal of the repeated syllable is only a changed form of the radical liquid *l* or *r*. So in many Greek reduplicated forms; as, *πίμπλημι*, *πίμπρημι*, *γίγγραίνω*, *γίγγλυμος*, *γαγγαλίζω*, *γάγγραινα*, *τονθορύζω*, *ταντταλεύω*, *τενθρηδών*, *πεμφρηδών*. The following are examples in which the liquids remain unchanged in the syllable of repetition: *μαρμαίρω*, *μορμύρω*, *μέρμερος*, *μερμαίρω*, *μερμηρίζω*, *καρκαίρω*, *γαργαίρω*, *βορβορύζω*, *πορφύρα*, *πορφύρω*. Compare with these the intensives of those Sanscrit roots in *ar* which contract this syllable in the weakened forms to *ri*: these, in the active of the intensive, repeat the whole root twice, except when this begins with two consonants,

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* The final *a* is the class syllable; 3d per. pl. *gagg-a-nd*.

† Euphonic for *gag-ts*, the nasal being rejected. With respect to the suffix, compare the Sanscrit *ga-ti-s*, "gait," for *gan-ti-s*, see §. 91.

‡ In Lithuanian *ż* often stands for the Sanscrit *g* or *j*. Compare, *żadas*, "speech," with the Sanscrit *gad*, "to speak."

which case only one enters into the syllable of repetition; *e.g.*, *dar-dhar-mi*, pl. *dar-dhṛi-mas*, from *dhar*, *dhṛi*, "to stop," "to carry;" but *sâsmarmi*, according to the universal principle, from *smar*, *smṛi*, "to remember." To *dardharmi*, potential *dardhṛiyâm*, 3d. per. *dardhriyât* (from *dardharyâm*, *dardharyât*), corresponds the Zend. *darĕdairyâṭ** in a passage of the Vendidad (Vend. S. p. 463.) . 𐬛𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 . 𐬛𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 . 𐬛𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 . 𐬛𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 . 𐬛𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *yatha vĕhrkô chathwarĕzangrô barĕthryâṭ hacha puthrĕm nischdarĕdairyâṭ* "as the fourfooted wolf tears away (carries off) the child (the son) of her who bore him (the mother?): according to Anquetil (p. 407), "*comme le loup à quatre pieds enleve et déchire l'enfant de celle qui a porté* (*cet enfant*)". If, however, 𐬛𐬁𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *nischdarĕdairyâṭ* does not come from the Sanscrit root *dhar*, *dhṛi*, it springs from दर् *dar* (दॄ *dṛi*), "to split," "tear asunder" (Gr. δέρω, Gothic *taira*); whence, in the Vêda dialect, the intensive *dardar* (see Westerg. R. दॄ *dṛi*), in classical Sanscrit *dâdar*. The first derivation, however, appears to me far the more probable: at all events, the form in question is a sure proof that in Zend also intensives are not wanting.

757. Some Sanscrit roots, which have a nasal as their last letter but one, take this in the syllable of repetition; hence, *e.g.*, *bambhanjmi* from *bhanj*, "to break;" *dandaṅśmi* from *daṅś*, "to bite" (Gr. δακ); *chan-î-skandmi* from *skand*, "to mount" (Lat. *scando*); the latter with *î* as vowel of conjunction between the syllable of reduplication and that of the base, as also in some other roots of this kind, and at will, also, in those roots in *ar* which admit a contraction to *ṛi*, and which nevertheless may assume a short *i* instead of a long one; hence, *e.g.*, *char-î-karmi*, or *char-i-karmi*, with *char-karmi*, from *kar*, *kṛi* "to make."

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* With regard to the *ĕ* inserted in *darĕdairyâṭ*, see §. 44.

758. The intensive forms *pan-î-pad* and *pan-î-pat*, from *pad*, "to go," and *pat*, "to fall" (Pân. VII. 4. 84.), appear obscure. In explanation of these it may be assumed, that together with पद् *pad* and पत् *pat* there have existed also the forms *pand* and *pant* with a nasal, as together with many other roots which terminate in a simple mute there exist also those which have prefixed also to their mute the nasal corresponding to their organ; as, *e.g.*, *panth* with *path*, "to go."* Together with *dah*, "to burn," exists also a root दंह् *daṁh*; and hence may be deduced the intensive form *dandah* (Pan. VII. 4. 86.), to which the Gothic *tandya*, "I kindle" (with the causal character *ya*, see §. 741.), has the same relation, as above (§. 755.) *gagga*=*ganga*, "I go," to *jangam*.†

759. In Latin, *gingrio* has the appearance of a Sanscrit intensive, and is by Pott also referred here, and radically

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* With *panth* are connected the strong cases of *pathin*, "way," as also the Latin *pons*, *pont-is*, as "way over a river," and the Slavonic ПѢТЪ *puty*, "way" (see §. 225ᵍ.): with *path* is connected, amongst other words, the Greek *πάτος* (see Glossarium Sanscr. a. 1847, p. 206).

† With regard to the *t* for *d* of *tandya*, see §. 87. The retention of the second *d* of the Sanscrit form *dandah* is to be ascribed to the influence of the *n* preceding it (compare §. 90.). Remark, also, the form *sandya*, "I send," in which I think I recognise the causal of the Sanscrit root *sad*, "to go," (*sâdayâmi*, "I make to go,") with a nasal inserted. Graff sets up (IV. p. 685) for the Old High German a root *zand* (*z* for Gothic *t*, and *t* for *d*, according to §. 87.), which he likewise endeavours to compare with the Sanscrit *dah*, but without finding any information as to the *n* and *t* through the intensive form दन्दह् *dandah*. On the primitive root *dah*, if not on the causal form *dâhay*, is based also the Old High German *dâh-t* or *tâh-t* (our *Docht*, *Dacht*), which by more exact retention of the radical consonants is completely estranged from the intensives (in meaning causals) *zand* or *zant*. Initial Mediæ remain in German frequently unaltered, *e.g.*, in the above-mentioned *gagga*, "I go,"=*jangam*; while the Gothic root *qvam*, "to come" (*qvima*, *qvam*), which is based on the primitive *gam*, has experienced the regular change of Mediæ to Tenues.

mpared with *gṛī*, i. e *gar, gir* (whence *gir*, "voice"). ıe syllable of reduplication exhibits *n* for *r*, as in Sanscrit *ıñchur*, and similar Greek forms (§. 756.). To *girâmi* so *gilâmi*), "*deglutio*," belong, amongst other words, the tin *gula* and *gurgulio*, which latter, in its repeated syllable,)laces the liquid *l* by *r*.

760. The passive form of the Sanscrit intensive has ıally an active meaning, and then, by Indian Gram- ırians, is regarded according to its formation, not as ssive, but as a particular form of the intensive, which ievertheless call deponent, as in its origin it is evidently thing else than passive. This appears more frequently classical Sanscrit as the form without *ya*, yet still sel- m enough. I know of no examples besides चञ्चूर्यन्ते *ıñchûryantê*, "they convey" (Mah. I. 1910.), from चर् *char* :e §. 756.), *lêlihyasê*, "thou lickest," from *lih* (Bhagavad-G. . 30.); *dêdîpyamâna*, "shining," from *dîp* (Nal. 3. 12. :aup. 2. 1.). In *dôdhûyamâna* (l. c.), from *dhû* or *dhu*, e passive form has also a passive signification. Of the rm without *ya* there occurs the participle present *lêlihat*, id. *lêlihâna* "licking," Mah. III. 10394, 12240. The Vêda alect makes more frequent use of the active form of the tensive: the following are examples: *nânadati*, "they ound,"* Rig. V. I. 64. 8. 11.; *abhipra-ṇônumas*, "we praise," om *nu* (prep. *abhi, pra*, l. c. 78. 1.); *jôhavîmi*, "I summon," ith *î* as vowel of conjunction (see §. 753. note), from *hu*, s contracted form of *hvê*, l. c. 34. 12.; *â-navînôt*, "he noved," "stirred," from *nud*, "to move," "to drive" prep. *â*), Rig. V. V.†

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* All reduplicated forms, which combine the personal terminations direct with the root, suppress the *n* of the 3d per. pl. (compare §. 459.). To the root *nad* corresponds the Welch *nadu*, "to cry."

† See Westerg., Radices, p. 45, and root *nu*, to which *ânavînôt* likewise, according to its form, might belong; the meaning, however, in the pas-

sage

DENOMINATIVES.

761. Denominatives are not so frequently used in Sanscrit as in the kindred languages of Europe. Their formation is effected either by the addition of the character of the 10th Class, or by the affix *ya*, *sya*, and *asya*; both which latter ought probably to be divided into *s-ya* and *as-ya*, so that in them the root of the verb substantive *as* is contained, either entire or after dropping the vowel (compare §. 648.). As the Latin verbs of the 1st, 2d, and 4th conjugations are based on the Sanscrit 10th Class (§. 109ª. 6.), forms like *laud-â-s**, *nomin-â-s*, *lu-min-â-s*, *color-â-s*, *fluctu-â-s*, *æstu-â-s*, *domin`-â-s*, *regn`-â-s*, *sorori`-â-s*†, *cæn`-â-s*, *plant`-â-s*, *pisc-â-ris*, *alb`-ê-s*, *calv`-ê-s*, *can`-ê-s*, *miser`-ê-ris*, *feroc-î-s* *lasciv`-î-s*, *lipp`-î-s*, *abort`-î-s*, *fin`-î-s*, *sil`-î-s*, correspond to Sanscrit forms such as *kumâr`-aya-si*, "thou playest," from *kumâra*, "a boy;"‡ *sukh`-aya-si*, "thou

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sage cited leads to the root *nud*: the *t*, therefore, of the form in question is not a sign of the person, but radical (euphon. for *d*), since the personal character of the 2d and 3d pers. sing. of the imperf., according to §. 94., cannot combine with roots ending in a consonant; hence, *e.g.*, *ayunak*, "thou didst bind," and "he bound," for *ayunaksh*, *ayunakt* (see smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §. 289). With respect to the syllable of reduplication, the form *â-nav-î-nôt* for *ânónót* is remarkable on account of the insertion of an *î*, as, according to grammatical rules, such an insertion occurs only after *r* and *n*, see §. 757., and smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §§. 500. 501. 508.

* I give the 2d per., as the 1st exhibits the conjugational character less plainly, and presents the least resemblance to the other persons.

† From *sororius*, not from *soror*; for from the latter would have come *sororo*, not *sororio*.

‡ The Indian Grammarians wrongly exhibit a root *kumâr*, "to play"—which, if only for the number of syllables, is suspicious—and thence derive *kumâra*, "a boy;" in which I recognise the prefix *ku*, which usually expresses "contempt," but here "diminution," and *mâra*, which does not occur by itself, but is joined with *martya*, "man," as "mortal." In general there occur, among the roots exhibited by Indian Grammarians, many

:joicest," from *sukha*, "contentment;" *yôktr'-aya-si*, "thou ıcirclest," from *yôktra*, "band" (R. *yuj* "to bind"); *kshama-ya-si*, "thou supportest," from *kshama*, "patience." rom these examples we see that in Sanscrit also the ıal vowel of the base word is rejected before the verbal ıaracter; for otherwise, *e.g.*, from *yôktra-aya-si* would ıme *yôktrâyasi*. That in Latin forms like *coen'-â-s* the does not belong to the base noun is seen from this, that e final vowel of bases of the second declension is rejected :fore the verbal derivatives *â*, *ê*, and *î*; hence, *regn'-â-s*, *ılv'-ê-s*, *lasciv'-î-s*. As to the retention, however, of the rganic *u*, viz. that of the fourth declension before *â* (*aestu-·s*, *fluctu-â-s*), I would remark, that in Sanscrit also *u* shews self to be a very firm vowel, inasmuch as it maintains self before the vowels of nominal derivative suffixes; and, ıdeed, it moreover receives the Guna increment, while *a* nd *i*, *i.e.* the heaviest and lightest vowel, are dropped; ence, *e.g.*, *mânav-a-s*, "man" (as derived from *Manu*), from ıanu; शौचम् *śauch-a-m*, "purity," from शुचि *śuchi*, "pure;" *śarath-i-s*, "Son of Daśaratha," from *daśaratha*. Before *î*, owever, in Latin, the *u* of the fourth declension disappears ı denominative verbs, as in the above-mentioned *abort'-î-s*.

762. As a consequence of what has been said in the receding §., I believe that a suppression of the vowel of he base noun is also to be assumed in Greek denomina-ives in αω, εω, οω, αζω, ιζω. I therefore divide, *e. g.*, ἀγορ'-ίζω*, ἀγορ'-άο-μαι, μορφ'-όω, κνισσ'-όω, πολεμ'-όω, πολεμ'-έω,

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nany denominatives, amongst them also *sukh*, "to rejoice," which con-ains the prefix *su* (Gr. εὐ), as certainly as दुःख *dukh*, "*dolore afficere*," from *dukkha*, "smart,") contains the prefix *dus*=Greek δυς. By the ndian Grammarians, however, *dukh* likewise is considered as a simple root.

* I have already, in §. 502., pointed out another mode of viewing the forms αζω and ιζω, but in §. 503. I have given the preference to the above

πολεμ'-ίζω, and recognise in the α of αζω the Sanscrit *a* of *ayâ-mi*, and in the ζ the corruption of य् *y*, as in ζεύγνυμι compared with the Sanscrit युज् *yuj* and Latin *jungo* (see §. 19.); while in forms in αω, εω, οω, the semi-vowel is suppressed; and, moreover, in the two last forms the very common corruption from α to ε, *o* has taken place (§. 3.). It admits of scarce any doubt that in forms in ιζω also the ι is only a weakening of α; for though the weakening of *a* to *i* is not so frequent in Greek as in Latin and Gothic, still it is by no means unprecedented, and occurs, to quote a case tolerably similar to the one before us, in ἵζω, ἵζομαι, compared with the Sanscrit root *sad*, "to place oneself," Gothic *SAT*. (*sita*, "*sat*").

763. The lightness of the vowel *i* may be the reason why the form in ιζω has become more used than that in αζω, and that those bases which experience no abbreviation before the denominative derivative element by the relinquishment of their final letter admit scarce any letter but ι before ζ; hence, *e.g.*, ποδ-ίζω, ἀγων-ίζομαι, ἀκοντ-ίζω, ἀνδρ-ίζω, αἱματ-ίζω, ἀλοκ-ίζω, γυναικ-ίζω, θωρακ-ίζω, κυν-ίζω, μυωπ-ίζω, κερατ-ίζω, κερματ-ίζω, ἑρματ-ίζω; ἑρμ'-άζω, ὀνομ'-άζω, γουν'-άζομαι*, which, I think, ought not to be divided ἑρμά-ζω, ὀνομά-ζω; so easy is it, from the point of view of the Greek in particular, to identify the α of ἑρμάζω, ὀνομάζω, ἀγοράζω, ἀγοράομαι, and the like, with the α of the base noun. For then the analogy of these verbs with ἱππ'-άζομαι, λιθ'-άζω, εἰκ'-άζω (from the base εἰκοτ), ἐνδι'-άω, γενει'-άω, πελεκ'-άω, νεμεσ'-άω, and with the Sanscrit denominatives in *aya*, would be unnecessarily destroyed; for as *o* and η, and occasionally υ and ι, are dropped

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above, and do so now with the greater confidence, as the other members also of our family of languages, the denominatives of which I had not then considered, follow the same principle.

* Not from γονυ, but from the base γουνατ, whence γούνατ-ος, γούνατ-α.

ore the derivation *αω, αζω* *, there is nothing more natural n that *α* also should give way before the same. But as es in *α* and *η* (from *ᾱ*, see §. 4.) produce principally de- ninatives in *άω, άζω*, and those in *ο* principally such as end *όω, ίζω*, from this the influence of the final vowel of the e noun on the choice of the vowel of the derivative may nferred; *α* and *η* favour the retention of the original *α*, le *ο*, which is itself a corruption of *α*, readily permits the f the derivative to be weakened to *ο*, in which it seems to ppear unchanged, but which (if we wish to allow in its extent the transmission of apparently autochthonic Greek ns from the time of the unity of language) presents no tacle to our placing on the same footing as regards their ciple of formation, verbs like *πολεμ(ο)-όω, χρυσ(ο)-όω, υλ(ο)-όω*, and such as *αἱματ-όω, ἀῤῥεν-όω, πυρ-όω, κατοφρυ- θαλασσ(α)-όω, κνισσ(α)όω*, and to our recognising such verbs γορ(α)-άο-μαι, τολμ(α)άω, διψ(α)-άω, νικ(η)-άω*, as analogous h *κυν-άω, γενει(ο)-άω, λοχ(ο)-άω, ἀντι(ο)-άω, νεμεσ(ι)-άω, πε- (υ)-άω*. The proposition appears to me incontrovertible t the Greek denominatives in *αζω, αω, εω, οω, ιζω*, corre- nd to the Sanscrit in *aya* (1st per. *ayâ-mi*, Zend *ayê-mi*); that, as in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, so also in Greek, the l vowel of the theme of the base noun is, for the most t, suppressed before the vowel of the derivative†: where, vever, it is retained, which is only at times the case with id *υ*, the vowel of the verbal derivative also remains after ηρι-άο-μαι, ὀφρυ-όω, ἰχθυ-άω*). Forms like *δηρί-ο-μαι, μητί- αι, μηνί-ω, μεθύ-ω, δακρύ-ω*, belong to another class of de- ninatives, which exists also in Sanscrit, of which hereafter. 764. In German, also, the final vowels of nominal bases

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Examples, in which *ι* and *υ* are retained, are *κλανσι-άω, ὀκρι-άω, -άομαι, ἰχθυ-άω.*

† G. Curtius is of a different opinion ("*Contributions to the Comparison anguage*," pp. 119, 120).

are suppressed before the vowel or *y* (for *ay*) of the verbal derivative, which is based on the Sanscrit *aya*; hence, in Gothic *audag'-ya*, "I account happy," from the base *audaga* (nom. *audag'-s*, see §. 135), "happy;" *gaur'-ya*, "I sadden," from *gaura*, nom. *gaur'-s*, "sad;" *skaft'-ya*, "I make," from *skafti*, "creation," nom. *skaft'-s*;" * *manv'-ya*, "I prepare," from *manvu*, nom. *manvu-s*, "ready;" *maurthr'-ya*, "I murder," from *maurthra*, nom. *maurthr* (see §. 153.) "murder;" † *tagr'-ya*, "I weep," from *tagra*, nom. *tagr'-s*, "a tear," (Greek δάκρυ, Sanscrit *aśru*, from *daśru*). Among those Gothic denominatives which have retained in the present the last syllable of the Sanscrit derivative *aya*, the verb *ufârskadv-ya*, "I overshadow," stands alone, since this verb has retained the final vowel of the base *skadu* (nom. *-us*) before the verbal derivative (with euphonic change into *v*), while other bases in *u* follow the general principle; hence, *thaurs'-yan*, "to thirst" (impers. *thaursyith mik*, I thirst," literally, "it is a thirst to me,") from *thaursu* (nom. *-us*), "dry;" *dauth'-ya*, "I slay," from *dau-thu-s*, "death;" ‡ as in Greek, θανατ'-όω from θανατο. The following are derivatives belonging here, and springing from bases ending in a consonant: *namn-ya*, "I name," from *naman* (nom. *namô*, see §. 141.); and *aug'-ya*, "I shew," from *augan* (nom. *augô*), "an eye." The former, like the Latin *nomin-o*, and Greek forms like αἱματ-όω, αἱματ-ίζω, preserves the final consonant of the base, but has, however, admitted an internal abbreviation, like that of the Sanscrit weakest

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* This does not occur in the simple form, but compounded: *ga-skaft'-s*, "creation," "creature;" *ufar-skaft'-s*, "commencement."

† Compare Sanscrit *mâr-ayâmi*, "I make to die;" the Gothic suffix *thra*=Sanscrit *tra*, of which hereafter.

‡ Scarcely from *dauth(a)-s*, "dead," for the Old High German clearly comes from *tód* (theme *tóda*), "death," not from *tót* (nom. masc. *tôtr*), "dead."

ase (*nâmn-as*, "*nominis*"): on the other hand, *aug-ya* (for *ugan-ya* or *augin-ya*) follows the principle already men-ioned in §. 503., by which Sanscrit denominatives are overned, such as *varm'-ayâ-mi*, "I harness," for *varman-yâ-mi*, from *varman*. Compare, besides the Greek forma-ons discussed *l. c.*, also derivatives from comparatives; as, *ελτι(ον)-όω*, *μει(ον)-όω*, *ἐλασσ(ον)-όω*, *κακι(ον)-όω*.* In Greek, lso, bases in Σ reject their final consonant, together with ıe vowel preceding it, which is the less surprising, as this lass of words has in the declension, too, preserved but w traces of the σ of the base (see §. 128.). Hence, *πληρ σ)-όω*, from *πληρες* (see §. 146.); *ἀλγ(εσ)-έω*, from *ἀλγες*; *σθεν(εσ)-έω*, from *ἀσθενες*; *τευχ(εσ)-ίζω*, from *τευχες*; *γηρ-ω)-άω*, from *γηρας* (§. 128.).

765. We return to the Gothic, in order to adduce some enominatives from Grimm's second and third conjugations f weak verbs. The second conjugation, which exhibits *ô* = *â* . 69.) for the Sanscrit *aya*, and has therefore, like the atin, first rejected the य् *y* of *aya*, and then contracted nto one long vowel the vowels which, by the loss of the touch one another, yields, *e.g.*, *fisk'-ô-s*, "thou fishest," or comparison with the Latin *pisc'-â-ris*. The Gothic base *ska* (nom. *fisk'-s*, see §. 135.) has abandoned its *a*, as the atin *pisci* its *i*, before the vowel of the derivative (see . 761.). The Gothic *thiudan'-ô-s*, "thou reignest," from he base *thiudana* (nom. *-n'-s*), "king," resembles, in its rinciple of formation, the Latin *domin'-â-s*, as the Gothic irst strong declension masculine and neuter and the Latin econd on one side, and the Gothic second weak conjuga-ion and the Latin first on the other side, are in their rigin fully identical. To Latin denominatives from the irst declension, like *cæn'-â-s* (see §. 761.), correspond Gothic

* On the other hand, *πλεον-άζω*, not *πλε'-αζω*.

verbs of the same class; as, *fairin'-ô-s*, "thou blamest," from the base *fairinô* (nom. *-na*), "blame." To *aestu-â-s*, *fluctu-â-s*, corresponds *lust'-ô-s*, from the base *lustu*, "desire," "longing," with the rejection of the *u*, however, of the nominal base. Bases in *an* weaken their *a* to *i*, as in the genitive and dative; hence, *frauyin-ô-s*, "thou reignest," from *frauyan*, "lord" (nom. *frauya*, gen. *frauyin-s*), as in Latin, *nomin-â-s*, *lumin-â-s* (§. 761.); so *gudyin-ô-s*, "thou administerest the priest's office," from *gudyan*, nom. *gudya*, "priest." Some bases terminating in *a* add *n* before the formation of a denominative, and likewise weaken the *a* of the base to *i*; thus, *skalkin-ô-s*, "thou servest," from *skalka*, nom. *skalk'-s*, "servant," gen. *skalki-s* (see §. 191.); *hôrin-ô-s*, μοιχεύεις, from *hôra*, nom. *hôr'-s*, "adulterer;" *reikin-ô-s*, "thou rulest," from *reikya*, nom. *reiki* (see §. 153.), "rich." That class of weak verbs which has contracted the Sanscrit *aya* to *ai*, and stands on the same footing with the Latin second conjugation (Grimm's third weak conjugation), presents, *e.g.*, *arm'-ai-s*, "thou commiseratest," from *arma*, nom. *arm-s*; as, in Latin, *miser'-ê-ris* from *miseru* (*miser* for *miseru-s*); *ga-hveil'-ai-s*, "thou stayest," from *hveilô*, nom. *hveila*, "time," "delay."

766. The Sclavonic uses, for the formation of denominatives, that conjugational form which corresponds to the Sanscrit tenth Class. But, as has been remarked in §. 505., not only Dobrowsky's third conjugation belongs to the Sanscrit verbal class just mentioned, but also the greater portion of those verbs which, in §. 500., I wrongly classed all, without exception, under the Sanscrit fourth Class; whilst I can now recognise as sister forms of the Sanscrit fourth Class, of Latin verbs like *capio*, and Gothic like *vahs-ya*, "I grow," only such verbs of Dobrowsky's first conjugation as combine the formative elements commencing with a consonant; for example, the *ch* of the preterite, the *l* and *v* of the participle preterite active, and of the

nd preterite, as also the suffixes ти *ti* and ть *t* of the itive and supine, direct with the root, a circumstance h occurs only with respect to a few roots terminating vowel; *e.g.*, from пи, "to drink" (Sanscrit *pî*, Class 4, le), comes пиѭ *pi-yû*, "I drink" (Sanscrit *pî-yê*), пиєши *-shi*, "thou drinkest" (Sanscrit *pî-ya-sê*), пиχъ *pi-ch*, rank," пилъ *pi-l*, "having drunk," пивъ *pi-v* (gerund), ı *pi-ti*, "to drink," sup. питъ *pi-t*. Those verbs, how- in ѭ *yû* or аѭ *ayû*, which, in the said forms, inter- an *a* between the root, or the verbal theme, and the ative element which follows (Paradigm B. of Do- sky), I am now of opinion must be compared with anscrit tenth Class; so that *yû*, and more fully *ayû*, of 1st person, corresponds to the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi* and ithuanian *oyu*, *ůyu*, *iyu* (see §. 506.). Compare, *e.g.*, аѭ *ryd-ayu*, "I lament," with the Sanscrit causal *yâmi*, "I make to weep" (R. *rud*, "to weep"), and the ıanian *raud-oyu**, "I lament."

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.	LITHUANIAN.
rôd-ayâ-mi,	*ryd-ayû,*	*raud-oyu.*
rôd-aya-si,	*ryd-aye-shi,*	*raud-oyi.*
rôd-aya-ti,	*ryd-aye-ty,*	*raud-oya.*

DUAL.

rôd-ayâ-vas,	*ryd-aye-va,*	*raud-oya-wa.*
rôd-aya-thas,	*ryd-aye-ta,*	*raud-oya-ta.*
rôd-aya-tas,	*ryd-aye-ta,*	*raud-oya.*

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* As the Sanscrit *ô* is a contraction of *au*, so in this respect the ıanian form corresponds still more than the Sclavonic to the Sanscrit l. The Sclavonic ъı *y* corresponds (according to §. 225. c.) to the rit radical *u*.

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.	LITHUANIAN.
rôd-ayâ-mas,	*ryd-aye-m,*	*raud-oya-me.*
rôd-aya-tha,	*ryd-aye-te,*	*raud-oya-te.*
rôd-aya-nti.	*ryd-ayûty**,	*raud-oya.*

767. Both in Sclavonic and in Lithuanian the *y* of this conjugational class is dropped before the formative elements which begin with a consonant, and then, in Lithuanian, only the *o* is left, and, in Sclavonic, the more ancient *a*, which corresponds to it; hence, the infinitive in Lithuanian is *raud-o-ti*, in Sclavonic *ryd-a-ti*, and the future in Lithuanian *raud-o-su*. The Sanscrit, on the contrary, preserves the य् *y* before formations beginning with a consonant, by the insertion of a vowel of conjunction, viz. *i*; hence, *rôd-ay-i-shyâmi* corresponding to the *raud-o-su* just mentioned; and in the infinitive *rôd-ay-i-tum* answering to *raud-o-ti*, *ryd-a-ti*†, sup. рЪІдАтЪ *ryd-a-t*. The verbs under Paradigm B. in Dobrowsky and Kopitar have lost, in the present and the forms connected therewith, the *a* of the class character, and retain only the *y* (*glagol-yû*, "I speak," for *glagol-ayû*) before formations beginning with a consonant, but exhibit the *a* in other places, in accordance with the verbs which have *ayû* in the present; thus, *e.g.*, глАголАхЪ *glagol-a-ch*, "I spoke," *glagol-a-ti* "to speak," like рЪІдАхЪ *ryd-a-ch*, рЪІдАти *ryd-a-ti*. The Lithuanian presents no forms analogous to verbs like *glagol-yû*, since forms like *myl-iu*, plural *myl-i-me*, correspond to Dobrowsky's third conjugation (*e.g.*, *vol-yû*, plural *vol-i-m*, see §. 506.), while forms like *penu*, *laikau*, plural *pen-a-me*, *laik-o-me* (see §. 506.), exhibit the Sanscrit *aya* in the abbreviated form,

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* From *rydayo-nty*, see §. 255. g.

† I do not mean by this comparison to assert that the Lithuanian and Sclavonic infinitive suffix is connected with that of the Sanscrit language.

ch in *raud-oyu*, рѣдаѭ *ryd-ayû*, enters, save in the sent indicative and its derivatives, only before suffixes inning with a consonant.

'68. The Lithuanian and Sclavonic nominal bases, like se of the kindred languages already mentioned, when y terminate with a vowel, which is generally the case, ct this before the verbal derivative; hence, in Li-anian *balt'-oyu*, "I appear white," *balt'-inu*, "I make te," * from *balta*, nom. *-ta-s*, "white;" *dů̊wan'-oyu* "I tow," from *dů̊wana* fem. "gift;" *czyst'-iyu*, "I purify," n *czysta*, nom. *-ta-s*, "pure;" † *gatav'-oyu* and *gatav'-iyu*, make ready," from *gatawa'-s*, "ready;" *dal'-iyu*, "I ide," from *dali-s*, "portion;" *apyok'-iu*, "I deride," from *oka-s* "jest;" *didd'-inu*, "I enlarge," from *diddi-s*; *brang'-* "I render dear," from *brangu-s*. The following are mples of denominatives in Old Sclavonic: дѣлаѭ *'-ayû*, "I make," дѣлахъ *dyel'-a-ch*, "I made," from lo *dyelo*, "work;" подобѣть *podob'-ye-ty*, "it is fitting," n. подобати *podob'-a-ti*, from *podoba*, "use;" знаменаѭ *mena-yû*, "I denote," from знамен *ζnamen*, nom. *ζnamya* § §. 264.), "mark" (Kopitar Glagol. p. 73.); глаголаѭ *ol'-yû*, "I speak," infin. *glagol'-a-ti*, from *glagolo*, nom. *ol*, "word." In forms in ѹѭ *ûyu*, infin. *ov-a-ti*, the ѹ ppears to me, in departure from what has been re-ked at §. 255. h. as a contraction of *aѵ* or *ou* (§. 255. f.), the *v* of *ov-a-ti* as the euphonic alteration of the final nent of the diphthong ѹ *û*=*ov*. The corresponding n in Lithuanian is *auyu*, the first *u* of which, before vels, likewise changes into its equivalent semi-vowel; ice, *e. g.*, *naszl'-áuyu*, "I live in widowhood," from *naszlẽ*

Denominatives in *inu* have all a causal signification, compare §. 744.

With the formations in *iyu* compare the Greek in ιζω=ιγω, see '62; *iyu* and *oyu* have the same relation to one another as ιζω and αζω re to one another in Greek.

"widow," pret. *naszl'-aw-au*, fut. *naszl'-au-su*. So in Old Sclavonic; вдовꙋѭ *vdov'-û-yû*, pret. вдововахъ *vdov'-ov-ach*, infin. вдововати *vdov'-ov-a-ti*, from вдова *vdova*, "widow" = Sanscrit *vidhavâ*. именꙋѭ *imen-û-yû*, "I name," infin. именовати *imen-ov-a-ti*, from the base имен *imen*. Other examples of this kind occur in Dobrowsky, p. 372. We may regard the *û*, *ov*, of these forms as a lengthening of the theme of the base noun, and divide, therefore, as follows: *vdovû-yû*, *vdovov-a-ti*, *imenû-yû*, *imenov-a-ti*, where we must recall what has been observed at §. 263. regarding the unorganic introduction of Sclavonic bases into the declension in ы *y*. In denominatives in ѣѭ *yeyû*, as, *e.g.*. богатѣѭ *bogat'-yeyû*, "I am or become rich," infin. богатѣти *bogat'-ye-ti*, from the base *bogato*, nom. *bogat*, ѣ *ye* corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* of *ayâmi*, which will not appear surprising when we consider the peculiarity of the Sclavonic in constantly prefixing to vowels a *y*. The following are examples of denominatives from Dobrowsky's third conjugation (see §. 505.): женѭсꙗ *schen'-yû-sya* "I marry," infin. женитисꙗ *schen'-i-ti-sya*, from жена *schena*, "woman;" готовлѭ *gotov'-lyû* (euphonic for *vyû*), "I prepare," infin. готовити *gotov'-i-ti*, from готово *gotovo*, nom. m. готовъ *gotov* "ready;" цѣлѭ *zyel'-yû*, "I heal," infin. цѣлити *zyel'-i-ti*, from цѣло *zyelo*, nom. цѣлъ *zyel*, "healthy."

769. I have already, in §. 502., compared the Greek denominatives in σσω, as αἱμάσ-σω from αἱματ-γω (see §. 501.), with those in Sanscrit formed with य *ya*. While, however, in Sanscrit, the final vowel of the base noun, if short, is lengthened, the same in Greek, according to the analogy of §. 762., is dropped; hence, *e.g.*, ἀγγέλλω from ἀγγελ(ο)-γω, ποικίλλω from ποικιλ(ο)-γω, αἰκάλλω from αἰκαλ(ο)-γω, μαλάσσω from μαλακ(ο)-γω, μειλίσσω from μειλιχ(ο)-γω. Bases in ρ, ρο, and ν, transfer the *y*, vocalized *i*, to the preceding syllable, instead of assimilating it

ναίνω, τεκταίνω, ἀφραίνω, εὐφραίνω, from ποιμαν-γω,
the bases ποιμεν, πεπον, τεκτον, ἀφρον, εὐφρον, with
ion, however, of the original α, instead of the unor-
vels ε, ο (see §. 3.). In denominatives from substan-
in ματ, as ὀνομαίνω, κυμαίνω, σπερμαίνω, σημαίνω,
the ν probably springs from the original form of the
, as this is a corruption of μαν, and answers to the
nan, and Latin *men, min.** It appears, however, to
sible to determine with certainty as to the case of
nderating number of denominatives in αινω, whose
is terminate neither in ν, nor in a letter which can
ceeded from ν. I cannot, however, believe that the
guage has produced such formations independently,
therefore, they are entirely unconnected with the
rms handed down from the period of the unity of

Perhaps the bases in ν, and those which termi-
consonant which is a corruption of ν, have only
the type for the formations in αινω; and verbs like
ἱκταίνω, γλυκαίνω, θερμαίνω, ἐριδαίνω, κηραίνω, have
the beaten path, in the same way as, in German,
ses have pressed into the so-called weak declen-
hat they have extended the original limits of the
the addition of *n*, or the syllable *an*. Perhaps,

causals and denominatives in *inu* (see §. 745.). If the *ν* i those denominatives which have not proceeded from base in *ν*, or *ματ* for *μαν*, is a corruption of the *y* (compare §. 745. then the *αι* preceding might be regarded as representin the *â* (compare §. 753.), which, in most Sanscrit denomin tive bases in य *ya*, precedes the semi-vowel; for thou this *â* belongs to the nominal base, and is in general lengthened form of short *a* (*chirâ-yati*, "he delays," fr *chira*, "long"), still the same, in course of time, mig come to be regarded as a portion of the derivative, an be suppressed before its Greek representative *αι*, as in th formations in *αω*, *αζω*, &c. Those verbs in *αινω* which appear to spring from more simple verbs, might, in their principle of formation, be contrasted in a different manner with the Sanscrit; as, *e.g.*, *αὐαίνω* (*ἀύω*), *δραίνω* (*δράω*), *κραδαίνω* (*κραδάω*), *χαλαίνω* (*χαλάω*), stand in the same relation to the corresponding short forms, as, in the Vêda dialect, *charaṇyâmi*, "I go,"* does to *charâmi*. The broader forms come from the noun of action चरण *charaṇa*, "the going" (euphonic for -न *-na*, on account of the *r* preceding). Some Sanscrit verbs, however, of this kind do not exactly correspond to the noun of action, from which they spring, but exhibit a weakening or contraction of the vowel, or the pure radical vowel instead of the gunised one of the base word, seemingly on account of the incumbrance caused by the verbal derivative; thus, *bhuraṇyâmi*, "I receive" (Rig. V. 50. 6. *bhuraṇyantam anu*), from *bharaṇa*, "the bearing," "receiving" (R. *bhar*, *bhṛi*); *turaṇyâmi*, "I hasten" (Rig. V. 121. 1. *turaṇyan*) from *tvaraṇa* "the hastening" (R. *tvar*); *churaṇyâmi*, "I steal" (see Westerg. Radices p. 337.), from *chôraṇa*, "the stealing" (R. *chur*). As, according to rule, a noun of action in *an*

* It occurs in combination with the preposition *ut*, "out," in the Yajur-Vêda, see Westergaard Rad. p. 337.

may be formed from every root, and on this, too, are based all the German and Ossetian infinitives*, it cannot surprise us that, in Greek, a few denominatives of this kind remain, whose base nouns have been lost; and thus, *e. g.*, *αὐαίνω*, from *αὐανγω*, would come from a lost nominal base *αὐανο*, or *αὐανη*. *Μαραίνω*, which has no short verb corresponding to it, reminds us of the Sanscrit noun of action *mara-ṇa-m*, "the dying," from *mar*, *mṛi*, "to die," causal *mârayâmi*. Let attention be given to the Greek feminine abstracts in *ονη*, which correspond to the Sanscrit in *anâ*, or *aṇâ*.† Verbs in *ανω* may, in part, owe their origin to obsolete nominal bases in *ανο*.

770. How necessary it is, in the explanation of denominatives, to look back to an earlier state of language, and at the same time to examine the kindred dialects, is shewn by an interesting class of Gothic denominatives, in which the *n* likewise plays a part, though it is no way connected with that of Greek verbs in *αινω*, in whatever way these latter may be explained. I rather recognise, as already stated in my "Conjugational System," (pp. 115, 116), a connection in Gothic verbs like *ga-fullna*, "*impleor*," *us-gutna*, "*effundor*," *distaurna*, "*disrumpor*," *and-bundna*, "*solvor*," *ga-hailna*, "*sanor*," *fra-qvistna*, "*perdor*," *ga-vakna*, "*excitor*," *us-lukna*, "*aperior*," *dauthna*, "*morior*," with the Sanscrit passive participles in *na*; as, *bhug-na*, "bent," to which the Greek verbals in *νο-ς* correspond (*στυγ-νός*, *σεμ-νός* &c.), and from which the Gothic passive participles have somewhat diverged, in that they do not append the suffix *na* direct to the root, but retain the class syllable; thus, *biug-a-n(a)-s*, "bent," answering to भुग्नस् *bhug-na-s*; while the verbs just mentioned point to a period of the language,

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* *E.g.*, Gothic *bindan*, Osset. *bathin*, "to bind"=Sanscrit *bandhana*, "the binding."

† Examples are: *yâchanâ*, "*precatio*;" *arhaṇâ*, "*honoris testificatio*."

when the suffix was still, as in Sanscrit and Greek, added direct to the root; so that, *e. g.*, *ga-skaidna*, "I separate myself" (1. Cor. vii. 11. *yaba gaskaidnai*, *ἐὰν χωρισθῇ*), answers better than *skaid-a-ns*, "separated," to the Sanscrit छिन्न *chhin-nas* (euphonic for *chhid-nas*), "cleft." Compare, also, *and-bund-na*, "I am loosed (set free)," with *bund-a-n(a)-s*, "bound;" *bi-auk-na*, "I am enlarged," with *bi-auk-a-n(a)-s*, "enlarged;" *fralus-na*, "I am dissolved, destroyed, lost," with *lusa-n(a)-s*, "loosened" (Sanscrit *lû-na-s* "cut off," "torn off"); *galuk-na*, "I am closed," with *ga-luk-a-n(a)-s*, "closed;" *and-lêt-na*, "I am unloosed," with *lêt-a-n(a)-s*, "tranquil;" *af-lif-na*, "I am left remaining," "I remain over" (*περιλείπομαι*), with the to-be-presupposed *lib-a-n(a)-s*, "left remaining" (*laibôs*, "remnant"), for *lif-a-n(a)-s*, as the law for the transposition of sounds (§. 87.) would lead us to expect, in answer to the Greek λείπω*, from the lost verb *leiba*, *laif*, *libum* (Old High German, *bi-lîbu*, "I remain," *bileib*, "I remained," *bi-libumês*, "we remained"); *ufar-haf-na*, "I raise myself above" (*ὑπερ-αίρομαι*), with *ufar-haf-ya-n(a)-s*, "raised over," "elevated;" *dis-taur-na*, "*dirumpor*," with *dis-taur-a-n(a)-s*, "*diruptus*;" *ga-thaurs-na*, "I dry up" (*ξηραίνομαι*), with *ga-thaurs-a-n(a)-s*, "ἐξηραμμένος," from the non-existing verb *ga-thairsa*, *ga-thars*, *gathaursum*. *Dis-hnaup-na*, "*dirumpor*," from the root *hnup* (*hniupa*, *hnaup*, *hnupum*, *hnupans*), is so far irregular as it has the radical vowel gunised, whilst otherwise denominatives in *na*, like the passive participle with the same termination, attach themselves to one of the lighter forms of the verbal theme. *Us-geis-na*, also, "*percellor*," "*stupeo*," from the to-be-presupposed *geisa*, *gais*, *gisum* (Grimm. II. p. 46.), is con-

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* In departure from what has been remarked at p. 441, I now agree with Benfey (Greek Wurzellexicon II. p. 11) in taking the Sanscrit root *rich* (from *rik*), "to separate," "to leave," as the root akin to the Latin *lic* (*linquo*), Greek λιπ, and Gothic *lif*, *lib*.

y to the common analogy, and should be *us-gisna.* *dis-skrit-na*, "*findor*," and *tundna*, "*uror*," the base bs of which are likewise lost (*skreita, skrait, skritum, la, tand, tundum*), exhibit the regular vowel.

771. After that *na* in Gothic, as in the above-mentioned tances, had once raised itself to be the exponent of the sive relation, it might also extend itself to the adjective es, and thus denominatives in *na* and *ya* (for *ya* also *ai*, §. 109.[a] 6.), as passives (or verbs neuter) and transitive ive verbs, stand mutually answering to each other. e final vowel of nominal bases are dropped as well before as before *ya* (=Sanscrit *aya*, see §. 674.); hence, *e. g.*, m the base *fulla* (nom. masc. *full'-s*), "full," *full'-na*, *mpleor*," *full'-ya*, "*impleo*;" from *mikila*, "great" (nom. *kil'-s*), *mikil'-na*, "*magnificor*," *mikil'-ya*, "*magnifico*" mpare *μεγαλίζω*); from *veiha* (*veih'-s*), "holy," *veih'-na*, *anctificor*," *veih'-a* (*veih'-ais*) "*sanctifico*;" from *ga-nôha* nôh'-s), "enough," *ga-nôh'-na*, "*expleor*," *ganôh'-ya*, "*ex-*

o;" from *managa* (*manag'-s*), "much," *manag'-na*, "*abundo*" I am made much"); *manag'-ya*, "*augeo*;" from *gabiga* big'-s), "rich," *gabig'-na*, "*locupletatus sum*," *gabig'-ya* *ocupleto.*" It cannot surprise us that the base words of nominatives in *na* cannot be all cited from the lingual urces which have been preserved to our time, nor that me were already obsolete in the time of Ulfila, but sur- ve only in the denominatives, of which they were the rents. Thus, *e. g.*, an adjective base *drôba* (*drôbs*), troubled" (Anglos. *dróf*), does not occur; whence comes *bb'-ya*, "I trouble," "excite," "shake," and *drôb'-na*, "I n troubled." Inseparable prepositions precede the de- minatives, as they do the primitive verbal themes, though e base word be simple; as, *e. g.*, from *blinda* (*blind'-s*), blind," comes *ga-blind'-na*, "I am blinded," and *ga-blind-* , "I blind," "dazzle;" from *dumba* (*dumb'-s*), "dumb," *-dumb'-na*, "I become dumb," "grow speechless" (Mark

iv. 39. *afidumbn πεφίμωσο*). It is possible, that from the simple adjective bases at first simple denominatives proceeded, and from these, which no longer exist, or cannot be cited, compound denominatives; thus, from *dumbn* came, at first, *dumbna*, and thence *afdumbna*; as, in Latin, from *mutu-s*, *mutesco*, and thence *obmutesco*.

772. To return to the Sanscrit, we must remark that denominatives formed with य *ya* partly express a wish; as, *e. g.*, *patí-yâmi*, "I wish for a spouse," from *pati*; *putrí-yâmi*, "I wish a son, or for a son, or children," from *putra*. These forms lead us to the Greek desiderative denominatives in *ιαω*, which, however, in departure from the Sanscrit, reject the final vowel of the base noun, while the latter lengthen it, but in doing so weaken *â* to *í*; thus, *putrí-yâmi* for *putrâ-yâmi*.* And Greek forms like *θανατ'-ιάω*, *στρατηγ'-ιάω*, *κλαυσ'-ιάω*, are properly based on the causal form of the just-mentioned Sanscrit denominatives in *ya*; thus, *θανατ'-ιάω*, *θανατ'-ιάο-μεν* = Sanscrit forms like *putrí-yayâ-mi*, *putrí-yayâ-mas*, while *putrî-yâ-mi*, *putrî-yâ-mas*, would lead us to expect Greek forms like *θανατ'-ιω*, *θανατ'-ιο-μεν*, or, according to §. 502., *θανασσω*, *θανασσομεν*. It deserves, however, notice, that, in Sanscrit, denominatives in *ya* occasionally adopt the causal form without a causal signification; thus we find, without a causal meaning,† the gerund *asûyayitvâ*, which belongs to the causal form, but is used as coming from the denominative *asû-yâmi*. "I curse," "execrate" (intrans. "I am wrath," from *asu* "life").

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* But we find in the Vêda dialect *aśva-yâmi*, "*equos cupio*," from *aśva* "a horse" (S. V. II. 1. 1. 11. 2.).

† Nal. 14. 17.: *krôdhâd asûyayitvâ tam*, "*irâ exsecrando eum.*" On the other hand, *dhûmâyayâmi*, the causal of *dhûmâ-yâmi*, "*fumo*," has also a causal meaning: *dhûmâyayan diśati*, "causing the regions of the world to smoke."

773. With the causal form of denominatives in य *ya* y be compared also the Latin in *igâ*. The *i* would then the final vowel of the base noun, either in an unaltered m, as in *miti-gâ-s*, *levi-gâ-s*, *navi-gâ-s** ; or the weak- ng of a heavier vowel (see §. 6.), as in *fumi-gâ-s* (for u-gâ-s, or *fumo-gâ-s*), *remi-gâ-s*, *clari-gâ-s*, *casti-gâ-s* (but -gâ-s with *i* suppressed); or the unorganic extension a base ending in a consonant, as in *liti-gâ-s* opposed to gâ-s. The *g* must be taken as the hardening of *y*, which eed occurs, perhaps, nowhere else in Latin, but is not ommon in the kindred languages (see pp. 110. and 993.), l with which is connected the fact, that in Greek ζ often nds as the hardened form of an original *y* (see §. 19.). e *â* of the forms in question, as generally of those in first conjugation (except where it is radical), must be contraction of the Sanscrit *a(y)a ;* and thus *fumi-gâ-s* uld be, as it were, the Latinization of the Sanscrit *ûmâ-ya(y)a-si*, "thou makest to smoke" †. If, however, agree with the common opinion, which, however, is op- sed by Düntzer, ("Doctrine of the Latin Formation of ords" p. 140,) in recognising in the verbs in *igo* com- sites with *ago*, we must then divide thus, *mit'-igo*, *fum'-igo*, , and assume a weakening of the radical *a* of *ago* to *i*, d a transfer of *igo* from the third conjugation to the st, both of which things occur in *facere*, which, at the d of compounds, becomes *ficare*.

774. Bases which, in Sanscrit, end in *n*, reject that letter well in desideratives as also in other denominatives in . Other consonants, also, are occasionally dropped before e denominative suffix य *ya*; hence, *vṛihâ-yê*, "I become reat" (Mid.), from *vṛihat*, in the strong cases *vṛihant*, pro-

* I retract the conjecture exprcssed at §. 109ᵇ. 1.

† See p. 379 and §. 772. note **.

perly a participle present from *varh, vṛih,* "to grow." Thus *ṭripâ-yê, rôhâ-yê,* from the participles *ṭripant, ṭripat, rôhant, rôhat* (see Westergaard Rad. pp. 337, 339). We might consequently expect from the participle of the auxiliary future forms like *dâ-syâ-yê* for *dâs-yat-yê,* or *dâsyant-yê;* and it follows that we may regard the Greek desideratives in σείω as denominatives, *i. e.* derive them from the participle, and not from the indicative future. The ε, for instance, of παρα-δω-σείω must then be looked upon as the thinning of the ο of the suffix οντ, and παρα-δωσε'-ίω must therefore be derived from παραδωσο(ντ)-ιω; just as above, §. 503., ἀεκ'-αζόμενος from ἀεκοντ. But if Greek desideratives in σείω spring from a future participle, then Latin desideratives in *turio,* as *cœnaturio, nupturio, parturio, esurio* (from *es-turio,* see §. 101.), may be placed by their side as analogous forms* in which the *i* appears to correspond to the Sanscrit suffix य *ya,* though usually the *i* of the Latin fourth conjugation corresponds to the Sanscrit *aya,* while the simple *ya* is represented by the *i* of the third conjugation. As, however, the *i* of the third conjugation is occasionally altered to the *i* of the fourth †, it cannot surprise us that some denominatives of the Latin fourth conjugation should, in their origin, belong, not to the Sanscrit formation *aya,* but to *ya;* and so *equ'-io, equ'-is,* both as regards its base word and its derivation, might be compared with the Vêdian *aśvâyâmi,* "*equos cupio,*" mentioned above (§. 772. Note*).

775. Denominatives with a desiderative meaning are

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* The short *u* of verbs in *turio* occasions me no difficulty in deducing them from the participle in *tûru-s.* The incumbrance of the verbal derivation appears to have occasioned the shortening of the vowel, as in denominatives like *colŏro, honŏro,* compared with *color, coló-ris, honor, honór-is.*

† See §. 500., and Struve *On the Latin Declension and Conjugation,* p. 200 (from *fodio,* in Plaut., *fodiri;* from *gradior, aggrediri;* from *parĕo,* in Enn., *parire;* from *morior, morimur*).

so formed in Sanscrit by the suffixes *sya* and *asya*; *e. g.*, *ishasyâmi*, "to long for the bull;" *aśva-syâmi*, "to long r the stallion" (*equio*); *madhv-asyâmi*, "to wish for ney." We have already noticed the agreement of these rms with that of the auxiliary future, as also, as respects e sibilant, with the desideratives which spring from rbal roots. From Latin may be adduced imitatives in , as has already been done by Düntzer ("Doctrine of e Latin formation of words" p. 135). Whence, *e. g.*, *tri-sso* would stand by assimilation for *patri-syo* (compare e Prâkrit futures, §. 655.), with *i* as the extension of the se noun, as in *patri-bus*. The *i* of *attici-sso*, *græci-sso*, is the akening of the final vowel of the base noun. The first njugation, however, does not admit of comparison with nscrit desideratives like *aśva-sya-ti*, which leads us to pect the Latin third conjugation, as in derivatives from rbs like *cape-sso*, *incipi-sso*, *lace-sso*, *peti-sso*, which admit comparison with Sanscrit verbal desideratives in *sa*—in far as their *s* really stands for *sy*—or also with the auxary future. The *e* or *i* of Latin forms is, however, ost probably the class vowel of the third conjugation, ough usually this does not extend beyond the special nses. *Incesso*, from *cedo*, is probably an abbreviation of *cedesso*; and *arcesso*, if it comes from *cedo*, of *arcedesso*.

776. Outwardly a similarity presents itself between the nscrit nominal desideratives in *sya* or *asya*, and the atin inchoatives in *asco* and *esco*: these, however, as reects their principle of formation, are scarcely transmitted om the time of the unity of language, but most probably rst originated on Roman ground, by the annexation, as appears to me, of the verb substantive with the meaning to become" to nominal bases, which, when they terminate n a vowel, drop this before the vowel of the auxiliary rerb (compare §. 522.). Thus, as *pos-sum* from *pot-sum* for *poti-sum*, *pot-eram* for *poti-eram*; so, *e. g.*, *puell'-asco*, *ir'-*

ascor, puer'-asco (from the base *pueru,-rŏ*), *tener'-asco*, and *tener'-esco, acet'-asco, gel'-asco* (from *gelu*), *herb'-esco, exaqu'-esco, plum'-esco, flamm'-esco, amar'-esco, aur'-esco, clar'-esco, vetust'-esco, dulc'-esco, juven'-esco, celebr'-esco, corn'-esco.* Whether we ought to divide *long'-isco, vetust'-isco,* or *longi-sco, vetusti-sco,* may remain undecided. In the former case the *i* of the auxiliary verb might be compared with that of the Greek imperative ἴσ-θι: in the latter *i* is the weakening of the final vowel of the adjective base, as in compounds like *longi-pes* and derivatives like *longi-tudo.* Bases ending in a consonant experience no abbreviation, thus, *arbor-esco, carbon-esco, lapid-esco, matr-esco, noct-esco, dit-esco,* but *opul-esco* from *opulent-esco,* which reminds us of the Sanscrit denominatives from abbreviated participial bases in *nt* mentioned above (§. 774.). The verb substantive, which I think I recognise in these formations, answers to the obsolete future *esco* (*escit, superescit, obescit*), which, however, in composition, has occasionally retained the original *a*; as in Old Prussian, also, in its simple state, *as-mai, as-sai, as-t,* corresponds to the Lithuanian *es-mi, es-si, es-ti.* How close the notions of futurity and of becoming, as of future existence, approach one another needs no mention. With respect to the guttural which has attached itself to the root of the verb substantive, *asco, esco* and the isolated future *escit,* resemble the Greek imperfect ἔσκον, which, with the rejection of the radical vowel, enters also into combinations with attributive verbs (δινεύε-σκε, καλέε-σκον, ἐλάσα-σκε).* The Latin *esco,* also, when added to

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* I have no hesitation in ascribing the vowel which precedes the σ to the temporal base of the simple verb; for the ο of ἐκάλεον is, in its origin, identical with ε, and stands in place of the ε of ἐκάλεες, ἐκάλεε, only on account of the nasal which follows: the ε of the 3d person of the 1 s aorist is identical with the α of the other persons, which is everywhere retained where an ending follows it.

bal bases, relinquishes its initial vowel; for the *a* (*â*), *e* and *i* (*î*) of forms like *laba-sco*, *ama-sco*, *consuda-sco*, *era-sco*, *palle-sco*, *vire-sco*, *rube-sco*, *senti-sco*, *obdormi-sco*, clearly the characters of the first, second, and fourth jugations; on which account we here divide differently n above, in *puer'-asco*, *clar'-esco*, *dulc'-esco* &c. In com-unds with bases of the third conjugation the *i* of *gemi-tremi-sco*, must be regarded as by nature short, as it identical with the *i* of *gem-i-s*, *trem-i-s* (see §. 109ª. which leads us back to the Sanscrit *a*. The *i* of *pro-scor*, *concupi-scor*, is identical with that of *faci-s*, *profici-s*, *i-s*; *nanci-scor* presupposes a simple *nanco*, *nanci-s*; *ge-sco* exhibits *ĕ* for the *ĭ* of *frangi-s* (compare §. 6.), and s lightened itself by the rejection of the nasal of the t. To Latin forms like *laba-sco*, *ama-sco*, *palle-sco*, cor-pond, in their principle of formation, Greek forms like *βά-σκω*, *ἡβά-σκω*, *ἱλά-σκομαι*, *ἀλδή-σκω*; where, however, it not asserted that the Latin *ê* of the second conjugation connected with the Greek *η* of forms like *πεφίλη-κα*, *νησω*, though both lead us back to the Sanscrit *aya*; but this the Latin contains the two first letters in the con-ction of *ai* to *ê* (see §. 109ª. 6.), while the Greek *η* of *νήσω* and *εε*, *εο* of *φιλέετε*, *φιλέομεν*, contain the first and rd letter of the Sanscrit *aya*, either separate (in *εε*, *εο*), united in *η*. The *ι* of forms like *εὑρί-σκω*, *στερί-σκω*, *ί-σκομαι*, *ἀμβλί-σκω*, is scarcely a vowel of conjunction, but, my opinion, only a weakening of a heavier vowel; thus, *ίσκω*, *στερί-σκω*, for *εὑρήσκω*, *στερή-σκω*; *ἀμβλι-σκω*, *ἀλί-ομαι* for *ἀμβλω-σκω*, *ἁλω-σκομαι*; to which, among other ings, the futures *εὑρή-σω*, *ἁλώ-σομαι*, &c., point. We must mark the weakening of *o* to *ι* in *ὀνί-νημι* for *ὀνόνημι*, *πτεύω* for *ὀποπτεύω**; and, moreover, the forms *ἀλθή-σκω*

* See §. 754., and compare *ὀπωπή* and *ὀπωπέω*, which forms, by the ngthening of the radical vowel in the second syllable of the root, which is

and *ἀλθί-σκω* which exist together. I am now inclined, in departure from what was remarked at §. 751., to assume that the Greek reduplicated forms in *σκω*, in spite of their striking resemblance to Sanscrit verbal desideratives like *jijñâsâmi* (compare *γιγνώσκω*), are nevertheless not historically connected with them, but, as comparatively younger formations, have arisen from the junction of the verb substantive in a form analogous to the imperfect *ἔσκον* and Latin future *escit*, but deprived of the radical vowel, to roots repeated according to the principle of the Sanscrit third class (see §. 109ª. 3.). Thus, *γιγνώσκω*, *μιμνήσκω*, presuppose simple verbs like *γίγνωμι*, *μίμνημι*, according to the analogy of *δίδωμι*, *τίθημι*, *βίβημι*, or such as *γιγνόω*, *μιμνέω*. And *ἔγνων* and *γνώσω* bear the same relation to the probably existent *γίγνωμι* that *ἔδων* and *δώσω* do to *δίδωμι*. If, however, the Greek reduplicated forms in *σκω* must, with regard to their principle of formation, be looked on as distinct from Sanscrit verbs like *jijñâsâmi*, the same must hold as regards Latin forms like *no-sco*, *di-sco* (perhaps from *dida-sco*), *pa-scor*, *na-scor* (*gna-scor* by transposition from *gan-scor*), which correspond to Greek unreduplicated forms like *βά-σκω*, *θνή-σκω*.

777. In Sanscrit, denominatives may also be formed by annexing simply an *a* to the theme of nominal bases in the special tenses, which *a*, like that of the first and sixth classes of primitive verbs (§. 109ª. 1.), is suppressed in the universal tenses. A final *a* of nominal bases is dropped; hence, *e. g.*, *lôhit'-a-ti*, "he is red," from *lôhita*. I am unable to quote from authors instances of such denominatives: there occur, however, among the roots exhibited by Indian Grammarians of the first or sixth class, several in which I think I recognise denominatives from bases in

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is twice repeated in its full form, correspond admirably to the Sanscrit intensives there mentioned.

thus, among others, *bhâm*, "to be angry," *bhâm-a-tê*, e is angry," which I derive from *bhâm-a*, "anger:" this ter, however, which also signifies "light," "splendour," arly comes from the root *bhâ*, "to shine." As the tin *i* of the third conjugation corresponds to the Sanscrit f the first and sixth class, so *metu-i-t*, *tribu-i-t*, *statu-i-t*, *u-i-t*, correspond to the Sanscrit denominatives here ntioned. In Greek correspond denominatives, which the special tenses add *o* and *e* to the nominal base; s, *e.g.*, *μηνί-ο-μεν*, *μηνί-ε-τε*, *δηρί-ο-μαι*, *μητί-ο-μαι*, *δακρύ-εν*, *μεθύ-ο-μεν*, *ἰθύ-ο-μεν*, *ἀχλύ-ο-μεν*, *βασιλεύ-ο-μεν*, *βρα-ύ-ο-μεν*. What, however, are we to say of that rather nerous class of denominatives in *ευω*, which are not nded on any nominal base in *ευ*; *e.g.*, *κορ'-εύο-μαι*, "I am naiden;" *πολιτ'-εύ-ω*, "I am a citizen;" *ἀθλ'-εύ-ω*, "I con-d," properly, "am in strife;" *ἰατρ'-εύ-ω*, "I am a phy-ian;" *κρατιστ'-εύ-ω*, "I am the best;" *κολακ-εύ-ω*, "I am a terer, flattering;" *δουλ'-εύ-ω*, "I am a servant;" *ἀληθ'-ω*, "I am true"? If the verb substantive, which in most these formations is more or less evidently present in rit, be also contained therein bodily, we must then have ourse to the root *φυ* (see p. 115), which therefore, in se compounds, has preserved the original notion, while its simple state the causal meaning of bringing into istence, "making to be," prevails. The *ε* of *-ευω* would erefore be the Guna vowel, corresponding to the *a* of the nscrit *bhav-â-mi*, "I am," "I become;" and, with respect the dropping of the radical labial *ευω*, would stand on e same footing with *ui*, *vi*, of Latin forms like *pot-ui*, *on-ui*, *ama-vi*, *audi-vi*, (see §. 556.).* In Gothic the verbs

* The Ossetian also has, in its simple state, lost the labial of the auxi-ry verb under discussion, and gives, *e.g.*, *wa-d*, "he must be," *wonth*, hey must be," corresponding to the Sanscrit *bhavatu*, *bhavantu*: see *The Caucasian Members of the Indo-European Family of Languages*," pp. 43

in *na* (as *fullna*, "*impleor*"), mentioned above (§. 770.), belong to the class of denominatives here mentioned. These verbs in *na* come from participial bases with the same termination, which, like the Sanscrit bases in *a* (*rôhit'-a-ti*), reject their final vowel before that of the class; thus, *fulln'-i-th*, "*impletur*," from *fullna-i-th*, for *fullna-a-th* (see §. 67.), plural *fulln'-a-nd*, as in Sanscrit *rôhit'-a-ti*, *rôhit'-a-nti*. But this kind of formation holds, in Gothic, only for the present and its derivatives, while in the preterite an *ô* takes the place of *a* or *i*; so that, *e. g.*, *fulln'-ô-da*, "I was filled," in its principle of formation agrees with Latin forms like *regn'-â-vi*, the base noun also of which, *regnu* ("kingdom as ruled"), with respect to its derivative suffix, is connected with the to-be-presupposed Gothic base *fullna* (Sanscrit *pûrna*, "filled").

FORMATION OF WORDS.

778. With regard to the formation of verbs there remains nothing to be added to what has been already said regarding the structure of roots and the classes of verbal bases (§. 109ª.) which proceed thence, and subsequently respecting the formation of derivative verbs. The primitive pronouns, and the appellations of numerals, do not follow the ordinary rules for the formation of words (see §. 105.), and, with their derivatives, are discussed in the paragraphs allotted to them. We shall now discuss simply the formation of substantives and adjectives; and, first, those which stand in close connection with the verb, and, both in the organization and in the application of language, play a very important part: we allude to the participles and the infinitive. It might be said that we ought to treat of

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pp. 43 and 82, Rem. 48. In Persian the present of the verb substantive may be combined with any substantive, adjective, as well as with the personal pronoun; *e.g.*, *piram*, "*senex sum*;" *manam*, "*ego sum*."

formation of nouns before treating of their inflection, ause words must be formed before they are inflected. for practical considerations it appeared more useful, irst, only to lay down the principle of the formation of ds generally, as is done in §§. 110. 111., and to defer more full investigation of the subject to this place. ll events, the theory of the formation of tenses must :ede that of the participles, as the latter, for the most ;, irrespective of their nominal suffixes, rest on a prin- e of formation similar to that of the corresponding es of the indicative, and bear a sisterly, if not a filial tion to them. It will, however, be clearly seen from following paragraphs how requisite an acquaintance h the forms of cases, and with the distinction of genders, to the understanding of the theory of the formation of ds.

779. The participle present active forms a point of ob- vation as regards the representation of the original ty of the Indo-European languages; and it is here rthy of notice, that several of the still living tongues of quarter of the world have, in some cases, preserved original formative suffix in a more perfect form than Sanscrit in its most ancient sources. The full form the suffix is *nt*; the Sanscrit, however, exhibits the *n* y in a few cases, which in all places, where a division the theme into stronger and weaker forms occurs, has ained the original and full form of the base (see §. 129.); nce, *e.g.*, *bharan*, *bharantam* = φέρων, φέροντα, *ferentem*, al *bharantâu*, Vêda *bharantâ* (nom. acc. voc.) = φέροντε, ral *bharantas* (nom. voc.) = φέροντες, *ferentes*; but in the usative we find *bharatas*, by the loss of the *n* in the latter rt of the word, opposed to φέροντ-ας, and so in all the other ses of the three numbers the *n* is dropped in Sanscrit; d in the genitive singular *bharatas* stands, from this se, in an inferior position when compared with the Greek

φέροντος, Latin *ferentis*, Gothic *bairan-din-s* (see p. 138), and our German strong participial genitives, as *stehendes*, *gehendes*.* The Lithuanian also has till the present time retained the nasal of the participle present through all the cases of the three numbers in both genders: it extends the theme, however, in the oblique cases, by the addition of *ia;* and, according to a universal law of sound, changes the *t* before *i*, when this is followed by any vowel but *e*, into the sound *tsch*, which Ruhig writes *ch*, Mielcke *cz;* hence, *e.g.*, *degans*, "the burning" (=Sanscrit *dahan*), according to the analogy of Zend forms like *baraṅs*, Latin like *ferens*, Æolic as τιθένς, accusative *degantin* (for *degantien*, from *-ian*), genitive *deganchio*.

780. The Old Prussian, differing from the Lithuanian, extends the participial base in the oblique cases by the simple addition of *i*, and so far agrees entirely with the Latin, which, *e.g.*, forms simply *ferens* from the base *ferent*, which has not exceeded its original limits, but which, in all the other cases, follows the analogy of bases in *i*. *Ferenti-a* and *ferenti-um* belong as decidedly to the *i* declension as *facili-a*, *facili-um*. We are therefore right in dividing *ferente-m* just as *facile-m* (from *facili-m*), though from a base, *ferent*, the accusative could be in no case other than *ferentem* = Zend *barĕnt-ĕm*. The participles present masculine which remain to us in Old Prussian are, *dilants*, "the worker," "working;"† *sidans*, "*sedens;*" *empriki-sins*, "*præsens;*" dative *empriki-senti-smu*, according to the pro-

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* Verbs of the third class, in Sanscrit, owing to the incumbrance of the syllable of reduplication, have lost the nasal in the strong cases also; hence, *e.g.*, *dadatam* compared with δίδοντα, *dadatas* with δίδοντες (compare §. 459.).

† According to the mode in which the two following examples are written we should expect *dilans;* but as respects the retention of the T-sound, *dilants* corresponds to Gothic forms like *bairands*.

inal declension (see §. 170.); *niaubillînti-s*, "of the under
" "not speaking" (*infantis*);* *ripinti-n*, "*sequentem*;"† *iki waitiainti-ns* (acc. pl.), "*contradicentes*;" *wargu-ənti-ns*, "*maleficos*." The following are adverbial da-, *giwantei*, "living," and *stanintei* (also *staninti*) "stand- from the bases *giwanti* (Sanscrit *jîvant*), *staninti* (see elmann, pp. 52 and 76).

l. Before the feminine character *î*, the Sanscrit, ac- ng to the difference of conjugation of the respective s, either retains the nasal of the participial suffix or ts it, and in such a manner as that verbs of the first ipal conjugation regularly retain it, and but rarely t it, while conversely those of the second ordinarily t it, and only occasionally retain it; while the Gothic Lithuanian have constantly preserved it. Compare, with the Sanscrit *vasantî*, "the inhabiting" (also *va-* Nal. 13. 66.), from *vas*, Class 1, the Gothic *visandei* m. *visandein*, see §§. 120. 142.), "the abiding or being;" with the Sanscrit *dahantî*, "the burning," the Lithua- *deganti* (gen. *deganchiôs*, see p. 174, Note *). In Greek, πόντις is in form a solitary participle present feminine ιδ = Sanscrit *î*, according to the analogy of the femi- bases in τριδ = *trî*, Latin *trî-c*, mentioned in §. 119. root अस् *as*, Class 2, of the verb substantive, forms in crit *satî*, "the being," never *santî*; the Lithuanian i therefore surpasses the Sanscrit both in the reten- of the radical vowel and in that of the *n* of the suffix.

Billi, "I speak." The inseparable preposition *au*, combined with egation *ni*, corresponds to the Sanscrit *ava*.

Also *ripintinton*, in the last syllable of which I think I recognise an nded pronoun or article = Sanscrit *tam*, Lithuanian *tan*, Greek τόν. egards the *o* for *a*, compare the accusative of the participle perfect ve *dâto-n*, "*datum*" = Sanscrit *dattam*, from *dadâtam*, irregularly *lâtam*.

In the masculine nominative, also, the Lithuanian *esanis* has two points of superiority to the Sanscrit *san*, the retention of the radical vowel, and of the nominative sign: the latter is shared also by the Latin *sens*, of *præsens*, *ab-sens*, to which the abovementioned (§. 780.) Old Prussian *sins*, of *empŕiki-sins*, admirably corresponds. The Greek, for the most part, with its ὤν, contrasts disadvantageously with the Lithuanian *esanis*; for while the latter has, together with the case sign, preserved the complete root, we miss in ὢν both the entire root and the expression of the nominative relation. The epic and Ionic form ἐών, however, leads us to conjecture a formerly existing ἔσων, and the suppression of the σ in this position is not surprising according to §. 128. It is, however, not less marvellous that a form which, in Greek, has been corrupted for thousands of years, quite up to remote antiquity, and which has been tolerably accurately retained by the Latin only under the protection of the prepositions *præ* and *ab**, should have remained quite perfect in the Lithuanian up to the present day.

782. The Indian Grammarians assume *at*, in the strong cases *ant*, as the suffix of the participle present. I cannot, however, attribute to the suffix the *a* of forms like *bharant*, any more than the ο of the Greek φέροντ: the vowel belongs in both languages to the class syllable; *i. e.* the ο of φερ-ο-ντ is identical with that of φέρ-ο-μεν, φέρ-ο-ντι, and with the ε of φέρ-ε-τε, ἔφερ-ε-ς, &c. That the Greek participial suffix is simply ντ, not οντ, is clear from the conjugation in μι, where ντ attaches to the final vowel of the root or of the verbal theme (διδο-ντ, τιθε-ντ, ἱστα-ντ, δεικ-νυ-ντ): the Sanscrit, however, in accordance with a peculiarity, which, in my opinion, first arose after the separation of languages

* On the other hand, in *potens*, just as in the simple *ens*, the sibilant is lost.

ı cases, where the *nt* or *t* of the suffix would be added to letter other than *a* or *â*, prefixes to the suffix an *a* compare §. 437. Remark, and §. 458.), or extends the verıl theme by the addition of an *a*; hence, *e. g.*, *strinvant*, strewing" (for *strinunt*), answers to the Greek base ορνυντ. The *e* of Latin participles of the third conjugaon, *e.g.*, of *veh-e-ns*, *veh-e-ntem* (=Sanscrit *vah-a-n*, *vah-a-am*, Zend *vaz-a-ns̀*, *vaz-a-ntĕm*), is in origin identical ith the class vowel *i* (from *a*, see §. 109ª. 1.) of *veh-i-s*, h-i-t, &c. (see §. 507.), and is based on the circumstance at before two consonants the Latin language prefers *l* to (see §. 6.). In the fourth conjugation, *ie*, *e.g.*, in *audens*, represents the Gothic *ya* and Sanscrit *aya* of forms ke *sat-ya-nds*, "placing"=Sanscrit *sâd-aya-n*, "making) sit" (compare §. 505.). It does not require mention, at in verbs of the first and second conjugation the *a* and as in *am-a-ns*, *mon-e-ns*, belong to the conjugational syl-ıble; the *a*, however, of *da-ns*, *sta-ns*, *fa-ns*, and *fla-ns*, to he root: and as little does it require notice, that in Gerıan and Lithuanian the vowel which precedes the *n* of he participle present is identical with that of the class yllable. Compare, in Gothic, *bair-a-nds*, "the carrying," *ahs-ya-nds* (Zend *ucs-ya-ns̀*), "the growing" (see §. 109ª. 2.), *at-ya-nds*, "the placing," "making to sit,', *salb-ô-nds*, 'the anointing,,' with *bair-a-m* (Sanscrit *bhar-â-mas*), we carry," *vahs-ya-m*, "we grow," *sat-ya-m*, "we place" Sanscrit *sâd-ayâ-mas*), *salb-ô-m*, "we anoint;" and in ithuanian, *weź-a-ns*, "the conveying," with *wez-a-mé*, "we convey;" *myl-i-ns*, "the loving," with *myl-i-me*, "we love." With regard to the non-correspondence of the Lithuanian s-a-ns, "being," to *es-mi*, "I am," *es-me*, "we are," we nust observe, that here an auxiliary vowel is necessary in he participle, which in the Sanscrit *s-a-n* (accusative *s-a-nam*) occurs in the same form, while the Latin *-sens* places in its stead an *e*, and the Old Prussian *-sins* an *i*.

783. In Old Sclavonic, the so-called gerundives correspond to the participles of the kindred languages, and that of the present to the participle present active here under discussion. In the nominative singular masculine, where, *e.g.* ВЕЗЫ *veʒy*, "*vehens*," answers to the Sanscrit *vahan*, Zend *vazanṡ*, Lithuanian *weżans*, and Gothic *vigands*, we should scarce observe the analogy of the Sclavonic form to those of the kindred languages, as, according to a universal law of sound, all final consonants in Sclavonic are suppressed*, but in the dual, ВЕЗѪША *veʒuṅshcha*†, corresponds to the Vêdian *vahantâ* and Zend *vazanta*; and in the plural, ВЕЗѪШЕ (*veʒuṅshche*) answers to the Sanscrit *vahant-as*, and Greek ἔχοντ-ες (see p. 618, Note 3.); where it is to be observed, that ш *shch* more frequently occurs as the euphonic alteration of *t* (Dobrowsky, p. 39, Kopitar, p. 53), just as *d*, under similar circumstances, becomes жд *schd*: a sibilant, therefore, is prefixed to the *T*-sound, and, besides, the original *t* is changed into *ch*, as in Lithuanian likewise the latter is used before *i*, with a vowel following.

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* See §. 255. l. I now think that the monosyllabic words also must be subjected to the universal law, as I no longer recognise in the forms НАС *nas* and ВАС*Ъ *vas* of the genitive and locative plural of the two first persons the Sanscrit secondary forms *nas* and *vas*, but I refer the С*Ъ *s* of the genitive to the Sanscrit pronominal genitive termination *sâm*, and that of the locative to the Sanscrit locative termination *su*. The fact that the *s* of these terminations is elsewhere changed into χ *ch* (see §§. 255. m. 279. and p. 355, Note 6.), and that in Sanscrit the genitive termination *sâm* occurs only in pronouns of the third person plural, conceals the causal nature of the ending of the forms НАС*Ъ *na-s*, ВАС*Ъ *va-s*; but in Old Prussian also the ending सां *sâm*, in the form much nearer to the Sanscrit *son*, has made its way into the pronouns of the first and second person; hence here are found *nou-son*, ἡμῶν, *iou-son*, ὑμῶν, after the analogy of *stei-son*, των=Sanscrit *te-sham*, answering to the Sclavonic НАС*Ъ *nu-s* and ВАС*Ъ *va-s*.

† As to ѫ=*uṅ*, see the Remark at the end of the preceding §.

therefore, in this respect, the dual ВЕЗѪЩА *a* with the Lithuanian *weźanchiu.* It is probable clavonic also, as well as in Lithuanian, a *y*, or the *a*, has, in the oblique cases, mingled with the *t* of cipial suffix, and under the influence of the *y* ding *t* has become щ *shch.* So in Dobrowsky's jugation, in which, in the first person present, a nd before the termination *uṅ*, forms occur like *uṅshchuṅ*, "*turbo*," euphonic for *muṅtyuṅ*, infinitive . In the feminine singular the gerundive spoken ѪЩИ *veζuṅshchi* = Lithuanian *weźanti*, "the con- (genitive *weźanchiôs*), Sanscrit *vahantî.*

1. Dobrowsky, to whose grammar I was circumscribed in 155.) of the Old Sclavonic alphabet, makes neither an ortho- or a phonetic distinction between Ѫ and ОУ, or ȣ, and never st-mentioned letter, as he everywhere writes Ю for ЬѪ. It is er, generally supposed, and I think with good reason, that the with *y*, ЬѪ) and Ѧ (with *y*, ЬѦ) contain a nasal, as was first disco- stokov, but still held by Kopitar (Glagolita, p. 52) to be doubtful. er, certain that the vowels Ѫ, ЬѪ, Ѧ, ЬѦ, in the Old Sclavonic as Kopitar has informed us, occur scarce anywhere but where has vowels with a nasal; and comparison with the ancient ages leads us to expect a nasal, for which reason I have before corruption of *on* (from *an*) to *û* (see §. 155. g.). On the other ever, ОУ, or ȣ, and the *û* contained in Ю (*yû*), wherever these r in Old Sclavonic in their proper place, in forms which admit son usually, according to etymology, represent the Sanscrit +*u*), or its resolved form *av;* hence, *e.g.*, ОУСТА *ûsta* (neuter nouth"=*ôshṭha*," "lip" (Theme); СРОУТИ *srû-ti*, "to hear"= respective of the infinitive suffix); ВОУДИТИ *bûd-i-ti*, "to *dayitum;* ШОУИ *shûi*, left"=*savya.* So in the termination tive locative dual, where, *e.g.*, ОВОЮ "*amborum, in ambobus*," the Sanscrit *ubhayôs*, and Zend *ubôyô* (see §. 273.). Now let the cases in which nasalized vowels, the nasal of which I now

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sich compares the Sanscrit root *manth*, "to shake;" and Ѫ *uṅ* stands for the Sanscrit *an.* See the note to the preceding §.

express, as in Lithuanian, by *n* (see §. 10.), in grammatical terminations or suffixes, correspond to a Sanscrit *n* or *m* with a preceding vowel (*a* or *á*). There appear, therefore, if I have not overlooked any thing, the following:—

1. Accusative singular of feminine bases in *a*; *e.g.*, ВДОВѢ *vdovu*, "*riduam*"=*vidhavâm*.*
2. Accusative singular of pronouns of the first and second person: МА *mai*, ТА *tai*=Sanscrit *mâm*, *tvâm*; like the reflexive СА *sai*.
3. Accusative plural of masculine pronominal bases of the third person in *ya*, and therefore also of definite adjectives compounded with the base *ya*. Compare ІА *yai*, "*eos*," with the corresponding Sanscrit *yân*, "*quos*," and Old Prussian accusatives like *scha-ns*, *schi-ns*, "*hos*," *wira-ns*, "*viros*," Gothic *vaira-ns* (see §. 236.).
4. First person singular present, where ѫ *u*=Sanscrit *âmi*; *e.g.*, *vezu*=*vahâmi*; АІѫ *ayu*=*ayâmi*, e.g., *rydayu*=*rôdayâmi* (see §. 766.).
5. Third person plural of the present, where ѧТЬ *ut*=Sanscrit *anti*; *e.g.*, ВЕЗѧТЬ *vezut*=*vahanti*; and in Dobrowsky's third conjugation (see Kopitar, p. 61), ІАТЬ *yat*=Sanscrit *ayanti*.
6. The above-mentioned gerundive or participle present.

The nasal vowel in the genitive singular and nominative accusative plural of feminine bases in *ya*, *e.g.*, in ВОЛІА *volyai*, "*voluntatis*," and "*voluntates* (nom. acc.), appears surprising. If we consider, however, that in the three cases spoken of the Sanscrit grammar exhibits a final *s*, which is also contained in the Lithuanian and Lettish, which approximate closely to the Sclavonic languages, as also in Gothic in all the words which cor-

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* Compare §. 266. The Polish also, in the corresponding forms, has a written nasal vowel, though now, at the end of a word, the nasals, though written, are no longer pronounced; just as in the instrumental, where I regard the Sclavonic *vdo-voy-u*=Sanscrit *vidhavay-á* as joining to the old instrumental termination the new also, with a corruption of the *my* (Dobr. gives only *m*) to the now probably very weak nasal sound *u*. Remark, that in the plural instrumental, the feminines, especially rather than the masculines and neuters, have the termination *mi* (see p. 349); for which, in Lithuanian, both in masculine and feminine, stands *mis*, only that the masculines in *a* have contracted *a-mis* to *ais*.

espond to the Sanscrit feminine bases in *â* *, we are led to infer the asalization of a final *s*, as in the Prâkrit instrumental termination *iṅ* = Sanscrit *bhis* (see §. 220.). The *y* especially appears to have rotected the nasalized vowels which follow it, as we may conclude rom No. 3. and the gerundives mentioned below (Remark 2.). A lace where the Old Sclavonic has a nasal vowel at the end of a word, hile the Sanscrit has a simple vowel, occurs in the nominative and accu- tive singular of neuter bases in *n*; in ИМѦ *imaṅ*, "*nomen*" (from the se *imen* from *iman*), answering to the Sanscrit *nâma*, from *nâman*. ere, however, the nasal of the Sclavonic nominative and accusative can- t surprise us, as it belongs to the base word, and the Latin also has firmly eserved the *n* of the base in the nominative and accusative singular uter. Thus, as in Latin, *nomen*, *semen*, opposed to *homo*, *sermo*, &c., so МѦ *imaṅ*, СѢМѦ *syemaṅ*, opposed to КАМЪІ *kamy*, "stone," from *men*.

Remark 2. The verb substantive gives СЪІ *sy* = Sanscrit *san*, Lithua- an *seṅs*, and in the feminine СѪЩИ *suṅshchi* = सती *satî* (for *santî*), *sentî*. fter the *y* in the nominative masculine the nasal and the old *a* re- ains; hence БИѦ *biyaṅ*, "*cædens*," feminine БИѬЩИ *biyuṅshchi*. In obrowsky's third conjugation the ѦѦ extends also to the other forms ith Щ; hence ВОЛѦѦ *volyaṅ*, "*volens*;" ВОЛѦЩЕ *volyaṅshche*, "*vo- ntes*;" ВОЛѦЩИ *volyanshchi*, ἐθέλουσα. As regards the use of the rund, it is limited to those constructions in which the participle present ands as predicate, and in German the uninflected form of the partici- e is used; hence (Luc. xxiv. 13.) БѢСТА ИДѪЩА *byesta iduṅshcha*, they (two) were going," is the translation of the Greek ἦσαν πορευόμενοι, ly with this point of difference, in which the Greek is inferior, that the lavonic has the dual of the verb as well as that of the participle. Vhere the participle stands as epithet or substantively, the Sclavonic es the definite form of the participle (see §. 284.), and in this the rticiple is fully declined; thus, l. c., κώμην ἀπέχουσαν is rendered ЪСЬ ОТЪСТОѦЩѪѬ *vysyotstoyaṅshchuṅyuṅ*.

784. The same suffix that forms the present participle

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* So, in Lettish, *akka-s* is both the genitive singular and the no- inative and accusative plural of *akka*, "spring of water" (compare tin *aqua*, Gothic *ahva*, "stream," genitive singular and nominative, usative plural *ah-vô-s*; Lithuanian *uppě*, "stream;" Sanscrit *ap*, ater").

is added in Sanscrit and Zend to the theme of the auxiliary future; just as in Greek and Lithuanian, where *δώ-σω-ν*, *δώ-σον-τα*, *dů-se-ńs*, *dů-se-ntiń*, correspond to the Sanscrit *dâ-sya-n*, *dâ-sya-ntam*. In the feminine the Lithuanian *dů-se-nti*, "the (woman) about to give," answers admirably to the Sanscrit *dâ-sya-ntî*; *deg-se-ńs*, "the (man) about to burn," accusative *deg-se-ntiń*, answers to the Sanscrit *dhak-shya-n*, *dhak-shya-ntam*;* and in the feminine, *deg-se-nti* to *dhak-shya-ntî*. The Lithuanian root *bu*, "to be," gives *bu-se-ńs*, "*futurus*," *bu-se-nti*, "*futura*," as analogous to the Zend *bû-sya-ńs*, *bû-syai-nti*. Somewhat further off lies the Sanscrit *bhav-i-shya-n*, *bhav-i-shya-ntî*, on account of the Guna of the radical vowel, the insertion of the vowel of conjunction, and the suppression of the nominative sign in the masculine. As regards the *e* of Lithuanian future participles like *dů-se-ńs*, *bu-se-ńs*, I see in it, not a corruption of the *i* of indicative forms like *dů-si-me*, "*dabimus*" (see §. 652.), but a corruption of the *a* of Sanscrit bases like *dâ-sya-nt*: it is therefore identical with the *o* of the Greek *δω-σο-ντ*; and the Lettish also gives an *o* for this Lithuanian *e*, as to the *a*, also, of the present participle it opposes an *o*, while for the *i* of the future indicative it has, in like manner, *i*; *e.g.* *buhschots*, "*futurus*" = Lithuanian *busens*; *buhschoti*, "*futura*" = *busenti*; as *essots*, "being" = *esańs*, feminine *essoti* = *esant*.†

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* See §§. 21. and 104.

† The future participle in Lettish occurs only in paraphrasing the conjunctive, and the present participle also has the feminine form in *ti* only in this kind of phrase, but elsewhere *scha*, which, in my opinion, comes from *schia*, and this from *schi*; so that under the influence of the *i*, with a vowel following it, the *t* is changed into *sch*, as in Lithuanian into *š* (genitive *esanchios* = Lettish *essochas*). Refer to what has been said before (§. 783.) regarding the origin of the щ *shch* in the Sclavonic gerund The coincidence of the Lettish feminine termination *scha* with the Greek

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785. The aorist tenses in Sanscrit have left us no par-
iples; and the Greek language, by forms like λύσας,
ών, φυγών, τυπών, maintains a superiority over the San-
it. As, however, the first aorist in Greek contains the
rb substantive (see §. 542.), we may compare σας,
ντα, σαντες, &c., with the Sanscrit *san*, *santam*, *santas*.
e forms which appear in composition maintain a similar
periority over the simple ὤν, ὄντος, with respect to the
ore true preservation of the ancient form, to that which
e Latin *sens* of *præsens*, *absens*, does over the simple *ens*.
respect to the accent, and the pure radical vowel, Greek
rticiples of the second aorist like λιπών, φυγών, opposed
λείπων, φεύγων, answer to Sanscrit participles of the
th class like *tudán*, "the pushing," accusative *tudántam*.
in the Vêda dialect many verbs occur in conjugational
sses other than those which they follow in the common
alect, I still hesitate to concur with Benfey in consider-
g participles like *vṛidhánt*, "increasing," *dhṛishánt*, "dar-
g," in the weak cases *vṛidhát*, *dhṛishát*, as aorist partici-
es, though in no other case have the roots in question
en shewn to belong to the sixth class. If, however,
ey are really aorist participles, then *dhṛishamâṇa-s* (Rig.
I. 52. 5.; probably to be accented *dhṛishámâṇa*), also a
iddle aorist participle of the sixth formation, though in the
mmon dialect, having no middle voice, belongs to this for-
ation in the indicative. The root *pâ*, "to drink," whence
âmi (Vêd. *pibâmi* from *pipâmi*), in the Vêda dialect follows
o the second class, as is clear from *pâthâ*, "ye drink"
êd. *thâ* for *tha*, Rig. V. I. 86. 1.); whence I cannot concur
th Benfey in ascribing the participle *pântam*, "bibentem,"
the aorist, and just as little can I allot to it the imperative

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in forms like τύπτουσα, τύψουσα, is also remarkable. This σα was
bably preceded by a form σια (compare τρια=Sanscrit *trí*, §. 119.), so
; the σ was produced from τ by the influence of the ι following.

pâhí, "*bibe*," which likewise belongs to the present of the second class. With respect to the accentuation of the participle present active, I must draw notice to the fact that the Greek conjugation in μι agrees with the corresponding Sanscrit conjugation in this (the reduplicated verbs excepted), that it accents the second syllable of the participle in question, and that therefore, in this respect, στορνύς, στορνύντα, stand in the same relation to φέρων, φέροντα, as, in Sanscrit, *stṛinván*, *stṛinvántam*, to *bhárat*, *bhárantam*. The Sanscrit, however, differs from the Greek in allowing, in the weakest cases (see §. 130.), the accent to sink down to the case syllable; hence in the genitive singular and accusative plural *stṛi-ṇva-tás* opposed to στορ-νύ-ντος, στορ-νύ-ντας. The Sanscrit differs from the Greek also in this, that in the accentuation of the participle present (the theory of the weakest cases excluded) it is governed by that of the corresponding tense; thus, *bódh-a-n*, *tud-á-n*, *shúchyan*, *chór-áya-n*, according to *bódh-á-mi*, *tud-á-mi*, *śúch-yâ-mi*, *chór-áyâ-mi*. In the second conjugation (see §. 493.) the participle present is governed with respect to its accent by the heavy terminations, especially by that of the third person plural, and, in irregular verbs, participates also in the abbreviations, which the root experiences before heavy terminations: hence from *váśmi*, "I will," comes not *vášant*, but *uśánt*, "willing," according to the analogy of *úśmás*, *ushṭhá*, *uśánti*. The third class has, as well in the entire singular (with few exceptions) as in the third person plural and in the participle present, the accent on the syllable of reduplication; hence *dádâmi*, "I give," *dádati*, "they give" (see §. 459.), *dádat*, "the giving" (see §. 779. Note), the latter opposed to the Greek διδούς, τιθείς, while *dádâmi*, *dádhâmi*, agree with δίδωμι, τίθημι.

Remark. The principle of Sanscrit accentuation appears to me to be this, that the farther the accent is thrown back, the graver and more

werful the accent; and I believe I may assert the same principle in eek also; only that here, out of regard for the harmony and euphony the word, the accent in polysyllabic words cannot overstep the limit of e third syllable, while the Sanscrit places the accent on the first syllable, thout reference to the extent of the word, and contrasts *bárâmahê* th the Greek *φερόμεθα*. A very striking proof of the dignity and ergy of the accentuation of initial parts of words, and, at the same time, very remarkable point of agreement between Sanscrit and Greek ac-ntuation, is afforded by the circumstance, that both languages, in the clension of monosyllabic words in the strong cases (see §. 129.), which, ith respect to their accentuation, are, as it were, pointed out by the nius of the language as the most important, lay the accent on the base, it in the weak cases allow it to fall on the case termination. Here, owever, the accusative plural, though in respect to sound it belongs to e weak cases, yet passes, as regards accent, in most monosyllabic ords in Sanscrit, as in Greek, for a strong case *; which cannot surprise , as this case in the singular and dual belongs, in each respect, to the rong cases. Compare the declension of *vâch*, fem., "speech," "voice," ith the Greek *ὀπ* (from *Fοπ* for *Fοκ*, Latin, *voc*).

SINGULAR.				PLURAL.			
SANSCRIT.		GREEK.		SANSCRIT.		GREEK.	
N. V.	*vák*	N. V.	*ὄψ*	N. V.	*váchas*	N. V.	*ὄπες*
Acc.	*vácham*	Acc.	*ὄπα*	Acc.	*váchas*	Acc.	*ὄπας*
Instr.	*váchá*		. . .	Instr.	*vâgbhís*		. . .
Dat.	*váché*		. . .	D. Abl.	*vâgbhyás*		. . .
Gen. Abl.	*váchás*	Gen.	*ὀπ-ός*	Gen.	*váchám*	Gen.	*ὀπῶν*
Loc.	*váchí*	D.	*ὀπ-ί*	Loc.	*vákshú*	Dat.	*ὀψί*

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.			GREEK.	
N. A. V.	*váchâu*	Vêd. *váchâ*	N. A. V.	*ὄπε*
I. D. A.	*vâgbhyám*		D. G.	*ὀποῖν*
Gen. Loc.	*váchós.*			. . .

consider as a consequence of the emphasis, which lies in the accentua-ion of the beginning of a word, the circumstance that active verbs, to

* See the exceptions in Böhtlingk, "*A first attempt as to the Accent in Sanscrit*" (St. Petersburg, 1845), §. 14.

which the middle verbs also belong, in Sanscrit principally acc
first syllable, so that, therefore, the energy of the action is rep
by the energy of the accentuation; and I perceive an agreemen
Greek accentuation with the Sanscrit in this, that Greek verb
back the accent as far as possible. In dissyllabic and trisyllabi
therefore, the two languages usually agree most fully in their a
tion of verbs. Compare εἶμι with *émi*, δίδωμι with *dádâmi*, τίθ
dádhâmi, φέρομεν with *bhárâmas*, ἔφερον with *ábharam*. In
more than three syllables the Greek approaches the Sanscrit as cl
without a violation of the fundamental law of its system of a
tion, is possible; hence the already-mentioned φερόμεθα compa
bhárâmahê (from *-madhê*, see §. 472.), and also ἐφερόμεθα compa
ábharâmahi. A quite similar agreement, together with a sim
trast, appears between the Greek and Sanscrit accentuation in
which the Greek, in accordance with the Sanscrit principle, thro
the accent of the base word in the vocative.* This evidently ha
both languages, in order to give emphasis to the name of th
called, and to bring it prominently forward by the voice; and in
tive, in the three numbers of all words, the Sanscrit (where thi
specially accented) always accents the first syllable, however
word be, and wherever the accent may fall in the other cases.
nominatives *pitá*, *mátá*, *duhitá* (acc. *pitáram*, *mâtáram*, *duhitâr*
respond the vocatives *pítar*, *mátar*, *dúhitar*, with which the corre
Greek vocatives πάτερ, μῆτερ, θύγατερ—as compared with πατήρ
μήτηρ (for μητήρ), μητέρα, θυγάτηρ (for θυγατῆρ), θυγατέρα,—stan
prising agreement; and this is the more remarkable, as the words
affinity in our family of languages belong also, in another respect
expressions which have preserved the ancient stamp with as
fidelity. While, however, the Sanscrit also exhibits vocatives
vamitra, the Greek, owing to accentual limits prescribed to it,
shew such as Ἀγάμεμνον, which, however, does not prevent us
cognising, even in forms of this kind, the agreement of the G
Sanscrit vocative theory; and just as little, in my opinion, co
like φερόμεθα compared with *bhárâmahê* cause us to overlook th
of Greek and Sanscrit verbal accentuation. The principal p
Sanscrit first conjugation (see §. 493.) is formed by the first cl
comprehends almost one half of the whole number of roots, and

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* Compare Benfey in the "*Halle Journal of General Literat*
1845, p. 907.

with few exceptions, all the German strong verbs belong (see §. 109ª. 1.): these in the special tenses throughout accent the first syllable. The sixth class, which is properly only an offshoot of the first, and contains, as it were, the diseased members of that class (about 140 roots), has, with the Guna, put off also the accenting of the radical vowel, and accents instead the class vowel, only that the augment, as well in the imperfect as in the aorist in all classes of verbs, has the accent; hence, *tudâmi*, "*tundo*," *tudási*, "*tundis*," opposed to *bôdhâmi*, "*scio*," *bôdhási*, "*scis*." The passive accents its characteristic *ya*, and therefore the second syllable instead of the first, undoubtedly because in it the energy of self-exertion is lost: this is evident from the fact, that verbs of the fourth class, though their middle is literatim the same as the passive, nevertheless accent the first syllable; hence, *śúchyatê*, "*purificat*," opposed to *śuchyátê*, "*purificatur*." It is also of some importance for the support of my view of the meaning of Sanscrit accentuation, that when the passive is used as reflexive, the accent may be thrown back on the radical syllable, though only in roots terminating in a vowel, or which drop their final consonant. Desideratives and intensives, excepting the deponent of the latter, as is natural from the energy inherent in them, hold fast to the general principle of throwing back the accent as far as possible; hence *pípâsâmi*, "I wish to drink;" *bébhêdmi*, "I cleave" (intens.). As to the fact, however, that verbs of the tenth class, though they Gunise the radical syllable, still throw the accent on the second (*chórâyâmi*, "I steal," not *chórayámi*), we may suppose that these verbs feel themselves to be compounds, and in a measure determinatives; and as such, in accordance with the prevailing principle of compounds, accent the last member of the compound,* but the first syllable of it in order to comply with the fundamental rule of verbal accentuation. The same syllable, in my opinion, is accented in denominatives formed by *ya* for the same reason (*putríyáti*). I consider it as another consequence of the composition that the auxiliary future accents not the first syllable of the whole compound, but the auxiliary verb, whether it begins with the second or the third syllable of the whole expression; while the Greek, through all tenses, retains the fundamental principle of verbal accentuation; hence, δώσω, δώσομεν, compared with *dâsyámi*, *dâsyámas*, and forms like *tanishyámi* ("*extendam*"), *tanishyámas*. So in Sanscrit the auxiliary verb, which is added in the potential (optative) and precative (aorist of the potential=optative), viz. the syllable *yâ*, draws the accent upon itself; hence, *dadyât*, "*det*" (διδοίη), precative

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* See Aufrecht "*De Accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum*," p. 5.

dêyât (δοίη), *bhûyâma*, "*simus.*"* On the other hand, in cases where the modal element coalesces with the preceding class vowel into a diphthong, the accent remains on the same syllable as is accented in the indicative; thus, *bhárês*, *bhárêt*, *bhárêma*=φέροις, φέροι, φέροιμεν: on the other hand, *tudês*, *tudêt*, &c., according to the analogy of *tudási*, *tudáti*. The analogy of the sixth class is followed by the potentials of the aorist of the sixth formation peculiar to the Vêda dialect; hence, *śakéma*, "*possimus.*"

In the six classes of verbs belonging to the Sanscrit second conjugation (see §. 493.), as also in the perfect of all verbs, the heavy personal terminations exercise a similar influence on the attraction of the accent to that manifested in Greek in all classes of words by the length of the final syllable, only that the heavy personal terminations in Sanscrit not only attract the accent, but appropriate it, and, if dissyllabic, to their first syllable. In this way *émi* (=εἶμι), *dádâmi* (=δίδωμι), *jáhâmi*, "abandon," are in the plural *imás*, *dadmás* (for *dadâmás*, middle *dadmáhi*,† *jahímás*. In the fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth class, as also in the perfect, the Guna syllable, or the heavier class affix or insertion, exercises an influence in throwing back the accent; hence, *chinómi*, "I collect" (plural *chinumás*); *yunájmi*, "I bind" (plural *yuñjmás*); *tanómi*, "I extend" (plural *tanumás*); *yunámi*, "I bind" (plural *yunímás*); *tutóda*, "I did thrust" (plural *tutudimá*), instead of the forms *chínómi*, *yúnajmi*, &c., which, according to the fundamental principle of verbal accentuation, would be looked for. The heavy suffix of the participle present (*nt*, *ant*), the *a* of which, just like that of the third person plural, is viewed, with respect to the accentuation, as an essential portion of the termination, or of the suffix, follows, in the just-mentioned verbal classes, the analogy of the heavy personal terminations, especially that of the third person plural; but in the weak cases (with the exception of verbs of the third class) allows the accent to fall down to the case termination; and the feminine *î*, in case the suffix loses its *n*, follows the analogy of the weakest cases. The same principle is followed by the participle present of the sixth class.

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* Sâma Vêd. II. 6. 2. 16. 2. Remark the dropping of the *s* of the common dialect (*bhâyâsma*), as in Zend, see §. 701.

† Reduplicated roots accent only those heavy terminations which begin with a consonant, and accord to those commencing with a vowel no influence in casting back the accent. The vowel *a*, which precedes *n* in the third person plural, holds as regards the accentuation as belonging to the personal termination. Hence *yânti*, "they go," compared with *íti*; but *dádati*, "they give" (see §. 459.) not *dadáti*, like *dádâti*, "he gives."

nnex the nominative, accusative, and genitive singular masculine (the ater also of the genitive), and the feminine nominative in *î*: *dvishán*, *ishántam*, *dvishatás*, *dvishatí*; *dádat*, *dádatam*, *dádatas*, *dádatî*; *yuñ-*, *yuñjántam*, *yuñjatás*, *yuñjatí*; *chinván*, *chinvántam*, *chinvatás*, *invatí*; *tanván*, *tanvántam*, *tanvatás*, *tanvatí*; *yunán*, *yunántam*, *yu-tás yunatí*; *tundán*, *tundántam*, *tundatás*, *tundántí*.—As in Greek, par-iples present active of the conjugation in *μι*, in agreement with the pre-iling principle in the corresponding Sanscrit conjugation, accent the wel which precedes the *ν*, instead of the first of the base-word, and *ορνύς*, *στορνύντα*, *στορνύντε*, *στορνύντες*, stand for comparison with the nscrit *stṛiṇván*, *stṛiṇvántam*, *stṛiṇvántâ* (in the Vêda dialect) *stṛiṇvántas*, might be conjectured that originally the heavy personal terminations, they exercise (see §. 480.), as in Sanscrit, a shortening influence on the eceding syllable, have also, in like manner, attracted to themselves the cent. Then the Doric forms *διδόντι*, *τιθέντι*, *ἱστάντι*, *δεικνύντι*, might regarded as remnants of an older system of accentuation. In the op-site case, we must look upon Sanscrit forms like *stṛiṇumás*, compared ith the Greek *στόρνυμεν*, as the consequence of an influence upon the centuation exercised by the heavy personal terminations, and first ac-rded to them by the genius of the language after the separation of lan-uages. I have no doubt that forms like *stṛiṇómi* (from *starṇómi*= τόρνῡμι), *yunájmi*, through the influence of the weight of the second llable, first, after the separation of languages, transferred the accent from e first to the second syllable. This takes place also in some verbs of e third class, which we find, therefore, in this respect, as it were, in e period of transition from the original system of accentuation to that ore recent, in which, in the second principal conjugation, the weight, f the second syllable has made its influence on the accentuation effectual. lowever, in the Vêda dialect, in those roots also which admit the accen-uation of the radical syllable, the accenting of the syllable of reduplica-ion seems principally to prevail. Benfey (*Glossary to the Sâma-Véda*, . 139.) cites from *bhar*, *bṛi*, Class 3, the forms *bíbharshi*, "*fers*," *bíbhratḗ*, '*ferenti*," *bíbhratî*, "*ferentes*," (as Vêda pl. fem. for *bíbhratyas*), opposed o *bibhárti*, "*fert*."*

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* We must not infer from *bibhárti*, and similar forms, that *ar* is really the Guna of *ṛi*: it is natural, however, that in parts of grammar where vowels capable of Guna receive it, that those verbs which admit of weakening should preserve the full form of the root, as *vaś*, "to will," becomes contracted to *uś* only in places which do not allow of Guna; hence,

A strong proof of the emphasis of the accentuation of the beginning of words (in Sanscrit always of the first syllable) is afforded in Sanscrit and Greek by the suffixing of the degrees of comparison, इयांस् *iyâns* (in the weak cases *iyas*), ιον, इष्ठ *ishṭha*, ιστο, which, where they are added, always require the accent to be thrown back as far as possible. Thus, in Sanscrit, from *svâdú*, "sweet"=ἡδύ, comes the comparative *svâdîyâns*, nominative masc. *svâdîyân*, and the superlative *svádishṭha-s*. To the latter corresponds the Greek ἥδιστο-ς, and to the nominative and accusative neuter of the comparative *svâdîyas* the Greek ἥδιον; while ἡδίων, ἡδίονος, for well-known reasons, do not exhibit an agreement of accentuation with *svâdîyân*, *svádîyasas*. The Greek degrees of comparison in τερο, τατο, follow essentially the same principle, *i. e.* they throw the accent as far back as possible, by which, however, only the syllable preceding the suffix is reached, so that the accent is often necessarily transferred from the beginning to the middle of a word, as in βεβαιότερος, βεβαιότατος, compared with βέβαιος. In Sanscrit, on the other hand, the degree suffixes, corresponding to the Greek τερο, τατο, exercise no influence at all on the accent; and the positive base retains the accent on the base in whatever part of the word soever the same may occur; thus the

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hence, *úsmás*, "we will," opposed to *vásmi*, "I will" (Comp. Vocalismus, p. 158). When Benfey, who, in the "*Halle Journal of General Literature*" (May 1845, p. 944) contrasts the Greek ὄρνυμι with the Sanscrit *ṛiṇómi*, remarks, that in Greek *ṛi* is Gunised, because it is accented, and that *a* is for the same reason Gunised in Sanscrit, I cannot assent to him in either point. In the first place, I recognise in forms like ὄρνυμι, στόρνυμι (the latter= *stṛiṇómi*), no Guna, but only the discontinuance of the abbreviation of *ar* to *ṛi*, which was admitted in Sanscrit, just as in τρίτος compared with the Sanscrit *tṛitîyas* (Latin *tertius*, transposed from *tretius*, for *tritius*), the abbreviation of the syllable *ṛi* has ceased. In the second place, I cannot admit that forms like *ṛiṇómi*, *stṛiṇómi*, have, for this reason, Gunised the second syllable because it is accented; for if the accent occasioned the Guna, we should also expect for *bíbharshi* and *vivakti* (in the Vêda dialect), *bêbharshi*, *vévakti*, and for desideratives like *pípâsâmi*, *pépâsâmi*. To me, therefore, the principle set forth above, viz. that the accenting of the first syllable belongs to the verb, but that heavy syllables have often destroyed the original accentuation, and appropriated the accent to themselves, appears far more natural. The Greek replaces the Guna of *ṛiṇómi*, *stṛiṇómi*, by the lengthening of the vowel (στόρνῡμι opposed to στόρνῠμεν), but nevertheless preserves the original accentuation.

arative and superlative of *mahát* (in the strong cases *mahânt*) are in ominative masculine *maháttaras*, *maháttamas*; and the superlative ishan, "liberal," "giving freely" (in the Vêda dialect), *vṛishantama-s*, ive *vṛishantamasya* (Rig. V. I. 10. 10.). The reason that *tara* and , in Sanscrit, exercise no influence on the accentuation lies, in my on, in this, that these suffixes are rather enclitic in their nature, have not grown up so inwardly united with the principal word, e other more rare suffixes of comparison; as appears, also, from circumstance that the feminine accusative *tarâm*, *tamâm*, may dded to verbs adverbially also; *e.g. vádatitamâm*, "he speaks much."

consequence of the emphasis which lies in accenting the beginning word is this, that abstract substantives, which frequently are merely sifications of adjectives, affect, in Sanscrit and in Greek, this kind of nt. Thus the suffix *as*, in Sanscrit, is used especially in forming abts, and requires an accent on the first syllable of the word; as in *yáśasu*, ry," compared with *yaśás*, "glorious" (the latter only in the Vêda ct, see Benfey's Glossary), whence the comparative *yaśástara-s*, rlative *yaśástama-s*; thus, *ápas*, nominative "activity," "work," ering" (Latin *opus*), compared with *apás* masculine "the active," e warrior," "the sacrificer." As to Sanscrit neutral bases in *as* cor-ond the Greek in *os*, *es*, *e(σ)-os* (see §. 128.), Benfey draws our notice, gards the paroxytone accent of the abstracts spoken of, and the oxy- accent of the adjectives, to the relation of the Greek *ἄγος* to *ἀγής*. ay also be observed, that Greek bases in *os*, *es*, when they form pos-ive compounds in combination with preceding words, usually throw accent on the suffix, while other compounds of this kind accent first member of the compound, or, at least, throw back the accent ar as possible; thus *εὐρυσθενής*, *μεγαλοσθενής*, *μεγαθαρσής*, *δυσκλεής*, *ενής*, compared with forms like *μεγάθυμος*, *μεγάδωρος*, *μεγαλόδωρος*, *μεδόξος*, *αἰολόμορφος*, *αἰολόπεπλος*, *αἰολοχαίτης*.

786. The suffix of the participle of the reduplicated preite or perfect (see §. 588.) is, in Sanscrit, in the paraâipadam or active (see §. 426.), according to the difference of case, *vâṅs*, *vat*, and *ush*, and in all these forms, cording to the analogy of the heavy terminations of the dicative (see p. 1057), has the accent. Indian Gramarians, however, consider *vás* as the true form of the ffix, though it does not appear in this form in a single

case, but the strong cases spring from *vâṅs**, the middle from *vát*, and the weakest from *úsh* (euphonic for *us*). From *úsh* comes also the feminine theme *úshî*, to which the Lithuanian *usi* is an admirable counterpart; hence *degusi*, "the having burned" = Sanscrit *dêhúshî*, for *dadahushî* (see §. 605.). The oblique cases of the Lithuanian feminine participle spring, for the most part, from an extended base *usia*; hence the genitive singular *degusiô-s*, as *rankô-s*, from *rankâ*, "hand." Compare herewith the Greek *υια* of *τετυφυῖα*, which has been already elsewhere compared with the Sanscrit *tutupúshî*.†

787. With the weakest form of the Sanscrit participial suffix above mentioned are connected also, in Lithuanian, the oblique cases of the masculine, but with the same unorganic affix of *ia*, which, too, the participle present has retained; thus, genitive *degusio* (as *wilko* from *wilka-s*) corresponding to the Sanscrit *dêhúsh-as*, dative *deg-usia-mi*‡, accusative *deg-usi-ṅ* for *deg-usia-ṅ*. The nominative *degęs* is based on the Sanscrit strong theme *dêh-i-vâṅs* (*i* as conjunctive vowel); but the *s* of the Lithuanian form scarcely belongs to the base, but is the sign of case, and extends, as in

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* The vocative singular, which in general disclaims long vowels (see §. 205.), shortens the long *â*; hence, *van* compared with the nominative *vân*, since anusvâra (*ṅ*) after the *s* is dropped (see §. 9.) becomes *n*. I am not inclined with Böhtlingk (Decl. p. 10) to represent *vaṅs* as the original form of the suffix; for if, as we ought to be, we are guided by the strong cases, which in general, where different modifications of the theme occur, have preserved the original form, we must then take *vâṅs* to be the ancient form, and allow that the vocative, as is its wont, has shortened the vowel, which perhaps is only a consequence of the emphasizing the beginning of the word in the vocative by accenting it. Böhtlingk also, in his zeal for the vocative, represents *îyaṅs* as the theme of the comparative suffix *îyáṅs*, *îyas* (see §. 298.), the long *â* of which, in Latin, takes the form of *ô* in all the oblique cases.

† "*On the Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words*," p. 4.

‡ According to the analogy of the adjective declension, see § 281.

ıe participle present, to the vocative also; while the San-
:rit, as it cannot bear two consonants at the end of a word
ee §. 94.), in both cases abandons both the nominative
gn and the final consonant of the base; thus, nominative
h-i-vân, vocative *dêh-i-van*, corresponding to the Lithua-
an *deg-eńs*.* The Zend, on the contrary, has retained

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* In the Old Prussian Catechism there occur two perfect participles
wuns very deserving of notice, viz. *klaṇtîwuns*, "having cursed," and
urrawcuns, "having murmured," which stand nearer to the Sanscrit
ńs than any other European kindred form. The *u* of *wuns*, as also that
the common form *uns* (after consonants also *ons*, and sometimes *ans*), is
idently, like the *e* of the Lithuanian *eńs*, a weakening of *a*, originally
: as in *widdewu*, "widow"=Sanscrit *vidhavâ*, Latin *vidua*, and some
nilar feminine nominatives. The *u* of the plural *-usis*, accusative *usins*,
d of the accusative singular *usin*, is, on the other hand, organic, and
entical with the Sanscrit *u* of the base of the weakest case and of the
minine, as also with that of the corresponding forms in Lithuanian.
esselmann ("*The Language of the Old Prussians*," p. 64) represents the
rticiples in *uns* (*ons, ans, wuns*) as indeclinable, and takes *usis* as an
dependent form with declinable terminations. I, however, consider
ıns, uns, ons, ans, as the singular nominative masculine, with *s* as the sign
case, as in Lithuanian *eins*. This participle seldom requires declension,
it is principally used for a periphrasis of the perfect indicative, and thus
:curs in the nominative relation; *e.g.*, *asmai murrawuns bhe klantî-*
ıns, "I have murmured and cursed" (literally, "I am the person
aving murmured and cursed"). The nominative singular usually takes
ıe place of the plural, as also in Lithuanian the present and perfect par-
ciples have lost the termination of the plural nominative, and in this
ase only have rejected the *s* of the nominative singular: hence, from
ukris, "having turned," comes the plural *suken*. Where, however, in
)ld Prussian, the plural relation of the participle perfect is really ex-
ressed, it ends in *usis*, probably from a lengthened base in *usi* (compare
§. 780.); so that *i-s* of the Lithuanian plural termination corresponds to
the *y-s* of bases in *i* (*awy-s*, "sheep," from the base *awi*). The examples
occurring in the Old Prussian Catechism may be found in Nesselmann,
p. 31, n. 84.: *madliti, tyt wîrstai ious immusis; laukyti, tyt wîrstai ious*
ıspalhusis, "ask, and ye shall receive (be having received); seek, and ye
shall find (be having found)." The future, which is wanting in Old Prus-
sian,

the nominative sign in its participles; as, 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *dadh-vâo*, "having made," *vîd-vâo*, "knowing" (εἰδώς), which it has also done in the participle present, a point in which it is superior to the Sanscrit, and agrees with the Lithuanian, Latin, and Gothic; for from वान् *vân* is formed in Zend, not 𐬛𐬀𐬌 *vâo*, but 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯 *vain*. It is clear, however, that the *o* of *vâo* does not represent the *s* of the theme of the strong cases, as the suffix *vant* also, in the nominative, forms *vâo* (compare Burnouf Yaçna, Note R. p. 128). In the accusative, 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬴𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀 *dadhvâonhĕm* corresponds to the Sanscrit *dadh-i-vánsam*; in the weakest cases, and before the feminine character *î*, the Zend suffix is contracted, like the Sanscrit suffix, to *ush**; hence, in the genitive 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬹 *dathushô* (Vend. S. p. 3. for *dadhushô*, see p. 965.

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sian, is always periphrastically expressed by the auxiliary verb signifying "to be," with the participle perfect; hence, p. 12, n. 15., *pergûbons wyrd*, "he is come" (is the person having come). The oblique cases of the perfect participle, from being little required, seldom occur, and spring likewise from the theme increased by *i*, while the Lithuanian adds *ia* to the base. The only instances that occur are, *au-lau-ûsi-ns*, "the slain" (*mortuos*, for which, also, *aulausins* and *aulauwussens*), and *ainan-gimn-usi-n*, "to those born in" (the place), the latter with passive signification, which, except in the root *gem*, *gim*, does not occur in this participle. If we should not admit a nominative plural in *usis*, the above-mentioned forms might then be taken as singular nominatives, with a plural signification. The circumstance, however, that the real and frequently-occurring singular nominative always terminates in *us*, and that, too, the participle present leaves the old base (in *nt*) in the nominative singular unlengthened, and in the other cases lengthened only by *i*, is much opposed to this view.— The single feminine form of this participle which occurs deserves mention; viz. the nominative singular *aulausé*, "*mortua*," for *aulauusé*, as above *aulau-sins* together with *aulauusins*. The final *ê* corresponds, therefore, to the Sanscrit *î* and Lithuanian *i* of feminine forms in *ushí*, *usi*.

* The lithographed Codex of the Vendidad Sadé has, almost in all places, 𐬱 *s* for 𐬰 *sh*: I, however, agree with Burnouf in reading 𐬰 *sh* as probably the sole correct reading.

ote*); in the dative 𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬨𐬌𐬱 *vîdushê*, "to the knowing" c. p. 214.)=विदुषे *vidúshê* (εἰδότι); in the genitive plural 𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬨𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬙 *irîrithushanm*, "of the dead" (l. c. p. 101); in e genitive singular feminine 𐬜𐬀𐬑𐬹𐬨𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬨𐬌𐬱𐬀 *jaghmûshyâo* c. p. 91. twice, and 304. twice)*=Sanscrit *jagmushyâs*, om *gam*, "to go"; in the accusative feminine 𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬨𐬌𐬱𐬆 *hushîm*=Sanscrit *vidúshîm*, from *vid*, "to know" (l. c. p. 469).

788. With the contracted form उष् *ush* of the suffix here oken of is connected a word which appears in Gothic a solitary remnant of an obsolete participial gender, d corresponds in a remarkable manner with Sanscrit rms like *dêhúsh* (theme of the weakest cases) from *dah*; mean, *bêrusyôs*, "the parents," occuring only in the minative plural masculine, and which, I have no doubt, operly signifies "the having given birth to;" and, with spect to its radical vowel, corresponds to the polysyllabic rms of the preterite of *baira* (*bar*, plural *bêrum*, conjugaonal singular *bêr-yan*, plural *bêr-ei-ma* (see §. 605.). The eme is *bêrusya*, which corresponds in its unorganic affix to the above-mentioned (§. 787.) Lithuanian *ia*; *e. g.* *deg-usia*, dative *deg-usia-m*. The nominative singular, cording to §. 135. would be *bêr-useis*, and the accusative rusi, the latter like the Lithuanian *degusi-n*.

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* With regard to the long *û* of *jaghmûshyâo*, let it be noticed that the ilant is here followed by a semi-vowel, since, as it appears, a lengthening of the *u*, which is, in Sanscrit, always short, occurs especially before o consonants; hence, also, Vendidad Sadé, p. 515, 𐬜𐬀𐬑𐬹𐬨𐬌𐬌𐬎𐬨𐬌𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬀 *ghmûštĕmô* (with 𐬌 *š* for 𐬱 *s*), a superlative formed from the weakest eme; and p. 525, *dadûschbîs*, an interesting form; whence it is clear at in Zend also the middle cases (see §. 130.) of this participle spring om the weakest theme. There occurs, however, a long *û* in *pipyûshîm*, ithout the occasion of two following consonants, as also in its negative pipyûshîm (Vend. S. p. 429), from *pê*, "to drink," with a causal meaning ("the having sucked"). Perhaps the circumstance that two consonants precede has its influence.

789. To the form *vát*, whence come in Sanscrit the middle cases of the perfect participle*, belongs the Greek *ότ*, which has preserved the ancient accent (see §. 756.); but after losing the digamma, which is generally lost in the middle of words, in case it does not assimilate with a preceding consonant (see *τέσσαρες*, §. 312.), as, for instance, also in the suffix *εντ* = Sanscrit *vant* (of the strong cases): thus, the same relation that *ἀμπελό(ϝ)εντ* has to Sanscrit forms like *dhúna-vant* ("endowed with riches," see §. 20.), *τετυφ-(ϝ)ότ* has to *tutupvát*, to which, as nominative, accusative, and vocative, in Greek, *τετυφός* corresponds (see §. 152.). To the plural locative *tutup-vát-su* corresponds the Greek dative *τετυφ-ό(τ)-σι*. Mention has already been made of the feminine form in *υῖα*, as abbreviation of *υσια*, and of the affinity, as regards formation, of *τετυφυῖα* with the Sanscrit *tutupúshî* (see §. 786.). The Latin, perhaps, in *secûri-s* presents a remnant of these feminine participles in *ushî* (euphonic for *usi*), and the proper translation, therefore, is, perhaps, "the cutting" (instead of "the having cut"), the *u* being lengthened, and the sibilant being changed between two vowels into *r*.† As several participial suffixes are often used also in the formation of derivative words, there is, therefore, ground for comparing the suffix *ôsu* in words like *lapid-ôsus*, *lumin-ôsus*, *fructu-ôsus*, *form'-ôsus*, *pisc'-ôsus*, with the Sanscrit *râñs* of the strong cases, to which it has nearly the same relation that the comparative suffix *iôr* has to ईयांस् *íyâñs* (see §. 298.),

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* See §. 130., where it must be also noticed that the nominative, accusative, and vocative singular of neuters in the threefold theme gradation always are connected with the middle form.

† See §. 22. In the Vêda dialect there are abstract substantives in *ushí*, with the accent on the radical syllable (see p. 1059); as, *tápushí*, "ire" (properly, "the burning"), from *tap*, "to burn;" *tárushí*, "strife," from *tar* (*tṛi* तॄ), "to overstep."

ly that the original sibilant is retained, though the *v* is
t, just as in *sopio* = *svapimi*; *soro*, *sorôrem* = *svasâr*,
sâram; *sol* = *svar*, "heaven" (from *sur*, and this from
r, "to shine"), Zend *hvarĕ*, "the sun." With respect
the prolongation of the suffix by a vowel affix, compare
relation of the suffix *tûru* to *tôr*, Sanscrit *târ* (see
647.).

790. In Old Sclavonic the gerundive preterite corresponds
the participle here spoken of, as is most clearly apparent
the feminine singular form, in which, in verbal bases
ling in a vowel, **въши** *vshi* corresponds to the Sanscrit-
nd *ushî*, and Lithuanian *usi*. Compare **вывъши** *by-vshi*,
aving been" (feminine) with the Sanscrit बभूवुषी *babhûv-*
i, and Lithuanian *buw-usi*. In the nominative plural
sculine (used also for the feminine), **въше** *vshe*—with *e*
the termination of case = Sanscrit *as*, Greek ες—answers
the Sanscrit *vânsas*, and therefore **вывше** *by-vshe* to
bhû-vânsas; on the other hand, in the singular the sibi-
t is lost in the nominative masculine; thus, **вывъ** *by-v*
responding to the Sanscrit *babhû-vân* and Lithuanian
w-eńs (see §. 787.), where it must be observed that gene-
lly the Sclavonic has lost the original final consonant, so
t the *s* also of the Lithuanian *buw-eńs* belongs not to
e suffix, but to the case sign. After consonants the *v*
the gerundive suffix is suppressed; hence, *e.g.*, **несъ** *nes*,
aving carried" (for *nes-v*), plural **несъше** *nesshe* (for
свъше *nesvshe*), feminine singular **несъши** *nesshi* (for
s-vshi).

Remark. In the Sclavonic that tense of the indicative is wanting
ence the past participle or gerundive has proceeded: on the other
nd, I am now of opinion that the Lithuanian perfect (also aorist), which
ormerly compared with the Sanscrit first augmented preterite (Greek
perfect), must be compared with the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite,
reek perfect and Gothic preterite of the strong conjugation. I assume,
erefore, that in *buwau*, "I was," or "I have been," instead of the

augment, the syllable of reduplication is dropped, as in Gothic preterites like *baug*, "I bent," *bugum*, "we bent"=Sanscrit *bubhójа*, *bubhujimá*; and I compare it with the Sanscrit *babhúva*, to which, with regard to its medial *u*, it corresponds better than to the imperfect *ábhavam*. *Buvau* does indeed closely resemble also the Sanscrit aorist *ábhûvam*, but in the third person *buv-o* answers better to *babhûv-a* than to *ábhût*; and in both the plural numbers the forms given above (p. 762) answer better to *babhûv-i-vá* (from *-a-va*) *babhûv-a-thús* (from *-thas*), *babhûv-i-má* (from *-a-ma*), *babhûv-a-(ta)*, than to *ábhûtam*, *ábhû-ma*, *ábhû-ta*. The conjecture that the Lithuanian perfect belongs to the universal tenses, and not to the imperfect, is also confirmed by the consideration that the imperfect in Sanscrit and Greek always takes part in the base of the present, *i.e.* in the class peculiarities, while the Lithuanian preterite, which is called perfect, does not; hence the perfect of *gáu-nu*, "I am acquainted with," which corresponds to Greek verbs like δάκ-νω, Latin like *ster-no* (see p. 718), is not *gau-nau*, but *gaw-aù* (future *gáu-su*). In the perfect, too, *t* or *st* of the present base is dropped, which formerly, when we sought to compare this tense with the Sanscrit-Greek imperfect, appeared a difficulty (see §. 498.). As to the circumstance that the *y* or *i* (see p. 722) compared with the Sanscrit fourth class is retained in the perfect, and that from *liepyu*, "I order," comes the perfect *liepyau* (future *liepsu*); from *traukiu*, "I draw," the perfect *traukiau* (future *trauk-su*), this may be explained from the near resemblance in form of the fourth class to the tenth, in which the retention of the *y* or *i* in the universal tenses is regular. In general the perfect loves a *y*, and often adds one in verbs which do not exhibit one either in the present or in any other tense; as from *dûmi* (for *dûdmi*), or *dûdu*, "I give," comes *daw-yau* (future *dû-su*); from *demi* (for *dedmi*), "I lay," *dẽ-yau* (future *dẽ-su*=*dhâ-syâmi*, *θή-σω*)*; from *eimi*, or *einu*, "I go," *ẽyau* (future *ei-su*=Sanscrit *é-shyámi*). In every case the form of the participle may be safely inferred from that of the perfect indicative; but when the *y* of the first person singular indicative disappears in the other persons, it is lost in the participle also; thus, from *daw-yau*, second person *daw-ei*, participle *daw-ens*, feminine *daw-usi*; but from *dẽyau*, second person *dẽyei*, participle *dẽy-ens*, feminine *dẽy-usi*; from *ẽyau*, "*ivi*," second person *ẽyei*, participle *ẽy-ens*, feminine *ẽy-usi*. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that as

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* If the Lithuanian perfect belonged to the Sanscrit-Greek imperfect, then the perfect of *dûdu* and *dedu* would most probably be *dûdau*, *dedau* =Sanscrit *ádadâm*, *adadhâm*, Greek ἐδίδων, ἐτίθην.

articiple is based on the Sanscrit in *vâńs*, feminine *ushî*, so the pre- indicative, which is most intimately connected with it, must also nnected with the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite and its European ed forms. The Old Prussian simple preterite also, which in signi- on usually appears as aorist, appears to me to be a sister form of the rit reduplicated preterite, with the loss of the reduplication: hence, "he gave," for *da**=Sanscrit *dadâu*, for *dadâ*. The present *dast*, *dad-t*, is, on the other hand, like the Lithuanian *dûs-ti*, a redupli- form (see p. 661). The *ts* which often terminates the third person lar preterite; as in *daits*, "he gave," a form used together with *immats*, "he took," with *imma*; *billats*, "he spoke," with *billa*: *s* I regard as an appended pronoun, and abbreviated for *tas* (compare anian *tas*, "that," and the Sanscrit base *ta*, "he," "this," "that"). t be observed, that in general bases in *a* for the most part suppress owel before the nominative sign *s*; hence, *deiws*, "God"=Lithua- *diewa-s*, Sanscrit *dêva-s* (see Nesselmann, p. 49). That the *ts* n of is not characteristic of the preterite is clear from this, that it occurs sometimes in the present; for example, in *astits*, "he is,"† *o-quoitêts*, "he desires." The former occurs twice, and once in the of the conjunctive: Nesselmann, p. 23, n. 51, *nostan kai tans sparts* , "on which he may have power." Here, therefore, the idea "he" ee times expressed, once by *tans*, then by the ancient personal ter- tion *ti*, of the meaning of which the language is no longer conscious, lastly by the appended *ts*. This *ts*, however, can scarcely be tted in reference to feminines: there are no neuter substantives in Prussian; and in one place, where *astits* appears to mean "he is," it to the masculine *unds*, "water" (Nesselmann, p. 17): *adder sen u wirdan Deiwas astits ainâ Crixtisnâ*, "but with the word of God aptism." Here, therefore, the appended pronoun, as the subject of roposition, is correctly in its place.

91. The middle and passive participles in Sanscrit, in

Ai frequently stands in Old Prussian for *a*; as in the nominative lar feminine, where both *a* and *ai* correspond to the Sanscrit *â*, see elmann, p. 48; and compare *quai*, "which?" with the Sanscrit *kâ*, anian *ka*, and Latin *quae*; so *stai* (also *stâ*), "this," "the"=Li- nian *ta*.

Compare Sanscrit *asti*, Lithuanian *esti*, the *i* of which in Old Prus- is contained only in this compound (simply *ast*)

so far as they attach themselves to any tense of the indicative, have the suffix *mâna* or *âna*. I consider the latter to be an abbreviation of the former, as it is represented in Greek, just like *mâna*, by *μενο*: nor is it probable that the Sanscrit should have originally appropriated to the participle present of the middle voice two suffixes which resemble one another so closely as *mâna* and *âna;* and which, in use, are so distributed, that the former belongs exclusively to the first principal conjugation—only with the exception, that the tenth class, probably on account of its greater fulness of form, admits also *âna*—while the latter is fixed in the second conjugation; and, moreover, in the perfect, to which, as it appears to me, on account of its incumbrance with the syllable of reduplication, the shorter form is more agreeable, where we must remark, that in the present participle active also the reduplication has an influence on the weakening of the participial suffix (see §. 779. Note). The auxiliary future has everywhere preserved the complete suffix *mâna;* hence, *dâ-syâ-mâ-na-s*, both middle and passive = *δω-σό-μενος*. With this agrees the Lithuanian *dů-se-ma-s* (feminine *-ma*), "*qui dabitur*," since in Lithuanian the said participial suffix has been abbreviated to *ma*, which nevertheless does not cause us to overlook its connection with the Sanscrit *mâna* and Greek *μενο*. In the participle present *dů̊d-a-ma-s*, "*qui datur*," corresponds to the Greek *διδό-μενος*, and Sanscrit *dádh-âna-s* (for *dadh-mâ-nas*, and this for *dadâ-mâna-s*): the latter, however, is middle only, and the passive participle is दीयमानस् *dî-yá-mâna-s*.* The Old Prussian, which approaches the Lithuanian very closely, has, in one of the two examples of the said participle which remain to us in the translation of Luther's Catechism, preserved the origi-

* Several roots in *â* (among them *dâ*) weaken this vowel before the passive character *ya* to *î*.

nal form of the suffix with astonishing fidelity, it may be said, in its perfect Sanscrit form, unless, perhaps, the *a* of the first syllable be short. The example I mean is, *po-klaus-i-mana-s*, "heard," or rather "being heard," *ἀκουόμενος*:* in form, however, *ὑποκλυόμενος* would be the corresponding word, as *klaus* or *klus* is the Prussian form of the Greek root *κλυ* (Sanscrit *śru*, from (*kru*), and *po* corresponds to the Greek *ὑπό*, Sanscrit *úpa*. Besides *poklausímanas*, the Prussian Catechism presents one more form, which, with respect to its suffix, evidently belongs, in like manner, to the participle passive present; viz. *eni-m-u-mne*, "agreeable," properly "becoming accepted," as the participle perfect passive also signifies both "accepted" and "acceptable."†

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* The participle present passive suits the passage where the expression occurs better than the perfect participle (Nesselmann, p. 16), *stawîdas madlas ast steismu tâwan en dangon enimmewingi bhe poklausîmanas*, "such prayer is acceptable to and becoming heard (=is heard) by the Lord in heaven."

† Nesselmann (p. 104) takes *enimumne* to be a typographical error, though he gives no reason for this opinion. The termination *mne* does not appear to me doubtful: the internal vowel is omitted, as in the Latin *al-u-mnus*, *Vert-u-mnus* (§. 478.), and as in the Zend forms *bar-a-mnĕm*, *vaz-a-mnĕm*, of which hereafter. So in Old Prussian, from *kermen-s*, "body," comes the accusative *kermnem* (also *kermenen* and *kermenan*). This *kermens* for *kermenas* is, according to its formation, probably, in like manner, a passive participle; so that, properly, its meaning is equivalent to "created," "made" (Sanscrit *karômi*, "I make," compare Latin *creo*, *creatura*). Pott refers the Latin *corpus*, and Zend *kĕrĕf-s* (accusative *kĕkrpĕm*, to the root *klṛip*, *kalp*; which, however, is itself connected with *kar* (*kṛi*), as Pott also assumes (see my *Sanscrit Glossary*, *a.* 1847, p. 84). As regards the final *e* of *enimumne*, it is either an adverbial or a neuter termination. The passage wherein the expression occurs requires properly the nominative singular neuter (Nesselmann, p. 24, n. 56, *sta ast labban bhe dygi enimumne prîki Deiwan nousesmu pogâlbenikan*, "this is good and acceptable before God our Saviour"), as *labban* also is really a neuter,

792. With respect to accent in Sanscrit, the participles, middle and passive, in *mâna, âna,* follow the same principle as the active participles (see p. 1057), *i.e.* they are governed by the accent of the corresponding tense in the indicative; so that the suffix receives the accent only in cases in which the indicative has it on the personal termination, which happens in the heavy terminations of the present of the second principal conjugation (with the exception of the third class, see p. 1056) and of the perfect of all verbs. The Greek corresponds, in forms like τετυμ-μένος (opposed to τυπτόμενος), to the accentuation of the Sanscrit cognate forms, only that the latter have the accent on the final syllable of the suffix, so that *tutup-ânás* corresponds to the Greek τετυμ-μένος.*

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neuter, according to the analogy of Sanscrit neuters in *am* (see §. 152). If, however, *enimumne* is a neuter, in that case the *e* stands, as frequently happens in Old Prussian, for *a*, and the case-sign is suppressed, as in the pronominal neuters, *sta*, "this," *ka*, "what" (accusative *ka* and *kan*), and in Lithuanian neuters, as *géra*, "*bonum*" (§. 135.). If, however, there is a typographical error in this word, which is an isolated one of its kind, we might perhaps conjecture *enimumnem*=*mnan*. As regards the vowel *u*, it is probably like the Latin *u* of *al-u-mnus, Vert-u-mnus*—for which we might have expected *al-i-m(i)nus, Vert-i-m(i)nus*—the corruption of an original *a*, and corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* of the first and sixth class (§. 109ª. 1.).

* At the time when the Sanscrit suffix *âna* had not yet lost its *n*, it will probably have had, like the Greek *-μένος* of τετυμ-μένος, the accent on the first syllable; for that the circumstance of the suffix beginning with a consonant or a vowel may have an influence on the accentuation is clear from this, that the verbs of the third class in the present indicative have the accent only on those heavy terminations which begin with a consonant, while in cases where the heavy termination begins with a vowel, the syllable of repetition is accented (see p. 1088): hence, *bibhṛi-váhê*, "we two carry" (Mid.), but second person *bibhr-âthê*, third person *bíbhr-âtê*, so also in the participle present middle *bíbr-âṇa*, not *bibhr-âṇá*: it is highly probable, however, that *bibhri-mâṇá* would be said if the *m* of the suffix were retained.

793. In Old Sclavonic the participial suffix in question as experienced the same abbreviation as in Lithuanian: is in the nominative masculine мъ *m'*, feminine ма *ma*, euter мо *mo*, and, as in Lithuanian, has only a passive gnification, but occurs only in the present. Compare ѣзомъ *veζ-o-m'*, "the being conveyed," feminine вѣзома *ζ-o-ma*, neuter вѣзомо *veζ-o-mo*,* with the Lithuanian *z-a-ma-s*, feminine *-ma*, the Sanscrit *váh-a-mâna-s*, *-â*, *-m*, the Greek ἐχ-ό-μενο-ς, *-η*, *-ο-ν*, and the Latin *veh-i-mini* ee §. 478.). In the German languages this participle, such, has disappeared, but the Gothic *lauh-môni*, "the ghtning," properly, "that which lights," from the femine base *lauh-mônyô*,† is a substantive remnant of the rticiple present middle, and, therefore, the *y* is an unorinic affix, otherwise *mônô* would correspond admirably to e Sanscrit feminine suffix *mânâ*, as *ô* is the most common presentative of the *â*, which is wanting in Gothic (see 69.). The nominative form *-môni*, of *mônyô*, is to be plained according to §. 120.‡

794. The Zend has either shortened or rejected the iddle *a* of the Sanscrit suffix *mâna*, and weakened the receding class vowel *a* usually to ɛ *ĕ*. The form *mana* na) becomes, as it were, the step of transition to the reek μενο, and Latin *minu* §. 478), and is identical with

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* It needs, perhaps, no remark, that the vowel which precedes the *n* all the languages here compared belongs to the class syllable, and is erefore not to be referred to the participial suffix (see §. 507.).

† Sanscrit *rôch-a-mânâ*, "the shining," from the root *ruch* (from *ruk*), hich is only used in the middle, according to the first class (see §. 109ª.). he Latin *luceo* is based on the causal form *rôcháyâmi* (see p. 110).

‡ It may also be assumed that the Gothic *mônyô*, *moni*, is based on a -be-presupposed Sanscrit form *mânî*, as bases in *a*, especially in subantives, form their feminines frequently in *î*; as, *dêvî*, "a goddess," om *dêva*, "a god." This *î* must, in Gothic, according to §. 120., take he form of *yô* or *ein*, nominative *i*, *ei*.

the Old Prussian *mana*, of the (§. 791.) above-mentioned *po-klaus-î-mana-s*; while the form *mna*, which has lost its internal vowel, finds an accidental countertype in the Latin *mnu*, of *al-u-mnus*, *Vert-u-mnus*, and the Old Prussian *mne*, of *en-im-u-mne* (§. 791.). In Zend, also, this suffix, as in Greek, has, beginning even with the present, both a middle (or purely active) and passive signification, while the Sanscrit in the passive prefixes the character *ya* to the participial suffix. Thus we find in the Vendidad Sade, p. 203, *barĕmanĕm*, "being carried" (=*φερόμενον*), and *vazĕmnem*, "being conveyed," as adverbial accusatives in reference to the nominative plural *mazdayaṡna*.* At times the final vowel, also, of the suffix *mana* is suppressed, together with the middle vowel; so that thus only *mn* is left, to which are affixed the case terminations. Thus, in *nyâṡĕmn-ô*, "*celebrantes*," *yêzimnô*, "*venerantes*," which indeed, according to their termination, might also be singular nominatives of bases in *a*, but in the passage where they occur clearly shew themselves to be plurals of bases in *n*.† We might

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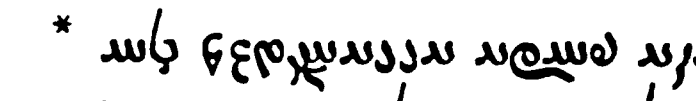
*  *yaṭ aêtĕ yôi mazdayaṡna pâdha ayantĕm vâ tachĕntĕm vâ barĕmanĕm vâ vazĕmnĕm vâ tachi aipya naṡâum frajaṡain*, "If those, who being worshippers of Ormuzd, going on foot, or ..... or carried, or riding ..... approach a corpse." Anquetil (p. 312) translates: "*Si un Mazdéiesnan allant à pied, ou en bateau, porté (dans une voiture), ou élevé de quelque façon que ce soit (aperçoit) un mort.* In a similar passage (l. c. p. 279) occurs *barĕmnĕm*, and likewise *vazĕmnĕm*.

† Vendidad Sade, p. 482: *Narô aṅhĕn ashavanô havôyazasta nyâṡĕmnô yêzimnô Ahuramazdaṅhm*; "*Viri sint puri, lævam manum habentes* (*lævâ manu tenentes*), *celebrantes, venerantes Ahuramazdam.*" Anquetil translates (p. 416): *Qu'il n'y ait que l'homme pure qui coupe le Barsom; et que, le tenant de la main gauche, il fasse izeschné à Ormuzd.* I consider *nyâṡĕmnô* as an abbreviation of *ni-yâṡ*, and refer, on this hand, to the root *yâṡ*, p. 963, Note.

herefore, also distribute the forms *barĕmnĕm* and *vazĕmnĕm* nto *barĕmn-ĕm* and *vazĕmn-ĕm*, as bases which end in a onsonant have, in the accusative, *ĕm* as their termination. hat, however, in general in Zend the suffix spoken of has ot lost its plural *a*, is shewn by forms like *vazĕmna* Vend. S. p. 521), which, as nominative plural, can belong nly to a base in *a* (§. 231. Note); thus, *csayamana* (l. c. 543.) = Sanscrit *kshâyamâṇâs*, from *kshi*, "to rule," *csamnâo* plural feminine (l. c. p. 550); *frâỳ(a)zĕmnanaṅm*, enitive plural = Sanscrit *prayajamâṇânâm*, from यज् *yaj*, to honour," "to sacrifice." An example of a form in *âna* or *mâna*) in the second principal conjugation is *uś-âna* . c. p. 543), as nominative plural for the Sanscrit *uśânâs*, om *vaś*, "to wish," with an irregular contraction of the yllable *va* to *u*. The following are examples of participles of the future passive: 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀 *zaṅhyamana* or mna, "about to be born" (Vend. S. pp. 28 and 103)*, and 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀 *uzdâkhyamna*, "being about to be raised p" = Sanscrit *uddhâsyamâna* (Vend. S. p. 89, see §. 669.).

795. In close connection with the participial suffix *mâna* tands the Sanscrit suffix *man*, the original form of which ppears to be *mân*, which has remained in the strong cases. The words formed with it have, like the kindred particiles, either an active or a passive signification: some are bstract substantives, like the Greek formations in *μονή* (*φλεγμονή*, *χαρμονή*, *πεισμονή*, *πλησμονή*, *πημονή*, *φεισμονή*), which, in form, are essentially identical with the particial feminines in *μενη*, as *ε* and *ο* are originally one (§. 3.);

* See §. 668., where, however, we should read 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬌𐬀 *zaṅhya*, for 𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀 *zaṇhya*; and the remark at the end of the §. on the incorrectness of the way in which the word is written must be cancelled, and the *i* of the participial forms referred to be really regarded as an euphonic alteration of the *n* of the root 𐬵𐬀𐬙 *zan*.

—and with regard to the accentuation of the last syllable of the suffix, they agree with the Sanscrit *ânâ, aná* (for *mânâ, mâná*), of the second conjugation (see §. 792.).* But few masculines in *man* remain to us in Sanscrit, and these, too, are, for the most part, but rarely used. The following are examples: *śúsh-man*, "fire," as "that which dries;" *úsh-man*, "the hot time of year," as "the burning;" *véman*, "weaver's loom," as "weaving or apparatus of weaving;" *síman*, "border," as "binding," from the si, "to bind," with the *i* lengthened; *páp-man*, "sin," as "that which is sinned" (*peccatum*), from a lost root. Some masculines in *man* have a vowel of conjunction *i*; as, *har-i-mán*, "time," as "carrying away," "destroying;" *sar-i-mán*, "the wind," as "moving itself," "blowing;" "*dhar-i-mán*," "form," as "borne," "sustained" (thus the Latin *forma*, from the root *fer*); *star-i-mán*, "bed," as "spread out" (compare *stramen*). Thus, also, the two abstracts *ján-i-man*, "birth," and *már-i-man*, "death," which are likewise masculine, but are distinguished from the other forms in *man* by accenting their first syllable; *ján-i-man, már-i-man* — like *śúshman*, &c. — opposed to *harimán, sarimán, starimán, dharimán, bharimán*.†

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* Compare φλεγμονή with Sanscrit middle participles like *yuñjáná*, "the binding," from *yuñjmáná*.

† See Böhtlingk, "*The Uṇâdi Affixes*," p. 58. Wilson renders *bharimán* by "nourishing," "cherishing;" Böhtlingk by "maintenance." I think, however, I may venture to deduce from the accentuation that it is not an abstract substantive; for otherwise, like *máriman*, "death," and *jániman*, "birth," it would have the accent on the radical syllable (see p. 1091). The expression कुटुम्ब *kuṭumba*, by which, in the Unâdi Book of *Kâumudî*, *bharimán* is explained, according to Wilson also, signifies not "nourishing," "cherishing" (though to the root *kuṭumb*, an instance of which has not yet been met with in books, the meaning "supported" (*dhṛityâm*) is ascribed), but, amongst other things, "family;" and I conjecture that *bharimán* signifies "family," in the sense of "that which is maintained

96. In Sanscrit the masculine bases in *man* are much e numerous than the neuter: they all have the accent he last syllable, and express partly a passive, partly an e relation, or are abstracts. The following are exles: *dhâman*, "a house," as "that which is made or ," from *dhâ*, "to place" (*vi-dhâ* "to make"); *vártman*, y," as "that which is gone upon," from *vart*, *vṛit*, go;" *vêśman*, "a house," as "that which is entered," *viś*, "to enter;" *sádman*, "a house," from *sad*, "to and "to sit;" *kárman*, "deed," "*factum*;" *várman*, rness," as "that which covers;" *rôman*, "hair" (abbred from *rôhman*), as "growing;" *dâman*, "band," as ding;"* *sthâman*, "strength," as "having contice," from *stâ*, "to stand;" *jánman*, "birth," from *jan*, bear;" *prêman*, "love," from *prî*, "to love." The furnishes the neuter bases *dâman*, "people," created" (=Sanscrit धामन् *dhâman*, "house;") *man*, "*urina*" (*quod mingitur*, Sanscrit *mih*, "*mingere*;") *chashman*, "an eye," as "telling," "announ-." The last is radically connected with the Sanscrit *shus*, from *chaksh*, "to say."

97. Adjective bases in *man* are rare in Sanscrit: one nple is, शर्मन् *śárman*, masculine, feminine, neuter, ppy" (as neuter substantive, "happiness,") the con-

tained or supported," as the wife, *bhâryâ*, implies "she who is to be orted," and the husband *bhartâr*, *bhartṛi*, "he who supports." Wilnd Böhtlingk also regard शरिमन् *śarimán* as an abstract substantive, the latter renders it (l. c. p. 149) "to bring forth," "to bear." The natory Sanscrit expression (*prasava*) is, however, ambiguous: I , in my Glossary, assigned to it the meanings *partus*, *partura*, and , *progenies*, *suboles*; and here, where *śarimán* is explained by it, I ld adhere to the last signification, on account of the oxytone accenion of the just-mentioned expression.

Without any root corresponding in idea. Compare the Greek δέω, ar, from δεσμαν, of which hereafter.

nection of which with its apparent root (शॄ *śar*, शॄ *śṛi*, "to break,") is, as regards meaning, by no means clear. In Greek, adjective bases in *μον* correspond, both as to accent and as to the non-distinction of the feminine base from that of the masculine neuter; as, *μνῆμον*, *τλῆμον*, *λῆσμον*, *ἴδμον*, *φράδμον*, *ἐπιστῆμον*. To the paroxytone masculine substantive bases mentioned in §. 795., like *súshman*, "fire," as "drying," correspond in Greek such as *πνεῦμον* ("lung," as "breathing"), *γνῶμον*, *δαῖμον* ("god," "goddess," properly "shining,"* *στῆμον*. With the there-mentioned tri-syllable oxytone masculine bases like *harimán*, "time," as "taking away," compare *κηδεμών*, *ἡγεμών*. Here, too, belong—as *ε*, like *o*, is a corruption of *a*—some bases in *μέν*; viz. *ποιμέν* ("herdsman," as "causing to feed," compare *pasco* and the Sanscrit root *pâ*, "to support," "to nourish"), *ἀϋτμέν*,† *λιμέν*, *πυθμέν* (the two latter from roots now obscured). The suffix *μών*, *μῶν-ος*, of *κευθμών*, *θημών*, *χειμών*, *λειμών* (from *λειβ-μών*), has preserved, through all the cases, the long vowel, which, in the corresponding Sanscrit suffix, is retained only in the strong cases: so, too, the corresponding Latin *môn* of the bases *sermôn*, *termôn* (=*terminus*, see §. 478.) *têmôn*, and *pulmôn*.‡—

* It belongs to the Sanscrit root *div*, "to shine;" whence *dêva*, "a god;" *div*, "heaven; *divasa*, "day," &c. (See Benfey, *Gr. R. L.* II. p. 207.)

† With respect to the T-sound in *ἀϋτμήν* and *σταθμών*, and which is often added to the root before the suffix *μο*, remark a similar circumstance in Sanscrit, where, before the suffixes *van*, *vara*, and the gerundial suffix *ya*, a euphonic *t* is always added to roots which end with a short vowel; as from *ji* comes *jitvan* and *jitvara*, "conquering;" *jitya* (with prepositions preceding), "after the conquest."

‡ Compare Pott, *Etym. Inq.* II. 594. and I. 270., where *tê-mo*, as well as *tig-num*, is compared with the Sanscrit *taksh*, "*frangere, findere, fabricari*;" whence, also, *takshan*, "a carpenter;" and our *Deichsel*, "a chip axe" (Old High German *dihsila*, and Anglo-Saxon *dhixl*), and the Old High German *dehsa* and *dehsula*, feminine, "axe" (Graff, V. 125.), as "cleaving."

also highly probable that to the Sanscrit formations *an* belongs the Latin *ho-min*, for *ho-môn* (in the old ıage *he-mo*, *he-mônis*). I take the *h*, as has been dy remarked elsewhere ("*Berlin Annual Reg. of Lit.* ' Nov. 1830. p. 791; compare Pott, "*Etymological In-*ɜ," I. p. 217; and Benfey, "*Gr. R. L.*" II. p. 105), to ıe representative of the *f* of *fui*, &c., and therefore =*fô*, in *fô-re*, *fô-rem*. Let reference be made to the rit *hômi* and *havâmi*, "I am," for the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, he dative termination *hi*, of *mihi*, compared with the ɔrit *hyam*, from *bhyam* (see §. 215. and §. 23. at the

Man, therefore, according to the Latin expression, ıply "the being," as in Sanscrit *jana*, "the born" (root ' to produce," "to bear"). There is also in Sanscrit ppellation of man, from भू *bhû*, "to be," viz. *bhuvana* Wilson); and two appellations of the earth, viz. *bhû* ɜimple root) and *bhûmi* (compare Latin *humus*). I am, ver, not aware that *bhavat*, "being," also signifies ɒ," as Benfey l. c. asserts. The resemblance of the ic base *gu-man*, "man," Old High German *go-mon*, *m* (nominative *guma*, *gomo*, *komo*), on which is based *jam*, of *Bräutigam*, "bridegroom" (Old High German *gomon*, properly *Braut-Mann*) to the Latin *ho-min*, *ɜn*, is surprising: the relationship, however, I am now pinion, is confined to the suffix, and the German ex-ion in reference to its root belongs to the above-men-d Sanscrit *jana* (compare Graff, IV. p. 198), with the ıtion of the old medial (see §. 92.), and with the loss e *n*, as in the radically, and, by suffix, related *kî-mon*, m" (see §. 799. Note), and in the Latin *gê-minus* (see ɜ. at the end). Properly, therefore, *gu-man*, *go-mon*,

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ring." With the active signification among Latin formations in nly remains *pulmón*, "lung," as "breathing," by transposition from s (Ionic πλεύμων).

signify "the born." The circumstance that we have already the Sanscrit root *jan* contained in Gothic in the forms *kin* (*keina, kain, kinum*, whence our *Kind*, "child"), *kun* (*kuni*, "sex") and *qvin* (*qveins*, "lawful wife," as "she who bears," compare γυνή), need not prevent us from admitting a form which has preserved the original medial. I would recall to mind the fact that both the Gothic *qvam*, "to come" (*qvima, qvam*), and *gagga*, "I go," are derived from the Sanscrit root *gam*, "to go" (see §. 755.). But to return to the Latin suffix *môn*—from it arise the forms *mônia, môniu*, by the addition of *ia* or *iu*; as, *tôria*, from *tôr* (*victôria*, from *victor*), with this difference, that the primitives in *môn* of derivatives like *quer-i-mônia, al-i-mônia, al-i-mônium, cer-i-mônia* (root *cer* = Sanscrit *kar, kri*, "to make") have disappeared. From adjective and substantive bases also spring, by this double suffix, abstracts like *acri-mônia, ægri-mônia, casti-mônia, miseri-mônium, tristi-mônium, testi-mônium, matri-mônium*. I consider the *i* of forms like *casti-mônia, ægri-mônia*, to be a weakening of the final vowel of the base-noun (see "*Vocalismus*," pp. 132, 162, and 223), and the *i* of *matri-mônium* to be an extension of the base, which, in the generality of cases, is added to all bases ending in a consonant. I therefore now regard the *ê* in the nominative plural as a contraction of *ai*, and as = the Sanscrit *ay* (from *ai*), of *ay-as*: *ovê-s*, for example, therefore, has the same relation to the Sanscrit *avay-as* that *mon-ê-s* has to *mân-aya-si*, Prâkrit *mâṇ-ê-si* (see p. 119); and thus *pedê-s, amantê-s*, come from the extended bases *pedi, amanti*. Remark that bases in *u* also, in the nominative plural, have simple *s* for their termination, and that here the lengthening of the *u* represents the Sanscrit and Gothic Guna; *e. g.*, *fructû-s*, as in Sanscrit *sûnav-as*, and in Gothic *sunyu-s*, "son," from *sûnu, sunus* (see §. 230.). Compare, also, what has been said before (§. 780.) regarding the Old Prussian present participle.

8. In Greek there are some bases in *μῑν* which pre- the long vowel in all cases, and resemble the San- strong cases with *mân*, to which, with respect to their y bear the same relation that, in Sanscrit, the plural *i-más*, "we buy," has to the singular *krí-ṇá-mi* (see §.

Compare the accusative singular *ῥηγμῖν-α*, and the native plural *ῥηγμῖν-ες*, with analogous Sanscrit forms *úshmân-am*, *śúshmân-as*; while in the genitive singular, ι belongs to the weak cases, the Sanscrit *śúshman-as* short *a*) stands in disadvantageous contrast with the k *ρηγμῖν-ος*. The suffix *μῑνο*, feminine *μῑνη*, is con- d with the Sanscrit participial suffix *mâna*, and, with ence to the retention of the long vowel, stands nearer atter, than the usual *μενο*. Here belong *κάμῑνο-ς*, n," as "burning," "glowing," from *καίω*, *κᾱω*, with adical vowel shortened; *ὑσμῑνη*, "strife," for which no occurs in Greek, but which Pott (II. p. 594) rightly s to the Sanscrit *yudh*, "to strive" (whence *yudhma-s*, fe," which would lead us to expect, in Greek, *ὑσμος*); *ἁμῑνος*, *κυκλάμῑνον*, properly "rounded."

9. To the Sanscrit masculine substantive bases in मन् mentioned in §. 795., correspond the just-mentioned uline bases *ahman*, "spirit," as "thinking" (*ahya*, "I "); *hliuman*, "ear," as "hearing" (Sanscrit root *śru*, *kru*, "to hear,' Greek *κλυ*); *blôman*, "a flower," as wing" (Old High German *bluot*, "*floret*;" *bluont*, ent"); *milhman*, "a cloud" (probably like the Sanscrit a, originally "*mingens*," see §. 140.); *skeiman*, "a lamp," shining," "lighting" (Sanscrit *kan*, "to light")*; and

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have no scruple in deducing *skeiman* from the root *skin*, "to shine," ght" (*skeina*, *skain*, *skinum*), with the suppression of the final con- of the root, as *nm* is a combination unsuited to the German; hence, n Old High German, *kî-mon*, *chî-mon* (nominative *-mo*), "germ," from

with passive signification, *mal-man*, "sand," as "triturated," also neuter (nominative masculine *malma*, neuter *malmâ*, see §§. 140. 141.); and *hiuh-man*, "heap," as "heaped up," from the root, lost as regards the verb, *huh* (euphonic *hauh*, see §. 82.), to which also belongs *hauhs*, "high" (Grimm, II. p. 50). The Old High German places over against the Gothic-Sanscrit *man* the form *mon* (nominative *mo*), and in this form corresponds to the Greek *μον*. The following are examples: *wahs-a-mon*, and *wahsmon*, "vegetables," "fruit," as "growing," or "having grown;" * *glîz-e-mon*, "lustre;" *ka-smag-mon*, "taste;" with passive signification; *sâ-mon*, "seed," as "sown" (Latin *se-men*).† As in Sanscrit the suffix *man* also forms abstract substantive or adjective bases, as *prath-i-mán*, "breadth," from *pṛithú*, "broad" (from *prathu*, compare Greek *πλατύ*); *kṛishṇa-i-mán*, "blackness," from *kṛishṇá*, "black;"‡ we may also here mention the Old High German *rôta-mon* (also *rôto-mon*, *rôte-mon*,

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from the roots *kin*, *chin* (*chin-i-t*, "*pullulat*," *ar-kin-i-t*, *-chini-t*, "*gignit*," "*germinat*," see Graff, IV. 450.)=Sanscrit जन् *jan*, "to produce," "to bear" (Latin *gen*, Greek *γεν*), whence *ján-man* neuter, and *ján-i-man* masculine, "birth," which agrees with *kímon* in root and suffix. *Ger-men*, for *gen-men*, corresponds in Latin. With respect to the rejection of the final consonant of the root before the *m* of the suffix, compare the (§. 796.) above-mentioned Sanscrit *rô-man*, "hair of the body," as "growing," for *rôh-man*; and Latin forms like *fulmen*, for *fulg-men*; *lû-men*, for *luc-men*; as well as *gĕ-minus* (see §. 478. conclusion), which is probably, in root and suffix, connected with *kî-mon*. To *lû-men* corresponds, in root and suffix, the Anglo-Saxon *lĕo-man* (nominative *lĕoma*), "light," for *lĕoh-man*, compare Gothic *lauh-môni*, "lightning" (§. 793.).

† The kindred Sanscrit root *vaksh*, "to grow," would, in the middle form *vákshamâṇa* as participle present.

* This has been already explained in the above sense in my Review of Grimm's German Grammar ("*Berlin Ann. Reg. of Lit. Criticism*," Feb. 1827, p. 757; "*Vocalismus*," p. 131).

‡ The final vowel of the base word is rejected before the vowel of conjunction *i*.

'redness," from the adjective base *rôta*, as a very remarkble analogous form. The Latin uses for this object the uffix *môniu*, or feminine *mônia* (see §. 797. conclusion), exended from *môn*.

800. In Lithuanian the suffix spoken of appears in the orm *men*, nominative *mů*; and thus, from a Lithuanian oint of view, the obscure *piemen*, nominative *piemů*, "sheperd's boy," corresponds to the Greek ποιμέν, ποιμήν (see .797.); and *akmen*, —*mů*, "stone," to the Sanscrit, also obcure, *áśman*, —*mâ*. From a Lithuanian point of view, the ases *aug-men*, *źel-men*, "sprout," "shoot," as "growing," *augu* and *źelu*, "I grow"); *yos-men*, "apron-string," "girdle" *yós-mi*, "I have a girdle on;" *ap-si-yós-mi*, "I gird myself"); *to-men*, "stature" (*stowyu*, "I stand," compare Sanscrit *sthá-man*, "strength, from *sthâ*, "to stand"), are quite intelligible. *Semenys*, "linseed," properly only "seed" (*sẽyu*, "I sow," uture *sẽ-su*), is a nominative plural, as *akmeny-s*, "stones," rom the extended base *akmeni*,* and leads us to expect a ingular *semů*; and therefore corresponds to the Old High erman base *sâ-mon* (§. 799.), and to the Latin *se-men*. he Old Sclavonic presents a few masculine bases in MEN, hich, in the nominative, contrast МЫ *my* with the Lithuaian *mů* and Sanscrit *mâ* (see §. 260. at the end, and p. 348), but prefer, however, the form *meny*, from the prolonged base *meni* (Dobrowsky, pp. 287 and 289, under ENЪ *eny*). From a Sclavonic point of view, however, only *plamen* (nominative *plamy*, or *plameny*, "flame," as "burning,"

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* The suffix *men* forms the entire plural, with the exception of the enitive (*akmen-û*, "*lapidum*"=Sanscrit *aśman-âm*), from the extended *meni*. In some cases of the singular the suffix is extended by the addiion of *ia*; thus, in the genitive, *ákmenio* (like *wilko*, §. 169.), together ith the organic *ákmen-s*; instrumental *ákmeniu* (like *wilku*), together ith *akmeni-mi*; accusative *ákmeni-n*; locative *ákmeniye*, according to e analogy of *awiye*, from the base *awi*, "a sheep."

is etymologically intelligible (ПЛАНѢТИСА *planiti-sa*, "*comburi*;" ПАЛИТИ *pal-i-ti*, "*urere*," &c.; see Miklos. p. 62); КАМЕН *kamen*, "stone" (nominative *kamy*, or *kameny*) answers to the Lithuanian *akmen*, *akmů*, and Sanscrit *áś-man*, *áśmâ*.

801. To the Sanscrit neuter bases in *man* (nominative *ma*, see §. 139.), mentioned at §. 796., correspond the Latin in *min* (*men* in the cases having no termination beyond the base), the Greek in ματ, for μαν (see §. 497), and the Gothic and Sclavonic in *man*, МЕН *men*. The Latin and Greek formations which come under this class have, like their Sanscrit sister forms, either a passive signification, which, indeed, is generally the case; as *praefamen*, *stramen*, *sémen*, *agmen*, *segmen*, *germen*,* πραγματ, ποιημα, ῥημα, ἀκουσματ, γραμματ, γλυμματ, δοματ, βρωματ; or an active signification, as *flûmen*, *lûmen*, (from *lucmen*), *fulmen* (from *fulgmen*), *tegmen*, *teg-i-men*,† *teg-u-men*, *reg-i-men* ("helm," as "guid-

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* *Germen*, from *genmen*, is founded on the frequent interchange of liquids (§. 20.).

† The *i* of *teg-i-men*, *reg-i-men*, is identical with the class-vowel of the third conjugation, and leads us, therefore, to the Sanscrit *a* of the first and sixth class, which in Latin has been weakened to *i* or *u* (*veh-i-mus*, *veh-u-nt*, see §. 507.): this is clear from the long *i* of the fourth conjugation (*mol-î-men*, *fulc-î-men*, as *mol-î-mini*, *fulc-î-mini*), and the *â* of the first (*certâmen*, *levâmen*, &c.). Forms like *agmen*, *fragmen*, *tegmen*, on the contrary, belong to that period of Sanscrit which combines the suffix *man*, without reference to the conjugation of the verb, almost invariably direct with the root. In the Latin second conjugation we should expect *i* before the said suffix, and the *mentu* derived from it: for it, however, we find, where the suffix is not combined direct with the root, according to the analogy of the third conjugation, *i* or *u*; hence, *sed-i-men*, *doc-u-men*, *doc-u-mentum*, *mon-i-mentum*, *mon-u-mentum*. In general, the Latin *i* of the second conjugation does not keep its place so firmly as the two other representatives of the Sanscrit tenth class (see p. 110); hence, also, *doc-ui*, *doc-tum*, opposed to *am-â-vi*, *am-â-tum*, *aud-i-vi*, *aud-i-tum*.

ing"), *δεσματ, ῥυματ, πνευματ, ἀηματ, βροντηματ, εἱματ, ἐσθηματ*; or are abstracts, as *solamen, certamen, levamen, tentamen, regimen, molímen, βληματ, βοηματ, βρυχηματ, δειματ, χαρματ.* At the end of compounds, the original *ν* of the suffix *ματ*, which is corrupted from *μαν*, either remains in its original form, or is entirely suppressed: in both cases, however, the *α* is corrupted to *ο* (nominative masculine and feminine *ων*); probably because the heavy sounds *τ* and *α* are found, through the incumbrance of composition, less appropriate than the lighter *ν* and *ο*; hence, *πολυπραγμον, πραγμον, ἀναιμον*, and *ἀναιμο, ἀκυμον* and *ἀκυμο, ἀνωνυμο, ονωνυμο.* The form *νωνυμνο* is interesting, because here we find intact the old *n* of the Sanscrit *nâman*, Latin *nômen*, &c., which, in *ὀ-νοματ*, has become *τ*, but elsewhere, in the compounds of this word, is suppressed: along with its retention, however, we find the base prolonged by *ο*, and the vowel of the suffix suppressed (*νωνυμνο*, from *νωνυμανο*, or *νωνυμονο*); in the latter respect compare the weakest cases of the Sanscrit *nâman*, the genitive *nâmn-as*, dat. *nâmn-ê*, and the Gothic plural *namn-a*.* Ἀπαλαμνο points to a lost substantive *παλαματ*, from *παλαμαν* (of which, also, *παλαμναῖος* is a proof), which apparently has been disused for *παλάμη*. I would also rather regard *κρηδεμνο*, "head-band,"

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* In §. 235. *namóna* is given incorrectly, though this form would be the regular one (compare *hairtôna*), and would correspond well to the Sanscrit *namân-i* (from *namân-a*, see §. 234.). The form *namna*, on the other hand, answers to the Sanscrit weakest cases, while the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural of Sanscrit neuters always belong to the strong (see smaller "*Sanscrit Grammar*," §. 177. Note). It appears, however, that in Gothic it is necessary, for the protection of the full form *ôna*, that it be preceded by a vowel long in itself or by position, or by more than one syllable; hence *augôna, ausôna, barnilôna, ubilôna*, but not *namóna*, and probably, also, not *vatôna*, from *vatan*, "water," as the dative is *vatnam*, not *vata(n)-m*; compare Grimm, I. p. 609, Gabel. and Löbe, p. 67.

with respect to its concluding element, as a form analogous to *-ωνυμνο* (and, therefore, as a derivative from *δεματ*, from *δεμαν*), than as a participle for *δεμενο*: on the other hand, I look upon *διδυμνο*, which Passow takes to be analogous to *νώνυμνο-ς* and *ἀπάλαμνο-ς*, as a participle (properly, therefore, "doubled") from a reduplicated verbal base *διδυ*, which has sprung from *δύο*, and from which a present indicative *δίδυμι* might have been expected; thus, *δίδυμνο-ς*, like *διδόμενο-ς*, only with the suppression of the middle vowel of the suffix, as in the Latin *al-u-mnu*, and in the above-mentioned (§. 791.) *en-im-u-mne*. Compare, also, the participial substantive bases in *μνο*, feminine *μνα*, as, *βελεμνο*, *μεδιμνο*, *μεριμνα*, which have been already discussed by Pott (*E. I.* II. p. 594.) under this view, and which have no corresponding verb, any more than the above-mentioned *διδυμνο*, though *βελεμνο*, just like *βελος*, is visibly connected with *βάλλω*.

802. The Old Sclavonic neuter bases in МЕН *men* have in the cases, which in Sanscrit and Gothic drop the final *n*, retained the original *a* with a resonant nasal; hence, ИМА *imaⁿ*, "names" (see §. 783. Rem. 1. conclusion), from the base *imen* = Sanscrit *nâ-man*. Here belong, also, the bases СѢМЕН *sye-men*, "seed," as "sown" (*sye-ya-ti*, "to sow") = Latin *semen*, Old High German *sâmon* masculine (see §. 793. Note 3), ПИСМЕН *pis-men*, "letter of the alphabet," as "written" (*pis-a-ti*, "to write");* ЗНАМЕН *ζna-*

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* I cannot refrain from drawing attention here to the strong agreement between the Sclavonic root *pis* and the Old Persian *pish*, with the preposition *ni*: *ni-pish*, "to write down," "to describe," properly, "to hew in." Rawlinson (Beh. IV. 47. 48.) translates 𐎮𐎠𐎢𐎹𐎢𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎢𐎠

a, "a sign," as "making to know" (*ζna-ti* "to ow"), and a few words from obscure roots (Dobrowsky, 88). The Gothic furnishes besides *na-man*, "names" minative accusative *namô*, see §. 141.), which, in the er German languages, has become masculine, only *aldô-n*, "age," if this word really be, as Gabel. and Löbe pose, a neuter, which cannot be discerned from the once occurring dative *aldômin* (Luke i. 36). As the ter abstract of an adjective it would correspond to the ve-mentioned (§. 799. conclusion) Sanscrit neuter bases e *krishṇ'-i-mán*, "blackness," from *krishṇá*, "black;" ile the there-mentioned *rôta-mon*, "redness," like *namon*, ames" (nominative *namo*), has perhaps first become uter as it was gradually corrupted. The *ô* of the thic *aldô-man* I take to be the lengthening of the *a* of base *alda* (see §. 69.), "old," which, indeed, does not ur, but may be inferred from the cognate dialects (see aff, I. 192). If, however, *aldô-man* is derived, not from adjective, but from a verb, we must suppose a lost deminative *aldô-m*, "I grow old" (see §. 765.); and *aldô-n* would then correspond to Latin formations like *certâ-n* (§. 801.). We can hardly imagine any similarity of mation between the above and the Old High German mpounds *alt-duom*, *alt-tuom* (see Grimm, II. 151.).

803. From the suffix *men*, *min*, an extended form *mentu* s proceeded in Latin (*argu-mentu-m*, *mon-u-mentu-m*, *incre-ntu-m*, *co-gno-mentu-m*, *sed-i-mentu-m* &c.), in which I do t agree with Pott (*E. I.* II. 594.) in recognising the affix a participial suffix *tu* (*tus*, *ta*, *tum*), but one that is simply onetic; just as, in Gothic, the base *hun-da* (nominative *nds*) stands over against the Sanscrit *śun* of the weakest

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e causal form of the Sanscrit *pish*, Class 7, "to beat down," "to bruise," nce the meaning "to engrave," "to hew in," is easily deducible ears to me the most probable.

cases, and Greek κυν (κύων, κυνός), or as, in Latin, the Sanscrit roots *tan*, "to extend," and *han* (from *dhan*), "to smite," "to slay" (Greek θαν), has become extended to *tend*, *fend* (*f*=*dh*, θ, see §. 293.), and, in Sanscrit itself, *kan* and *chand* (from *kand*), "to shine," are originally one. A mute is readily attracted to the side of a nasal, and the former as easily annexes a vowel; and thus, for the Latin extended suffix *mentu*, without reference to gender, we find a parallel in the Old High German *munda* (from *manda*), nominative *mund*, but only in the solitary base *hliu-munda*, nominative *hliu-mund* (abbreviated *liu-mund*, our *Leumund*, "renown"), "fame," as "that which is heard," as in Gothic *hliu-man*, "ear," as "hearing" (compare Grimm, II. p. 243). The Greek base ἑλμινθ, "worm," as "winding itself," has added to the suffix μῑν, mentioned above (§. 798.), only a θ, but in this respect stands as isolated as, in Old High German, the just mentioned *hliu-munda*. The form ἑλμιγγ (ἕλμιγγες) exhibits, instead of the *T*-sound, a guttural, and thus reminds us of the relation of our *yung*, "young" (Gothic *Yugg-s*, theme *yugga* = *yunga*), to the Sanscrit *yuvan*, in the weakest cases *yûn* (genitive *yûn-as*), and Latin *juvenis*, *junior*. Thus the Old High German suffix *unga* (our *ung*) of abstract substantives, as in *ar-find-unga*, "invention," *warn-unga*, "warning," may be identical with the Sanscrit feminine form of the suffix *ana* (*anâ*); so that the first *a* has become weakened to *u*, as in the polysyllabic forms of the preterite, as *bunti*, "thou didst bind," compared with the monosyllabic *bant*, "I bound," "be bound." In the same way our root *sang*, "to sing," (Old High German *singu*, "sang," second person *sungi*), may be compared with the Sanscrit root *svan*, "to sound" (compare Graff, VI. p. 247).

804. I think I discover the origin of the medio-passive participial suffix *mâna*, and of the cognate nominal suffix *man*, in the combination of two demonstrative bases *ma*

na (see §§. 368. 369.); the vowel, therefore, being
ıened in *mâna*, and in the strong cases of *man*, and
inal vowel in the last-mentioned form being sup-
:d. We must here observe that *na* readily combines
other pronominal bases, and then always takes the
)lace; hence अन *ana*, एन *ên*a, in Greek κεῖνος, and in
'russian *ta-ns*, for *ta-na-s*, "he,"* opposed to the Li-
ian simple *ta-s*, "the." If the medial relation be
expressed formally in the suffix *mâna*, *μενο*, in that
the final element must express the nominative rela-
or that relation which, from time to time, belongs to
)sition of the participle; and the unchangeable *mâ*, *με*,
ative or accusative (*sibi*, *se*); so that, therefore, न *na*,
:note the person acting, and मा *mâ*, *με*, the person
upon, which, however, in the middle, are one and the

The suffixes of participles, as in general those of
ives and substantives, represent the personal termi-
ıs of verbs, *i.e.* those of the third person; and I thus
ler the *t* of the participle present and future active
:ntical with the termination of the third person, and,
he latter, a derivative from the pronominal base *ta*,
owel of which, in the participial suffix, is dropped.
ı of the active participial suffix probably serves only
ıe phonetic intensification and more emphatic desig-
ı of the agent; while, in the third person plural, plu-
is symbolically denoted by the same nasalization
.536.): hence the coincidence of *bhárant*, *φέροντ*, *ferent*
ic *bairand*, "bearing," with *bháranti*, *φέροντι*, *ferunt*,
id, "they bear."

5. We recognise the simple pronominal base *ma* in the
:rit suffix म *ma*, which in adjectives or substantives
tes the person or thing which completes the action

* Feminine *tanna*, with the favourite repetition of the liquid.

expressed by the root, or on whom that action is accomplished. Abstracts, also, are formed by this suffix, which, however, is seldom adopted in that state of the language which has descended to us; while the corresponding suffixes of the Lithuanian and Greek (*ma*, *μο*) are of very frequent use. The following are examples in Sanscrit: *rukmá-m*, "gold," as "glittering" (*ruch*, from *ruk*, "to shine"); *yugmá-m*, "pair," as "bound together;" *tigmá*, adjective (*-má-s*, *mâ*, *má-m*), "sharp" ("sharpened"), "hot" (root *tij*, from *tig*, "to sharpen"), substantive neuter (*tigmá-m*) "heat;" *bhîmá*, "fearful" ("feared," root *bhî*, "to fear"); *dhûmá-s*, "smoke," as "being moved" (root *dhû*, "to move"); *yudh-má-s*, "combatant," "contest," "arrow" (*yudh*, "to fight"); *gharmá-s*, "heat," apparently as "moistening," by sweat (root *ghar*, *ghṛi*, "to sprinkle"); *ishmá-s*, "tone" (root *ish*, "to wish"); *idhmá-s*, "wood," as "being burned" (root *idh*, "to burn"). To the latter corresponds the Zend [illegible] *aêšma* (nominative *mô*). Remark the agreement of the above-mentioned Sanscrit words in the accentuation of the suffix with Greek formations like *στολμό-ς*, *παλμό-ς*, *κορμό-ς*, *ὀδυρμό-ς*, *κομμό-ς*, *τριμμό-ς*, *φλογμό-ς*, *ἀγμό-ς*, *ῥυμό-ς*, *χυμό-ς*, *κλαυ-θ-μό-ς*, *μυκη-θ-μό-ς*. In Sanscrit, also, there are a few words formed with *ma*, which, like *πότμο-ς*, *οἶμο-ς*,* *ἄνεμο-ς*, *ὅλμο-ς*, and some others of obscure origin in Greek (Buttmann, II. p. 315), have the accent on the radical syllable. Here belong, for example, *bhā́ma-s*, "the sun," as "giving light," *śúshma-m*, "fever," as "drying." To the masculine nominatives in *ma-s* correspond numerous Lithuanian abstracts in *i-ma-s*, or, with *m* doubled, *i-mma-s*,†

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* *οἰ* is the Guna form of the root *i*, "to go" (compare §. 609). Thus, in Sanscrit, *vártman*, "way," from *vart*, *vṛit*, "to go."

† With regard to the doubling of the *m*, compare the doubling of liquids so common in Old Prussian. I believe I have discovered it to be a fixed law in Lithuanian, that the doubling of the *m* in the said suffix is only

ıe *i* of which, as in Sanscrit forms like *ján-i-man*, "birth" ıee §. 795.), is only a vowel of conjunction. The following re examples: *gimm-i-mma-s*, "birth;" *ey-i-mma-s*, "going" *i-mi*, "I go;" *ĕy-au*, "I went"); *pa-gadinn-i-ma-s*, "ruin" *ıa-gadinu*, "I mar"). In this manner, in Lithuanian, bstract substantives are formed from adjective bases also, ı which formation a final *a* of the adjective base is weak- ıed to *u*, while bases in *u* have their vowel unchanged. he following are examples: *gůdu-mma-s*, "avarice," from *ůdù-s*, "avaricious;" *gra-źu-mma-s*, "beauty," from *graźù-s*, beautiful;" *darku-mna-s*, "ugliness," from *darkù-s*, ugly;" *drasu-mna-s*, "boldness," from *drasù-s*, "bold" ompare Greek *θρασύς*, *θαρσύς*, Sanscrit *dharsh*, *dhṛish*, to dare"); *rietu-mna-s*, "hardness," from *rieta-s*, "hard;" *ukszlu-mma-s* "height" from *aukszta-s* "high;" *ilgu-mma-s* length," from *ilgi-s* (for *ilgia-s*, see §. 135.), "long."*

806. The Latin has but a few words in *mu-s*, and those f obscure origin and etymology, to offer in comparison ith the Indo-Lithuanian in *ma-s* and Greek in *μο-ς*; as, *n-i-mus*, which, like the Greek *ἄν-ε-μο-ς*, has originated om the Sanscrit root *an*, "to breathe," "to blow" (see 09ᵇ. 2.); *fu-mus* = *θυμός*, Sanscrit *dhû-más*, "smoke" (root *hû*, *θυ*, see §. 293.); perhaps *pô-mu-m*, "apple," as "nou- ishing," or "being tasted" (Sanscrit *pâ*, "to support," nd "to drink," compare *pa-bulum*, *pa-sco*, *pâ-vi*, *pô-tus*, *pô-*

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ly then permitted or required when, exclusive of prefixes in combina- on with the verb, the verbal base is monosyllabic. If, however, it be olysyllabic, the *m* is not doubled; hence, indeed, *gimm-i-mma-s*, "birth," nd also *us-gimm-i-mma-s*, idem.; *su-gruw-i-mma-s*, "circumstance" *ruwu*, "I occur"); but not *graudén-i-mma-s*, "warning," but *graudén- mas* (*graudenu*, "I admonish").

* Bases in *ia*, nominative *is*, drop their *i* before the *u* of their abstracts hich has arisen from *a*; hence *middu-mmas*, "greatness, from *middis*, great."

tûra); and the adjectives *for-mus* (compare *ferveo, fer-mentum*), *fir-mus* (compare *for-tis, fero*), *al-mus*. In the German languages, also, the formations of this class are, for the most part, no longer conscious of their origin: they occur in Grimm, II. p. 145, where, however, the bases in *ma* and those in *mi*, which have both lost their final vowel in the nominative singular, are not distinguished. I regard the suffix *mi*, which exists also in Sanscrit and in Greek,* as merely a weakened form of *ma*, as in the Greek pronominal base μι (accusative μίν) = Sanscrit *ma* (see §. 368.). The Gothic *bag-ms*, "tree" (theme *bag-ma*), probably means originally "the growing" (Sanscrit *barh, bṛih*, "to grow"): the adjective base *ar-ma*, nominative *arms*, is perhaps an abbreviation of *ard-ma*, and a shoot from the Sanscrit root *ard*, "to vex," with which I would compare, also, the Sanscrit *ár-ma* (nominative masculine *árma-s*, neuter *árma-m*) "a malady of the eyes:" *bar-mi* (nominative *barms*), "lap," springs evidently from the root *bar* (*baira, bar*) "to carry." In Old High German *dau-m, dou-m* (theme *-ma*, or *-mi*?) "vapour," corresponds to the Sanscrit *dhû-má-s*, "smoke;" *trau-m*, theme *trau-ma* (Old Saxon *drô-m, dró-ma*), leads us to the Sanscrit root *drâ* "to sleep;" *sau-m* (theme *sau-ma*), "seam," to सिव् *siv*, "to sew" (Old High German *siwu*, "*suo*"); *hel-m*, "helm," as "covering," springs from the root *hal*, "to conceal" (*hilu, hal, hulumês*).

807. The feminine form of the suffix, viz. *mâ*, does not occur in Sanscrit in substantives; but the Greek in μη, as γνώμη, μνήμη, στιγμή, γραμμή, correspond to it; as do the Latin, like *flamma*, from *flagma, fâma, spûma, strûma, glûma*

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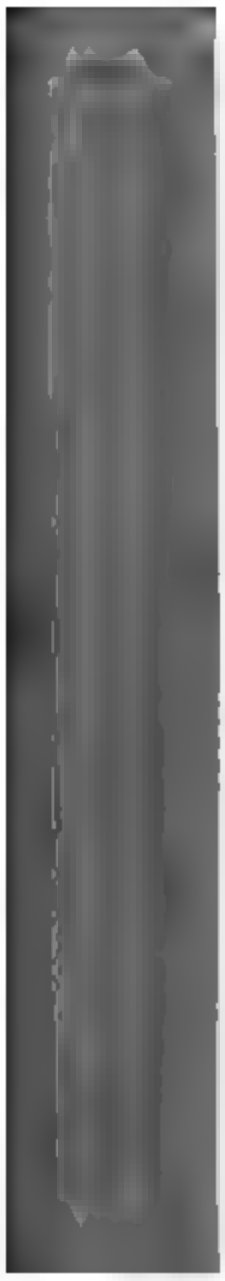
* *E.g.* दल्मिस् *dal-mí-s*, masculine, Indra's "thunderbolt," from *dal*, "to cleave;" भूमिस् *bhû-mí-s*, "earth," feminine, from *bhû*, "to be," "to become;" δύνα-μι-ς, φῆ-μι-ς, θέ-μι-ς (Ion. genitive Θέμι-ος).

glubma; and the Lithuanian in *ma*, *mẽ*;* as *waźmà*, ding;" *tûźmà*, "grief" (*túźio-s*, "I grieve"); *sluźmà*, rvice" (*sluźiu*, "I serve");† *giesmẽ*, "song" (*giẽdmi*, sing"); *báimẽ*, "fear" (*biyau*, "I fear" Sanscrit root "to fear," *bhîmá-s*, "fearful," and nominative pre- te, whence the patronymic *bhâima-s*, feminine *bhâimî*); *ısmẽ*,‡ "prohibition." To this class probably belong, , the Lithuanian and Sclavonic abstracts in *ba*, *bẽ*, ВА so that the medial stands in place of the organic al, as in *dewini*, ДЕВЯТЬ *devaĭty*, "nine" (see §. 783.); as in Greek βροτός, βραδύς = Sanscrit *mṛitá-s*, *mṛidú-s*. ıs, in Lithuanian we find the forms *tûźbà*, "grief," *bà*, "service," side by side with *tuźmà*, *sluźmà*, which e the same meaning. *Garbẽ*, "honour," "fame" (*gir-* "I praise"), corresponds in its root to the Sanscrit , *gṛi* (in the Vêda-dialect, "to praise"). Abstracts in from adjective bases, whose final vowel has been weak- d to *y* (= *i*), are numerous; as, *silpny-bé*, "weakness,"

Mẽ from *mia* (see p. 174, Note *).

Thus *drutu-mà*, "strength," together with *drutu-ma-s*, from the ad- ive base *drûta*, "strong."

For *draud-mê* (*draudziu*, "I forbid"), according to the analogy of infinitive *draus-ti*, in which the change of the *d* before *t* into *s* is re- ır (see §. 457.). In *ei-s-mẽ*, "going" (*ei-mi*, "I go"), the *s* is euphonic, ı Greek forms like δε-σ-μή, δε-σ-μός. A euphonic *s* of this kind some- es precedes the masculine suffix also, but, I imagine, only after gut- ls, and then the insertion of the vowel of conjunction *i*, mentioned at 05., does not take place; hence, *dźaug-s-mas*, "joy" (*dźaugio-s*, "I ice"); *werk-s-mas*, "weeping;" *rêk-s-mas*, "clamour." Hence it ap- s that, in Lithuanian, *ksm* or *gsm* is a more favourite combination ı *gm*, *km*. Compare, in this respect, the insertions of consonants tioned in §§. 95. 96., from which, however, is to be excepted the *s* of Old High German *tarst*, "thou venturest," *torsta*, "I ventured," as the *s* belongs rather to the root (Sanscrit *dharsh*, *dhṛish*, "to dare"), *Sanscrit Glossary*, a. 1847, p. 186.



place of *b* in the dative plural (see §. 215.), assume the converse mutation of *m* to *b*; and the formations in *u-bni* (theme *u-bnya* neuter, nine, see Grimm, II. p. 184), occasionally *u-fni*. trace the *b*, which is evidently the more genu *m*, then *vit-u-mni* (*vit-u-bni*, "knowledge," wou Latin formations like *al-u-mnus* (see §. 478. conc in my opinion the Gothic like the Latin *u* is vowel, and therefore a weakened form of *a*, or weak form of the second conjugation, of *ô*; a *vund-u-fni*, feminine, "wound," is for *vund-ô-fni*, "I wound." It deserves notice, that, together *u-bni*, feminine, "attempt," there occurs also the *ô-bni* (genitive plural *fraist-ô-bnyô*, Luke iv. 1 from a weak verb *fraistô* (compare the Old Nor "*tentare*," see Graff, III. 830.), which cannot l the strong verb *fraisa* gives no authority t would make us expect only *frais-u-bni*. I "fasting," the *u* represents the *a* sound of th *ai* of the third weak conjugation, where we r that the *i* element of this diphthong is droppe personal terminations beginning with nasals; *a-m*, "we fast," *fast-a-nd*, "they fast," for *fa ai-nd*, so *fast-u-bni*, from *fast-u-mni* for *fast-ai-*

favourite interchange of the liquids (see §. 20.). We divide, therefore, *fa-mulus*, properly "the making" (for *fac-mulus*); or if, as Ag. Benary conjectures, it belongs to the Sanscrit root *bhaj* "to honour," "to serve" (compare Gothic *and-bah-ts*, "servant," "he who serves;" *sti-mulus* (for *stig-mulus*), "sting," as "sticking" (compare, according to Vossius, στίζω, στίγμα, &c.). Compare the Irish suffix *mhuil*, in *fas-a-mhuil*, "growing" (*fasaim*, "I grow")=*váksh-a-mâṇa-s*.* If, however, the *a* of *fasa-mhuil* is not a class vowel, as in *fas-a-mar*, "we grow"=Sanscrit *váksh-â-mas*, but to be included in the suffix (to be divided, therefore, *fas-amhuil*), in that case the last portion of the word properly means "like," and is most probably an abbreviation of the adjective *samhuil*,† which occurs uncompounded. Words like *fear-amhuil*, "manlike," can scarcely be explained otherwise than as compounds of *fear* and *amhuil*. The Latin suffix *mulu* might, however, be also connected with the Sanscrit *mara*; whence, *admara* and *jasmara*, "voracious," from *ad*, *ias*, "to eat," *ṣrimara* (Wilson), according to some authorities, "a young deer," from *sar*, *ṣri*, "to go," This suffix, however, as *v* and *m* are easily interchanged, is originally one with the more usual *vara*; whence *naśvara*, "transitory," from *naś*, "to be ruined;" *bhâsvara*, "shining," from *bhâs*, "to shine;" *sthâvara*, "standing," "immoveable," from *sthâ*, "to stand."

809. Before we pass on to the consideration of those participles which do not, like those already discussed, belong to any tense of the indicative, and make no distinction between active, passive, and middle, we must mention one other participle peculiar to Latin, viz. the participle future passive in *ndu*. I have already, in my *Conjuga-*

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* It being taken for granted that *vaksh* is used in the middle. *F* for Sanscrit *v* is, in the Irish dialect of the Celtic, very usual.

† Compare the Sanscrit *sama*, "like," Latin *similis*.

tional System (§. 109ª. 1.), considered this, with regard to its form, as a modification of the participle present active, and think I must continue to support this view, though it may be objected that, in this manner, the passive and future signification of the said participle will have no foundation as respects form. But words seldom express in form those relations, to denote which they are destined by the use of language; and grammatical forms often change their original meaning, as, in Persian, the forms in *târ* or *dâr* (*faref-târ*, "deceptor," *dâ-dâr* "dator," *), which are based on the Sanscrit nouns of agency in *târ*, Greek in τηρ, and Latin in *tor*, *tôr-is*, are used, contrary to their original intention, with a passive meaning; also, *gi-rif-târ*, "*captus, captivus, præda*;" *res-târ*, "*liberatus*;" *kush-târ*, "*occisus*;" *guf-târ*, "*sermo*" (see Vuller's *Inst. L. Pers.* p. 166); while conversely the participles in *tah* or *dah*, which are based on the Sanscrit passive participles in *ta*, have generally an active signification, and retain their original passive meaning almost only when in combination with the auxiliary verb *shudan* ("to be"); hence *burdah*, "*qui tulit*" = Sanscrit *bṛitá-s* (from *bharta-s*), "*latus*;" but *burdah míshavam*, "*feror*," properly "*latus fio.*" The Latin *ferendus* approaches very closely the Persian present participle *barindah*, "bearing;" and, like the latter, has weakened the original tenuis (of *ferent*) to a medial, and extended the base by the addition of a vowel, both which changes take place also in Prâkrit and Páli (see p. 301)†. This opinion that

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* The choice of *d* or *t* in the suffix depends on the preceding letter. Compare §. 91. conclusion.

† The Sanscrit also has a few words which, in their origin, are evidently present participles, but have added to the *nt* also an *a*, or have preserved the *a* of the base *ta* (see §. 804.). They accent the suffix; hence, *bhâsantá-s*, "sun," as "lighting," opposed to *bhấsant* (see §. 785.); *rôhantá-s*, "a certain tree," as "growing," opposed to *rôhant*; *gadayantá-s*,

the future passive participles have proceeded from the active present participles is confirmed by the circumstance, that the class peculiarities, which do not extend over the present and imperfect, and the forms which spring from the present, are preserved in the form in *ndu*; *e. g.* the *n* of *sterno* (see §. 496.), the *t* of *pecto*, *plecto*, the reduplication of *gigno* (*gen-ui*, *gen-i-tum*); the gerunds also, which are in form identical with the future passive participle, point to an original active and present signification of the participial form; *docendi*, "of teaching," *docendo*, "by teaching," speak for the signification "teaching," which "*docendus*" must originally have had; for such abstract substantives, especially those which, like the Latin gerunds, express only the exercise of an action, spring naturally from active present participles; as *abundantia* from *abundant*, *providentia* from *provident*, and not from passive participles. Participles in *tûru*, when they form abstracts, or rather raise their feminine form to an abstract, abandon their future meaning, and then pass as present participles or nouns of agency; thus, *ruptura*, "tearing," as the personification of "to tear," properly "the person who tears;" *junctura*, "joining;" *mistura*, "mingling;" *genitura*, "producing;" "having." It must be noticed that in Gothic, also, from adjectives spring feminine forms which are used as abstracts, as *mikilei*, "greatness" (theme *mikilein*), from the adjective base *mikila*, to which it bears the same relation that, in Sanscrit, *sundarî*, "*pulchra*" does to the masculine neuter base सुन्दर *sundara* (see §. 120.); so, among others, also *managei*, "a multitude," from *manag(a)s*, "many;" *siukei*,

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gánta-s, "cloud," as "making to flow," opposed to *gadayânt*, from *gad*, "to flow," in the causal. So in Latin *unguentum*, if it be not an extended form of "*unguen*" (compare §. 803.), and perhaps *argentum*, "silver," as "shining" (Sanscrit *raja-tá-m*), apparently from *râj*, "to shine," with the vowel shortened.

"sickness," from *siuk(a)-s* "sick," (see Grimm, I. p. 606). In Greek, too, there are a few adjectives, the feminines of which represent abstracts; in such a manner, however, as that the latter is distinguished from the feminine adjective by throwing back the accent, in agreement with what has been before remarked on similar phænomena in Sanscrit; hence, *θέρμη*, "heat," *κάκη*, "wickedness," opposed to *θερμή*, *κακή*; as above, *yáśas*, "fame," opposed to *yaśás*, "famous" (see §. 785. Remark); *jániman*, "birth," *márinan*, "death," opposed to words like *sarimán*, "wind," as "blowing" (§. 547.). But to return to the Latin participles in *ndu*, *secundus*, "the following one," has correctly retained the original design of the suffix; and the conjecture, therefore, that it is a contraction of *sequebundus* is unnecessary: yet, in my opinion, words in *bundus* in so far belong to this class, as most probably the verb substantive is contained in them in the same way as we have recognised it in the imperfects and futures in *bam*, *bo* (see §§. 526. 663.). When, however, Voss derives the forms *bundu* from the imperfect, as, *errabundus* from *errabam*, *vagabundus* from *vagabar*, *gemebundus* from *gemebam*, he appears to be in error, as this derivation is not supported by the sense; as *gemebundus* signifies, not "*qui-gemebat*," but "*gemens*." I allow, therefore, between *gemebam* and *gemebundus* only a sisterly relation, and take *bundu-s* rather as the participle present of the root *fu*,* with the extension of the suffix *nt* to *ndu*, as in the future passive participle under discussion. In Persian the participle present of the root *bû*, "to be," would probably be *bavandah* (for *bu-andah*, compare *bavam*, "I may be"); and in Sanscrit from *bhû* really comes *bhávant*, "being" (base of the strong cases), to which the Latin *bundu*, exclusive of the suffix *u*, has nearly the same rela-

* Regarding *b* for *f*, see §§. 18. 526.

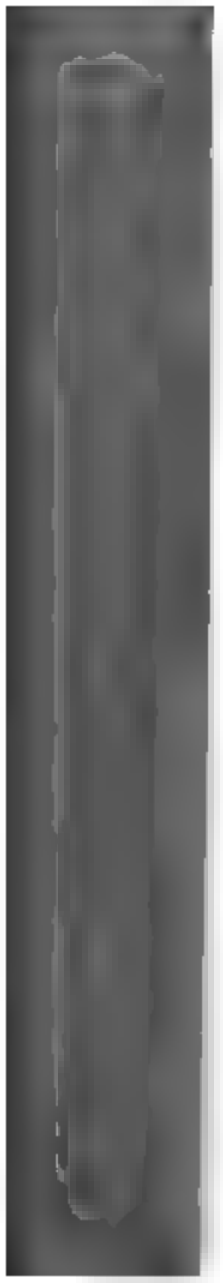
ion as *bam* (*ama-bam*) has to *á-bhavam*. The first *u* of *undu* I take to be not the radical vowel of *fu*, but the corruption of an original *a*, as in the third person plural (*veh--nt*=Sanscrit *váh-a-nti*). As a proof that the forms in *undu-s* are, in their origin, participles, may be adduced lso the circumstance that they occasionally govern the ccusative; thus, in Livy, *vitabundus castra, mirabundus anam speciem*. But should these forms originally belong o a tense other than the present, we might recognise in hem obsolete future participles, and assume that the use f the participle in *turus* has caused them to be less freely mployed, given room for their being dispensed with, and hanged their signification. An especial corroboration of his view is to be found in the fact that the majority of orms in *bundus* belong to the first conjugation, and that n old Latinity futures in *bo* occur also in the third and ourth conjugation, a form which may originally have be-onged to all classes of verbs; as, as has been shewn, forms ike *legam* and *audiam* are nothing but present tenses of he subjunctive mood, and used as a compensation for the st futures (see §. 692.). We should consequently regard *ucturibundus* and *sitibundus* as analogous forms of old futures ike *scîbo, dormîbo*, only with the vowel shortened, as before he suffix *bundu-s*, with the exception of the *â* of the first onjugation, only short vowels are found, and, therefore, re have *gemĕbundus, fremĕbundus*, opposed to *dicêbo*, and *udibundus* opposed to *pudêbit*.

810. Let us now betake ourselves to the consideration f those participles which, without any formal designation f any temporal or lineal relation, have retained their destiation in this respect merely by the use of language. hese are in Sanscrit the future participle in *târ, tṛi*, the rfect passive participle in *ta* or *na*, and the future passive rticiple in *ya, tavya*, and *anîya*. The first-mentioned rticiple, which is, at the same time, a noun of agency, has

Greek δοτήρ; *janitâr*, nominative *janitâ*
"*geniturus*" = γενετήρ. On the other hanc
which in origin and signification is identic
the long vowel of whose nominative τωρ, is
only as a compensation for the want of th
lost simultaneously its organic length an
admits, too, of scarce any doubt, that, i
weight of the suffix *târ* is the cause of its
according to the same principle by which
principal conjugation, the heavy person
assume the accent (see §. 785. Remark). Tl
tions in τη-ς, which in §. 145. have likewis
with the Sanscrit in *târ*, have, in part, re
the old accentuation, since in forms of
syllables a vowel long in itself by positio
rally, and occasionally also with κ, ρ, ν, t
the suffix, serves like a dam to the ac
longs to the suffix, and prevents it from
back; hence, indeed, δότης opposed to δοτήρ,
τής, ποιητής, ζηλωτής, δικαστής, ἀκοντιστής,
μικτής, λυμαντής, εὐθυντής, ποικιλτής, καθα
forms like γαμέτης, γενέτης, παυδακέτης. Tl

ginning with a vowel; while before consonants the *r* be-
mes *ṛi*, and the accent abides on the suffix; hence *dâtr-é*,
o the giver," as in Greek *πατρ-ός*, *πατρ-ί*, for *πατέρ-ος*,
τέρ-ι, but *dâtṛí-bhyas*, "to the givers." The analogy of the
ak cases is followed also by the feminine of the noun agent,
ısmuch as before the feminine suffix *í*, which usually re-
ves the accent, the vowel of the principal suffix is sup-
essed; hence *dâtrí*, "the female giver." The Greek and
tin, which possess over the Sanscrit the superiority of
aining the vowel of the masculine suffix (*τηρ*, *τορ*, *tôr*)
ough all the cases, follow notwithstanding the ana-
y of the Sanscrit in suppressing, in the feminine
ms *τριδ*, *τρια*, *trí-c* (see §. 119.), the vowel of the prin-
al suffix, and the Greek *τριδ* agrees with the Sanscrit
also in the retention of the accent, which the form
α (perhaps on account of its increase of syllables)
s abandoned; thus, *λητρίδ*, *ἀλετρίδ*, *αὐλητρίδ*, *σημαντρίδ*,
λητρίδ, *ὀρχηστρίδ*, *στεγαστρίδ*, as in Sanscrit *dâtrî*. The
se *γάστρι* deserves especial notice, which, though also
sculine, is properly nothing but the feminine of *γαστερ*,
minative *γαστήρ**, in which I think I recognise the San-
it root *jas*, "to eat," whence might be expected a noun
agency *jastár*, feminine *jastrí*; thus *γαστήρ*, properly
he male eater," and *γάστρι-ς* (properly "the female
ter") has indeed experienced a transposition of the accent,
t has kept clear from the inorganic affix of a *δ*. The
minine bases in *τιδ* seem to me, where they appear as
uns of agency, to be abbreviations of *τριδ*: they corre-
ond, as respects the loss of the *ρ*, to their masculines in
ρ)-ς, but have throughout displaced the accent, even
ere the masculine has retained it in its original site;

In shortening the vowel of the suffix, as also in declension, *γαστέρ*
ows the analogy of the words denoting affinity, see §. 813.



forth;" while I dissent from the Indian Gramm
derive it from *mân*, "to honour," and prefer deduc
the root *mâ*, "to measure," which, with the pre
"out of" (*nir-mâ*), signifies "to make," "to pr
even without a preposition is capable of this inte
Duhitár, "daughter," signifies properly "suckl
duh, "to milk;" *náptár*, "grandchild," is in its
ment essentially identical with *pitár*, "father"
ever, is perhaps opposed to my former opinion
Note †), here not in the sense of "father," but
in its primitive meaning, while we regard the
not as a possessive but as a determinative; so
in opposition to *pitár*, as "ruler," or "family ch
signify the "not ruler," or "subject," and th
mean any member of a family but the father;
the Vêda dialect, *napât*, which has preserved t

* I now find a strong confirmation of this opinion, whicl
expressed ("*Vocalismus*," p. 182) in the Vêda dialect in the
the Rig. Vêda (Hymn 61. 7.), which has been edited in t
Fr. Rosen, where the genitive *mâtur* occurs as masculi
meaning "*creatoris*." The Old Persian furnishes the n
framâtâr (*fra* preposition), which is connected in root a
mâtar, the accusative of which, *framâtâram*, occurs rep

ıgth of the root *pâ*, signifies in the passages cited by Fr. ısen (on the Rig. V. I. 22. 6.) "son," though in form it rresponds to the Latin base *nepôt*, as also its feminine *ptî*, "daughter," to the Latin base *nèpti**, Old High German *nifti* (nominative accusative *nift*). *Bhrâ-tar*, "brother," s clearly lost a consonant before the suffix, for there is root *bhrâ*. If, as the Indian Grammarians assume, the ot is *bhrâj*, "to shine," we must then observe that the ; which is probably related to it, and from which Pott luces *bhrâj* (for *abhi-râj*), signifies besides "to shine," also o rule," and, therefore, "the brother" may be so designated as "ruler" in the family, which, according to Indian nners, the eldest brother after his father's death really (see "*Vocalismus*," p. 182). But *bhrâ*, in *bhratâr*, may o have sprung from the root *bhar*, *bhṛi*, "to carry," "to pport," by the transposition and lengthening of the radi- vowel, just as in Greek from βαλ: βλή-σω, βέβλη-κα, ῆμα, &c., from πετ = Sanscrit *pat*, "to fall," "to fly" πτω from πιπετω): πτω and πτη (πτῶσις, πτῶμα, πτῆσις), d in Sanscrit from *man*, "to think," *mnâ*, "to mention,"

This feminine form leads to the conjecture that the masculine *napât* the weakest cases (see §. 130.) rejects its *â*; that, therefore, the geni- would be *napt-as*, for *napât-as*, since feminine bases in *î* generally ow the analogy of the weakest cases; as, *râjñ-î*, "a queen," follows t of *râjñé*, to the king," *râjñ-as*, "of the king," &c. Before termina- s beginning with a consonant, where *napt* would be impossible, I uld expect *napăt*; thus, *napad-bhyas*, "to" and "from the sons." If h forms were confirmed, I still could not assent to Benfey's (Glossary the Sâma Vêda, p. 106) conjecture, that *â* in *napât*, as also the *ô* of ns like *datór-is*, &c., is a lengthening that originally belongs only to strong cases, which, in Latin (*nepôt*), has entered into all cases. It is re natural to suppose the theme of the Sanscrit strong cases to be the inal one, and therefore, also, in the classical languages, for the most , carried through all the cases, as is the case in the example before us the suffix *tór*, τηρ, contrasted with the Sanscrit strong *târ* (shortened e vocative to *tar*) and with the participle present in *nt*.

is termed *bhâryâ* ("the female to be cherished"), is "the supporter," and as su *târ*, nominative *bhartâ*; a word, the creat lies within the clear recollection of ti which, therefore, in departure from its *bhrâtar*, follows the ordinary declension. of "sister," in Sanscrit *svásâr*, has still pr vowel in the strong cases, but has, on the Latin *sorôr* from *sostôr*, lost a *t*, whi in the German and Sclavonic language English "sister," Old Sclavonic *sestra*), a nian *sesser* (nominative *sessû*, genitive s has assimilated itself to the preceding properly "the wife belonging" (regard *sva*, see §. 341.), and is, in its final elem "woman," which Pott is undoubtedly r from the root *su*, *sû*, "to bear a child" (I that, like *fe-mina* (see §. 478. conclusion), nifies "the parturient," and is a regular agency up to the loss of the radical vowe

813. The shortening of *â* to *a*, which noting affinity have experienced in Sans

relation to *dâtáram, dâtárâu* (*-râ*), *dâtáras*, as, in Greek, πατέρα, πατέρε, πατέρες, to δοτῆρα, δοτῆρε, δοτῆρες, particularly as the Latin makes a distinction between the declension of words like *pater, patris*, and such as *dator, datôr-is*.

814. In the Vêda dialect, formations in *târ, tṛi*, occur also in the sense of the participle present or future governing the accusative; and in this case the accent invariably is thrown back from the suffix to the radical syllable; hence *dấtâr*, "giving," opposed to *dâtấr*, "giver;" *pấtâr*, "drinking," opposed to *pâtấr*, "drinker" (Latin *pôtôr-*); *hántâr*, "smiting," "slaying," opposed to *hantấr*, "smiter," "slayer;" *ástâr*, "casting," opposed to *astấr*, "caster." These participles serve principally to represent the present indicative; so that, as in the participial future of the classic Sanscrit, the verb substantive is either to be supplied or is formally expressed. The former is the case if the participle refers to the third person; the latter if the first or second person is the subject. The forms of this kind which occur in the Sâma Vêda are all in the masculine singular nominative: and it is matter for future investigation, whether the feminine also occurs in constructions of this kind, or whether, as in the participial future of the classic Sanscrit, the nominative masculine represents the other genders.* I annex a few examples from Benfey's edition of the hymns of the Sâma Vêda: *Hántâ yố vṛitráṅ sánitố'tá* (*-tâ utá*) *vấjan dấtâ maghấni*, "who (Indra) striking (cleaving) *is* the cloud, and distributing *is*

* That in Zend, also, the form in *târ* occurs in the sense of a participle present, and governing the accusative, is proved by a passage in the beginning of the 1st Farg. of the Vendidád (V. S. p. 498), where [illegible] *actĕm* is governed by [illegible] *dâthrô*, "to the giving" (genitive in the sense of dative, as is frequently the case in Sanscrit): *nĕmaś ĕtê dâthrô actĕm*, "worship to thee the giver of happiness (riches)."

food, giving is riches"="who strikes," &c. (I. 4. 1. 5. 4.); *yá âdṛityá śaśamânáya sunvaté dâtâ jaritrá* (euphonic for . . . . *tré*) *ukthyám*, "who is giving that which is commendable to the praise singer, who slays with care, and expresses the juice of the (Sôma)" (II. 1. 1. 14. 2.); *tváshṭâ nô dâívyaṅ váchaṁ parjányô bráhmaṇaspátiṁ*, "Parjanyas Brahm *is* creating for us godlike speech"* (I. 4. 1. 1. 7.); *ástâ 'si śátravé vadhám*, "thou art hurling death at the foe" (II. 9. 1. 13. 3.). I take *pâtâ* as a future participle in the following passage: *pâtâ vṛitrahá sutám â ghâ gamat*, "*poturus Vritri occisor sômæ succum adeat*" (II. 8. 2. 1. 3.).† As regards the cause of the retrogression of the accent in these expressions, I have no doubt that the aim which the language has in view is most emphatically to express, by the accentuation, the energy of the action, which, in the case where the form in *târ* as a participle governs the accusative, appears in its full force; and I am of this opinion, as, as has already been remarked (see §. 785. Remark. at the beginning), the accenting the initial syllable of a word in Sanscrit is the most emphatic.

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* *Tváshtâr* is paroxyton also as a noun of agency.

† According to Benfey's translation, "let the Vritra-slayer drink the juice," &c., *pâtâ* would=*pâtâ syât*, "*bibens sit.*" I doubt, however, that these participles can, without an auxiliary verb, represent the potential or imperative; for the indicative only of the verb substantive is, in Sanscrit, very frequently omitted, as being by the sense itself understood. The enclitic *ghâ* (for *gha*), which stands in the text in the common dialect *ha*, which, as well as *hâ*, occurs in the Vêdas, and attaches itself to pronouns especially (see F. Windischmann's Sankara, p. 73; and Benfey's Glossary to the Sâma Vêda, p. 206), gives me occasion to remark, that I now, in departure from my former explanation (§. 175.), regard the Gothic *k*, and our *ch* in *mi-k*, *thu-k*, *si-k*, *mi-ch*, *di-ch*, *si-ch*, as well as the Old High German *h* in *unsi-h*, *ἡμâς*, *iwi-h*, *ὑμâς*, as a particle which has grown up with the base, and as identical with the Sanscrit *ha*, *gha*, and Greek γε (Dor. Æol. *γά*), and therefore *dich* as=Sanscrit *tvâṁ-ha*, Greek σέγε, as in a phonetic point of view, *ich*, Gothic *ik*=*aham*, *ἐγώ*.

315. As to the origin of the suffix *târ*, it may be re-
ded as springing from the verbal root *tar* (तॄ *tṛi*).* This
; properly signifies "to overstep," "to transgress," but
"to accomplish," "to fulfil;" *e.g. pratijñâm*, "a pro-
e." And it must be observed that several verbs of mo-
express also "to transact," "to do;" as, *char* signifies
"to go," (2) "to pass through," (3) "to do," "to prac-
," "to arrange." Thus, *dâtâr*, "*dator, dans, daturus*,"
be taken as "the accomplisher," the "exerciser of
ng," or, also, if we keep to the primitive signification
he root, as, "the man who passes through the action
giving;" as, *pâraga*, properly "going to the farther
re," is used in the sense of "perusing." The verbal
ts, therefore, in combination with the suffix *târ*, are to
taken as abstract substantives, which cannot surprise
as some of them appear as such without any annexa-
of a formative suffix; as, *bhî*, "fear," from *bhî*, "to
;" *hrî*, "shame," from *hrî*, "to fear;" *yudh*, "strife,"
n *yudh*, "to strive." It may be requisite here to ob-
ve, that in Latin several formative suffixes beginning
h *c* can be traced back to the Sanscrit root *kar*, *kṛi*
th which *creo* is connected). Thus, for example, *cri* for
—nominative masculine *cer*, feminine *cri-s*—and *cru* in
cer, "flying," properly "fulfilling the action of flying;"
icer, *ludicru-s*, "sport," "pleasure," "causing enjoyment;"
olu-cre, "that which envelopes or serves thereto;" *lava-*
-m, "that which makes to bathe," "to bathe;" *ambula-*
-m, "that which makes to walk out, gives occasion
reto," hence "promenade;" *sepul-cru-m*, "that which
kes to inter," "a grave;" *lu-cru-m*, "that which causes
pay," "gain;" *ful-cru-m*, for *fulc-cru-m*, "that which
kes to support," "a support." As *r* and *l* are easily

* Compare Benfey, "*Greek Etymology*," II. p. 257.

der ;" *ba-culu-s*, "that which makes to go

816. From *târ* springs, in Sanscrit, by · and with the suppression of its own vowel cases, and before the feminine character *ṭ*, *tra*, and thence the feminine *trâ*. The neu cipally used, and, like the feminine *trâ*, of forms substantives which express instrur as it were, the inanimate accomplishers of Gunise the radical vowel, and, for the mos ance with the Greek analogous forms in τρ accent the first syllable of the word. Tl examples: *né-tra-m*, "an eye," as "condu strument of conducting" (root *nî*); *śró-tr śru*, "to hear"); *gá-tra-m*, "limb" (roo *vás-tra-m*, "garment" (root *vas*, "to put "arrow" (root *śas*, "to slay"); *yók-tra-m yuj*, "to bind"); *dáṁshṭrâ*, "tooth"

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* At the end of compounds *bhâs-kara-s*, "maki sun;" *bha-yan-kara-s*, "making fear," "formidable.

† It is a question whether the *θ* of *θρα*, *θρα*, is fluence of the ρ, in analogy with the law of sounds i

bite"); *yáṭrâ*, feminine, "provisions" (root *yâ*, "to go"). So in Greek, *νίπτρο-ν*, *πλῆκτρο-ν*, *μάκτρο-ν*, *λέκτρο-ν* ("bed," as "means of lying"), *βάκτρο-ν* ("stick," as "means for going"), *ζῶ-σ-τρο-ν*, *ἄροτρο-ν*, *θέλγητρο-ν*, *φίλητρο-ν*, *ἔλυτρο-ν*, *θήρατρο-ν*, *ἄρθρο-ν*, *βάθρο-ν*, *λείβηθρο-ν*, *μάκτρα*, *πί-σ-τρα*, *καλύπτρα*, *βάθρα*, *κρεμάθρα*. The suffix in the class of words under discussion is, in Sanscrit, seldom accented, and still more rarely in Greek: the most common Sanscrit word of this kind is *vaktrá-m*, "mouth," as "speaking," or "instrument of speaking;" so *paktrá-m*, "holy fire," properly "that which cooks" (root *pach* from *pak*); *dhartrá-m*, "house," as "holding," "receiving" (root *dhar*, *dhṛi*); *vêtrá-m*, "a reed," as "moving itself" (root *vî*). In Greek, *λουτρό-ν* and *δαιτρό-ν* belong to this head. The latter, by its passive signification, corresponds ("the distributed") to the Vêdian *dâtrám*, "gift," as "that which has been given," or "is to be given."* As respects its base syllable, however, *δαιτρόν* (*δαίω*) belongs to the Sanscrit root *dô* = *dâ*, "to cut off," whence *dâtra-m*, "a sickle." As the suffix *tár*, in Sanscrit, is occasionally preceded by an *i* as conjunctive vowel, so also is *tra*, and then either the conjunctive vowel or the base syllable is accented: the former in *khaní-tra-m*, "a spade" (*khan*, "to dig"), the latter in *vád-i-tra-m*, "a musical instrument," properly "that which causes to speak or utter a sound" (root *vad*, "to speak," in the causal); *gár-i-tra-m*, "rice," properly "that which causes to eat," "nourishes" (root *gar*, *gṛi*, "*deglutire*," in the causal). As we have above (§. 810.) compared the Greek *ε* of forms like *γεν-ε-τήρ* with the Sanscrit-Latin vowel of conjunction *i* of the corresponding *jan-i-tár*, *gen-i-tór*, so may also the *ε* of *φέρ-ε-τρο-ν* be taken as the cor-

* Benfey quotes in his Glossary to the Sâma Vêda, p. 88, the following passage of the Rig. Vêda: *ási bhágó ási dâtrásya dâtấ*, "thou art the Lord: thou art the distributor of alms."

ruption of *ι*, and the said word be contrasted with Sanscrit formations like *khan-í-tra-m* and *vád-i-tra-m*. It may, however, be the case, that the ε of *φέρ-ε-τρον* is identical with the class-vowel ε of *φέρ-ε-τε*, *φέρ-ε-τον*, &c.; then *φέρ-ε-τρον* would correspond to Sanscrit formations like *pát-a-tram*, "wing," as "instrument of flying;" *vádh-a-tra-m*, "weapon," as "slaying;" *kṛínt-a-tra-m*, "plough," as "cleaver" (root *kṛit* from *kart*, in the special tenses *kṛint*, compare *κείρω*): for which, indeed, the Grammarians assume a suffix *atra*, the *a* of which, however, appears to me identical with the inserted vowel of the first and sixth class; thus, *pát-a-tra-m*, like *pát-a-ti*, "he flies;" *kṛínt-a-tra-m*, like *kṛínt-a-ti*, "he cleaves."* Thus in Greek the *η* of forms like *φίλη-τρο-ν* and *κόρη-θρο-ν* evidently belongs to the verbal base, and is identical with that of *φιλή-σω*, *κορή-σω*. The same is the case with the *â* and *ê* of the corresponding class of words in Latin *arâ-tru-m*, *fulgê-tru-m*, *fulgê-tra*, *verê-tru-m*, where it must be observed, that, according to §. 109ª. 6., the *â* of the first as well as the *ê* of the second conjugation are identical in their origin with the *η* of the above-mentioned Greek forms. As, however, the *ê* of the second conjugation is less permanent than the *â* of the first and the *î* of the fourth (see §. 801. Note), we cannot be surprised to find, not *mulgê-tra*, *mulgê-trum*, but *mulc-tra*, *mulc-tru-m*; not *monê-tru-m*, but *mon-s-trum*. The *s* of *monstrum* corresponds to the euphonic *s* mentioned in §. 95. A similar one is also to be found in *lu-s-trum* and *flu-s-trum*. *Vi-trum*, "glass," as it were, "instrument of seeing," or "making to see," has lost the *d* of the root. We should have expected *vis-trum* (see §. 101.) according to the analogy of *ras-trum*, *ros-trum*, *claus-trum*, *cas-trum*. In the third co[illegible]

* The Indian Grammarians include the *i* of the above-mentioned wor[illegible] in *i-tra* in the suffix.

the class syllable of which has, from the time of
of language, as a rule not extended itself beyond
ent, with its derivatives, and the imperfect, the
joined, for the most part, direct to the root, *e.g.*
spec-trum. In the fourth conjugation we should
trum, in accordance with *â-trum* in the first, and
i the second; but *haus-trum*, from *hauris*, is in
ty to the other anomalies of this verb.

The Zend has, according to §. 47., changed the *t* of
tra into *th*, but leaves it unaltered after sibilants,
i general, do not admit of *th* after them; hence
yaoschdâthra, "means of purification" (V. S.
ominative accusative *-thrĕ-m* (see §. 30.): *dôithrĕ-m*,
s "seeing"), is connected in its root and suffix
Greek *θέατρον*, although the meaning of the latter
i a different direction, since it signifies the place
fords the spectacle. The corresponding Sanscrit
most probably *dhyâi*, with which Pott ("*E. I. I.*"
as been the first to compare the Greek *θεάομαι*,
dhyâi signifies not "to see" but "to think," where
e observed that बुध *budh*, "to know," has, in Zend,
the meaning of "to see," as विद् *vid*, "to know,"
atin, while the Greek root *ἰδ* (*εἴδω*, *οἶδα*) unites the
anings. Remark, also, with Burnouf ("*Yaçna*,"
he New Persian root *dî*, "to see" (infinitive *dî-dan*),* contraction which the Sanscrit root *dhyâi* has ex-
d in the substantive *dhî* (nominative *dhî-s*), "un-
ing," "insight." The following are examples in
ie suffix spoken of has preserved its original tenuis
e protection of a preceding sibilant: *vaštrĕm*, "robe,"
: *vaštra* (see §. 137., Sanscrit *vástra-m*, see §. 721.

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present *bînam* belongs probably to a different root, and, in fact,
scrit *vid*.

Note **), and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 *vâŝtra* (as theme), "the willow," as "growing"* (connected in its root with the Old High German base *wahs-a-mon*, "shrub," "fruit," see §. 799.), whence the often occurring *vâŝtravat*, "willowy," as also *vâŝtrya* (nominative *-yô*), "farmer." The Zend uses the formations in *thra*, *tra*, also in the sense of abstract substantives, which, according to what has been said (§. 809.) regarding the radically connected Latin formations in *tûra*, cannot surprise us. The following are examples: 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬙𐬹𐬙𐬀𐬨 *dar-ĕ-thrĕ-m*, "possession," "reception," "retention" (Sanscrit root *dhar*, *dhṛi*, "to keep"); 𐬛𐬀𐬨𐬉𐬙𐬹𐬙𐬀𐬨 *mar-ĕ-thrĕm*, "mention" (Sanscrit root *smar*, *smṛi*, "to remember"); 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬀𐬨 *khâthrĕm*, "splendour;"† 𐬛𐬀𐬰𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬨 *khâŝ-trĕm*,

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* I doubt not that this expression comes from the Sanscrit root *vaksh*, "to grow," which, in Zend, in the devoid of Guna special tenses of the fourth class, is contracted to *ucs*. With respect to the suppression of the guttural in the above form, compare the relation of the Sanscrit *chash-tê*, "he says," to the root *chaksh*, and the Zend *chashman*, "eye" (as "saying," "announcing"), to the same root, and to the cognate Sanscrit word *châkshus*.

† At the end of compounds *pôuru-khâthra*, "having much lustre" (see Burnouf, "*Yaçna*," p. 421). I consider *khâthra* to be an abbreviation of *kharthra* (*kharĕthra*, according to §. 44.), and derive it from the root *khar*, "to shine," whence, also, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬙𐬹𐬌 *kharĕnô*, "lustre." The root *sur* (from *svar*, see §. 36.) corresponds in Sanscrit. The loss of the final consonant of the root appears to be compensated by lengthening the vowel, as in the Sanscrit *jâtá*, "born," from *jan*; *khâtá*, "engraven," from *khan*. Observe, also, the relation of the Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬌 *zazâmi*, "I produce," to the Sans. *jájanmi*. Burnouf gives another derivation of *khâthra*, "lustre" (l. c. p. 419) dividing it into *kha*, "*suus*," and *âthra*, according to which its literal meaning would be "*suum ignem habens*," and therefore *âthra* would be connected with the word *âtar*, "fire," which is used in its uncompounded form, and the *a* of which is suppressed in the weakest cases; hence *âthr-at*, "*igne*;" *âthr-aṅm*, "*ignium*." Burnouf touches also on the possibility of the prefix सु *su*, *hu*, "fair," being contained in *khâthra*, in which case its proper signification would be "*pulchrum ignem habens*."

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te." The latter Burnouf ("*Yaçna*," p. 220) derives, ubtedly with justness, from the Sanscrit root *svâd*: the ition of *d* into *ṡ* is here quite regular (see §. 102. con- on); and *khâṡtrĕm* therefore resembles, both in the onic treatment of the radical *d* and in the suffix, the 5. conclusion) above-mentioned Latin formations, as *trum*.

3. As regards the formation of abstract substantives gh the suffix under discussion, the German languages t of comparison with the Zend in several interesting s. The Gothic furnishes us with the neuter base *-thra* (nominative accusative *maurthr*, see §. 153.), "mur- properly "the killing," the obscure root of which us to the Sanscrit *mar*, *mṛi*, "to die," causal *mârá-* "I slay." * Besides the above, J. Grimm (II. p. 123) es from *blôstreis* a neuter *blôstr*, "oblation" (theme *a*), which I should be glad to admit did it anywhere r. Nevertheless, I think its existence must be as- d, and I derive from it the existing masculine *blôs-*, the base of which, *blôstrya* (see §. 135.), has the same ion to its presupposed primitive base *blôstra* that the iously mentioned Zend *vâṡtryô* (theme *vâṡtrya*), "coun- an," has to its primitive base *vâṡtra*, "pasture." † The of the Gothic base *blôs-tra* is *blôt*, "to sacrifice," "to

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rivation, however, in which *khâthra* would etymologically also sig- what the sense requires, and according to which it would be radically ical with a word (*kharĕnô*) literally meaning "lustre," appears to le most natural.

The *u* of the Gothic form is a weakening of *a*, to which, according 82., an euphonic *a* is prefixed. As most of the German languages lost the *r* of the Gothic *maurthr*, and consequently the agreement een them in suffix with the primitive suffix *tra*, *thra*, is no longer nisable, we should remark with care the English "murder."

It is a rule in Sanscrit that verbal bases terminating with a vowel t their final vowel before vowels or *y* in an annexed derivative suffix.

worship," whence, according to §. 102., *blôs-tra*, in analogy with the Zend *khâs-tra*, "taste," from *khâd-tra*; so *gils-tra*, "tax," nominative accusative *gilstr*, from *gild-tra*, *gild-tr*, from the weakened form of the root *gald*, with the preposition *us* and *fra*, "to repay."* The *a* of the Old High German *gels-tar*, *kels-tar*, *ghels-tar* (Graff, IV. 194.), I take to be an auxiliary vowel inserted to remedy the harshness of an accumulation of consonants at the end of a word, and which, on the annexation of the case-terminations in these and similar words, is again dropped, hence genitive plural *ghels-tro*; so from *bluos-tar*, *blos-tar*, "oblation," dative *blos-tre*; from *hlah-tar*, "laughing," "laughter," dative *hlah-tre*.† We have, therefore, in the common German expression *Ge-läch-ter*, as also in the English "laugh-ter," analogous forms to the Zend abstract neuter bases in *thra*, *tra*, as also to the Sanscrit formations in *tra*, Greek in τρο, and Latin in *tru*. Thus in English also "slaugh-ter," which in its radical part, graphically at least, is more perfectly retained than the cognate verb "slay." Probably, also, "thun-der" and "wea-ther" are to be included in the class of words which are formed in Sanscrit by the suffix *tra*, though the *t*-sound of the suffix is lost in the appellation of "thunder" in the older dialects (Old High German *donar* masculine, Old Saxon *thunar*, Anglo-Saxon *thunor*); on the other hand, in Latin we have *ton-i-trus*, *ton-i-tru*, where the *u* of the fourth declension is matter of surprise, as the Sanscrit *a*

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* With respect to the interchange of *t*, *th*, and *d* (*blôs-tra*, *gils-tra*, compared with *maur-thra*), in suffixes originally commencing with *t*, I refer the reader to §. 91.

† Whether the gender be masculine or neuter is not to be determined from the cases which occur (accusative *hlahtar*, dative *hlahtre* and *hlahtere*); as, however, the perfectly analogous *blôstar* shews itself, by the accusative plural *blôstar*, to be neuter, I agree with Graff (IV. 1112.) in considering *hlahtar* also as neuter, in accordance with the analogous Gothic and Zend forms.

lead us to expect only the unorganic *u* of the second ısion (see §. 116.). The corresponding Sanscrit root is 'to thunder," whence *stan-ayi-tnú-s*, "the thunder."* ther" belongs to the Sanscrit root *vâ*, "to blow," e also the Lithuanian *wĕ̃-tra*, "storm." To return Gothic; *fô-dr*, "sheath" (theme *fô-dra*), and *huli-s-tr*, ' (theme *huli-s-tra*), belong to the class of words here sed. The latter proceeds from the verbal base *hul-ya;* herefore, is the contraction of the syllable *ya*, as in eterite *hul-i-da*. I regard the *s* as an euphonic affix, the Latin *lu-s-tru-m*, *flu-s-trum* (see §. 815. conclusion), *trum*. The following nominal derivatives are ana- : *avi-s-tr*, "sheep-cote," as "place of the sheep," the lost primitive base *avi* (=Sanscrit *avi*, Lithua- *wi*); and *navi-s-tr*, "grave," as "place of the dead," *vaus*, theme *nava*, with the weakening of the *a* to *i*, the genitive *navi-s* (see §. 191.) Observe that the and Latin languages very frequently transfer the s of verbal derivatives to nominal derivatives. *Fô-dr*,

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is the character of the tenth class, and *itnu* the suffix, which forms es with the signification of the participle present and masculine ap- ıs; as, *harshayitnús*, "rejoicing," and as a substantive masculine ıs "the causer of rejoicing" (so *nandana*, "son," from *nand* "to). The *i* is evidently merely a vowel of conjunction, as in the *tan-ay-i-shyáti*, "it will thunder:" there also exists, as well as more simple suffix *tnu*, as in *hatnú-s*, masculine, "sickness," and ion," as "slaying," from *han*, "to slay." The *t* of *tnu* and *itnu* regarded in the same light as the euphonic *t* mentioned above Note); so that, therefore, only *nu* would be left as the true suffix, ars in *bhânú-s*, "sun," as "giving light." The circumstance that n *ton-i-tru-s*, *ton-i-tru*, stands in the class of words under discus- very isolated position, owing to its *u* of the fourth declension, l us to compare it, with respect to its suffix also, with the San- *tayitnú-s*, by assuming an exchange of the liquids; so that *tru* tand for *tnu*, just as in the Latin *pul-mô* (for *plu-mô*) an *l* stands inst the Greek nasal of *πνεύμων* (compare §. 20.)

The Old High German *fo-dar*, *fad-dar*, "fodder" Anglo-Saxon, *fô-dr*, *fô-dher*, *fo-ddar*, *fo-ddur*) is root and suffix with the appellation of "she "supports," but only in a different manner f which "fodder" does. To this class of wo added, with more or less certainty, a few othe German neuters which end, in the nominative tive, in *tar* or *dar*: viz. *flu-dar*, "float," from (= Sanscrit *plu*), which has generally assumed a *z* (see 109[b]. 1.); *flô-dar*, "*fluor*,"* from the *ruo-dar*, "rudder," apparently as "making to fl gate," in root and suffix akin to the Latin *r* Greek *ῥέ-θρον* (*ῥέω* from *σρε(F)ω*, Sanscrit *srávâ* root *sru*, "to flow," causal *srâvay*), and radical also with *re-mus*.† Perhaps, too, we ought to *wundar*, *wuntar*, "wonder," and *wuldar*, "glory, vatives from roots now unknown.

819. To the Sanscrit feminine suffix *trâ*, as "tooth" (see §. 815.), corresponds the Gothic *th* (nominative and accusative *nêthla*), "needle," as "of sewing;" as in the Greek *ακέστρα*, but with *l* f according to §. 20., cannot surprise us, particu Greek suffixes *τλο*, *θλο*, *τλη*, *θλη* (see Pott, II.

ewise evidently to be referred to the Sanscrit *tra*, *trâ*; in ὄχ-ε-τλο-ν, χύ-τλο-ν, θύ-σ-θλο-ν, ἐχ-έ-τλη, γεν-έ-θλη. χ-ε-τλο-ν, in a Sanscrit form would be perhaps *vah-i-tra-m*, *vah-a-tra-m*. With regard to γενέθλη as an abstract bstantive, I must remark, that in Sanscrit also the femine suffix *trâ* is occasionally used to form abstract subantives; thus, the *yâtrâ* mentioned above (§. 815.) means so "gait." In Old High German the word for "needle" hibits in the nominative and accusative, in different riters, *nâ-dla*, *nâ-dila*, *nâ-dela*, and *nâ-dal*: the Anglo-axon form is *næ-dl*. We have further to mention, in othic, *hleithra* (theme *-thrô*), "a tent," which has retained he old *r*, though its root is obscured: it belongs, in my pinion, to the Sanscrit *śri* from *kri*, "to go" (compare *śman*, "house," from *viś*, "to enter"), whence *â-śraya-s*, asylum," "house," and in Gothic also *hliya*, masculine, heme *-yan*), "a tent." To this root belongs also, among ther words, the Old High German *hlei-tara* (for *hleitra*)* which, on account of its suffix, also belongs to this class), nglo-Saxon *hlædre*, *hlæ-der*, German *Lei-ter*, "ladder," as instrument of mounting."

820. Let us now consider somewhat more closely the erfect passive participle, which we have already had occasion to mention more than once.† Its suffix is, in Sanrit and Zend, usually *ta* (masculine and neuter), feminine , and is, I have no doubt, identical with the demonstrative se *ta* (see §. 343.). There is no ground, therefore, in the ord itself for a passive signification, except, perhaps, in e accent; for while, according to §. 785. Remark, the ac-

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* Graf (IV. p. 1115.) quotes for the nominative the forms *leitra*, *hleitar*, *era*, *leiter*, genitive *hleitra*. It admits of no doubt, that the forms in *r* e lost a final *a*, and that they cannot be classed with *muotar*, *tohtar*, *star*, of which the proper termination is *r*.

† See §§. 513. 588.

scarce needs to be noticed, are identical with
participles passive of the cognate languages, h
the old accentuation, and thus we have *ποτό-ς*, *
standing in the same relation to *πότος*, "th
(compare §. 785. Remark, near the end), that,
pίyátê, "*bibitur*," has to *pίyatê* (Class 4, midd
The paroxytone or proparoxytone accent of ab
appears to be preserved principally where, to
the abstract, the passive verbal is actually in use
consequently, there is the more ground for l
abstract meaning prominently forward by the ac
otherwise the abstract follows in its accentuati
vailing example of verbals with passive significa
indeed, *πότος*, *ἄροτος*, *ἄμητος*, *τρύγητος*, *ἔμετος*,
posed to *ποτός*, *ἀροτός*, *ἀμητός*, *τρυγητός*, *ἐμετός*,
τον); but not *κόπετος*, *κώκυτος*, *ἀλόητος*, but *κοπε
ἀλοητός, as these abstracts have no oxytone pas
to match them. There are, however, some i
tracts, or words which express the time of
which have the accent thrown back, as *βίοτος*,

821. The participial suffix **ᵀ** *ta* is either join
the root or by a vowel of conjunction *i*. To th

n *(g)nŏ-tu-s*, *i-gnŏ-tu-s*; *dat-tá-s*, "given,"* Zend *dâ-tô* me *dâta*), Latin *da-tu-s*, Greek *δο-τό-ς*; *śru-tá-s*, "heard," ek *κλυ-τό-ς*, Latin *clu-tu-s*; *bhû-tá-s*, "been," "being," ek *φυ-τό-ς*; *bhṛi-tá-s* (from *bhartas*, see §. 1.), "borne," d *bĕrĕtŏ* (theme *-ta*), Greek (*φερ-τό-ς*) *ἄ-φερ-το-ς*, Latin *us*, "bearing," "fruitful;" *stṛi-tá-s*, "extended" (from *ás*), Zend *fra-štárĕtô* (*fra* preposition), Greek *στρα-τό-ς*, ısposed from *σταρ-τός*), Latin *strâ-tu-s*; *pak-tá-s*, "cooked," ek *πεπ-τό-ς* (root *πεπ* from *πεκ*, Sanscrit *pach*, from *pak*, n *coc*, from *poc*), Latin *coc-tu-s*; *uk-tá-s*, "spoken" (irre- ır for *vaktás*), Zend *uctô* (*hûctô*, "well-spoken" (from *hu-*); *yuk-tá-s*, "bound," Greek *ζευκ-τό-ς*, Latin *junc-tu-s*; *sh-ṭá-s*, "roasted" (from *bhrashṭás*, and this from *bhrak-* Greek *φρυκ-τό-ς*, Latin *fric-tus*; *bad-dhá-s*, "bound" honic for *badh-tá-s*, root *bandh*), Zend *bas-tô*;† *lab-dhá-s*, tained" (euphonic for *labhtás*), Greek *ληπ-τό-ς*; *jâ-tá-s*, rn" (root *jan*), Zend *zâ-tô*, Greek *γε-τό-ς*, in the com- ıd *τηλύγετος*;‡ *matá-s*, "thought" (root *man*), Zend *matô*, ıpare *μεν-ε-τός*); *dish-ṭâ-s*, "shewn" (euphonic for *dish-* from *dik-tás*, see §. 21.), Greek (*δεικτός*) *ἀναπόδεικτος*, *όδεικτος*, &c., Latin *dic-tus*; *dash-ṭá-s*, "bitten" (eupho- or *daś-tás*, from *dak-tás*), Greek (*δηκ-τό-ς*), *ἄδηκτος*, *καρδιό- ος*; *ḍrish-tá-s*, "seen" (from *darshtás*, and this from

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From *dudâtas*, with irregular retention of the reduplication of the al tenses.

See §. 102., and compare Greek analogous form, as *κεστός*, *πιστός*. ı regard to the Latin form of this participle in roots with a *T* sound 101.

t is a rule in Sanscrit that before formative suffixes beginning with ich require no Guna augment, the *n* and *m* of the root are rejected; "to produce, to bear," and *khan*, "to engrave," lengthen their vowel ing this. From *han*, "to smite, to slay," comes *hatás*, with which ay compare the Greek *-φατος*, as ΦΕΝΩ (*φόνος*, *ἔπεφνον*), like *θνήσκω*, probably belongs to the Sanscrit root *han*, from *dhan* (*nidhana*, ath").

dark-tás), Greek (δερκτός), ἐπίδερκτος; *ush-ṭá-s*, "burnt," Latin *us-tu-s*. The following are examples with the conjunctive vowel *i*: *prat-i-tá-s*, "*extensus*" (root प्रथ् *prath*, whence *pṛithú-s*, "broad," from *prathú-s*, Greek πλατύ-ς, Lithuanian *pla-tù-s*); *añch-i-tá-s*, "*erectus*," *pat-i-tá-s*, "*qui cecidit*."* So in Latin, *dom-i-tus*, *mon-i-tus*, *mol-i-tus*, *gen-i-tus*. In Greek the ε of forms like *μεν-ε-τός*, *σκελ-ε-τός*, *ἑρπ-ε-τός*, corresponds, where we again leave it undecided whether this *ε* be a corruption of an *i* or an *a*.†

822. The Latin forms in *idus*, springing from neuter verbs, and for the most part of the second conjugation, as *pall-i-dus*, *ferv-i-dus*, *frig-i-dus*, *torr-i-dus*, *tim-i-dus*, *tep-i-dus*, *splend-i-dus*, *nit-i-dus*, *luc-i-dus*, *fulg-i-dus*, *viv-i-dus*, *sap-i-dus*, *flu-i-dus*, correspond to the participles in *tá* in Sanscrit, which spring from neuter verbs, and have an active signification, and especially to those which have a present meaning; as, *tvar-i-tás*, "hastening," *sthitás*, "standing," *suptás*, "sleeping" (also "having slept"), *śaktás*, "being able,"‡ *yat-tas*, "striving," *bhí-tás*, "fearing," *hrí-tás*, "being

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* Regarding the active signification of this participle in neuter verbs see §. 513. conclusion; so, in Greek, *στατός*, "standing," = Sanscrit *sthitás* (weakened from *sthâtás*), which likewise signifies present time: on the other hand *pra-sthitás* means both "*proficiscens*" and "*profectus*."

† Compare §. 815., and Curtius "*De Nominum Græcorum formatione*," pp. 38, 60. Indian Grammarians assume a suffix (*uṇádi*) *atá*, the *a* of which, however, is most probably only a class-vowel, with which the Greek *ε* might be compared; thus, *ἑρπ-ε-τός* (compare *ἕρπ-ε-τε*) like *pach-a-tás*, "fire," as "cooking." The abstracts *θάν-α-τος*, "death," and *κάμ-α-τος*, "fatigue," have preserved the conjunctive vowel in its original form, and thus correspond to the Sanscrit *mar-a-tá-s*, "death;" where, however, we must observe that the Sanscrit root *mar*, *mṛi*, "to die," in its verbal conjugation, does not belong to the first or sixth class any more than the Greek roots *θαν* and *καμ*.

‡ The form with the conjunctive vowel (*śak-i-tás*) has a passive signification, so *yat-i-tás*, "obtained by efforts, sought for," compared with *yat-tás*, "striving." In Latin, *vice versâ*, *rap-i-dus*, active, opposed to *rap-tus*, passive.

ıshamed;" and to the Greek στατός, "standing;" μενετός, 'remaining;" ἑρπετός, "creeping." The opinion, therefore, elsewhere stated, appears probable, that the *d* in the Latin forms just mentioned is only the weakening of an original tenuis,* just as in *quadraginta, quadruplus, quadruplex*, for *quatraginta*, &c. An active and present meaning, though in a transitive verb, and with the retention of the old tenuis, occurs in the participle spoken of in *fertus*, "bearing," "fruitful," which corresponds in form with the Sanscrit *bhṛitás*, from *bhartás*, "borne," Zend *bĕrĕtô*, and Greek -φερτος (see §. 818.).

823. The Sanscrit verbs of the tenth class, and the causals identical with them in form, have all of them the conjunctive vowel *i*; hence *pîḍ-i-tás*, "pressed," "pained;" *vêś-i-tá-s*, "made to enter." The circumstance, however, that the said verbs extend their character *ay* (in the special tenses *aya*) to the universal tenses also, and a great part of the formation of words, gives room for the conjecture that the *i* of forms like *pîḍ-i-tás, vêś-i-tás*, is not the ordinary vowel of conjunction, but a contraction of *ay*; or that such forms in *i-tá-s* have been preceded by older ones in *ay-i-tas*, according to the analogy of the infinitives, as *pîḍ-áyi-tum*. As, then, Latin supines like *am-â-tum, aud-î-tum*, are related to *pîḍ-áyi-tum*, just such is the relation of *am-â-tus, aud-î-tus*, to the presupposed *pîḍ-áyi-tas*. Although the Latin second conjugation also belongs here, and, for example, *moneo* corresponds to the Sanscrit causal *mân-áyâ-mi* and Prâkrit *mâṇ-ê-mi* (see p. 110), I would nevertheless prefer to identify *mon-i-tus* with *mân-i-tás* in such a way

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ssive. Observe, also, the active *cup-i-dus* together with the passive *cp-î-tus*. These, however, are only arbitrary usages, which rest on no neral principle.

* *Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words*, pp. 21, 22. Pott is a different opinion, *E. I. M.* p. 567.

that I could thence infer the existence of similar forms in the time of the unity of language, while I would prefer assuming a casual coincidence in the similar abbreviation of a common element. In Greek the *η* or *ω* of forms like *φιλ-η-τός*, *τιμ-η-τός* (from *τιμ-ᾱ-τος*), *χειρ-ω-τός*, corresponds to the character of the Sanscrit tenth class, and therefore to the Latin *â* and *î* of *am-â-tus*, *aud-î-tus*. In Gothic, where, as generally throughout the German languages, this participle remains regular only in the so-called weak conjugation, the old tenuis, instead of, in accordance with §. 57. becoming an aspirate, has sunk down to a medial, in such-wise, however, as that before the *s* of the masculine nominative, and in the accusative, which has lost the final vowel of the base and the case termination, a *th* for *d* enters (compare §. 91.). According to the difference of the conjugational class, an *i* (from *ya*), *ô*, or *ai*, *i.e.* the three different forms of the Sanscrit character of the tenth class (*ay*, see §. 109ª. 6.) precedes; hence the bases *tam-i-da*,* "*domitus*;" *friy-ô-da*,† "*amatus*;" *ga-yuk-ai-da*, "*subjugatus*;" nominative masculine *tamiths*, *friyôths*, *gayukaiths*; accusative *tamith*, &c.; genitive *tamidi-s*, &c. (see §. 191.). The direct annexation of the participial suffix occurs in Gothic only in certain irregular verbs, and in such a manner that, according to the measure of the preceding consonant, either the original tenuis is preserved, or has become *d* (see §§. 626. 91.). Thus the base *bauhta*,‡ "purchased" (*bugy*-

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* Compare Sanscrit *dam-i-tás* (from *dam-ayi-tás*?) from *damáyâmi*, causal of the root *dam*, "to tame," but of the same meaning as the primitive and the Latin *dom-i-tus*.

† It may be regarded as the denominative of the Sanscrit *priya*, "dear," "beloved;" and it is also, radically and in its formation, akin to the Greek *φιλ-η-τός* (from *φιλέω*, denominative of *φίλος*, transposed from *φλιος*), the *η* of which has sprung, like the Gothic *ô*, from *â*.

‡ Euphonic for *buhta* (see §. 82.), and this from *bukta*, from the root *bug*.

"I purchase"), corresponds to Sanscrit forms like *bhuktá*,* 'eaten" (root *bhuj* from *bhug*), Greek like φρυκτό, and Latin ike *junctu*; *mun-da*, "believed," answers to the Sanscrit *na-tá*, "thought," "believed," for *man-tá*, as the feminine ubstantive base *ga-mun-di* (nominative *-n-ds*) does to the anscrit base *má(n)-ti*, "meaning."

824. In Lithuanian the participial suffix spoken of is reained quite unaltered in form, and, indeed, in all verbs, so far s they have a passive. In the nominative masculine *ta-s* orresponds to the Sanscrit *tá-s*; e.g. *sekta-s* "followed" = anscrit *saktá-s* (root *sach*, from *sak*, "to [G. Ed. p. 1156.] llow," compare Latin *sequor*); *seg-ta-s*, "fastened" = Sanrit *sak-tá-s* for *sag-tá-s* (root सञ्ज् *sañj*, from *sang*, "to sten"); *deg-ta-s*, "burnt" = Sanscrit *dag-dha-s*.† In the ominative feminine *sekta*, *segta*, *degta*, correspond to the nscrit *saktá*, *dagdhá*, only with the *a* shortened, as in othic, Latin, and Zend forms like *bauhta* (genitive *uhtô-s*), *juncta*, [illegible] *baśta* (see §. 137.): to the Latin *ncta* corresponds literatim the Lithuanian *junkta*, from *ngiu*, "I yoke (the oxen)": *kept-as*, *kepta* (from *keppù*, "I ke," see §. 501.), corresponds to the Sanscrit *pak-tá-s*, *tá*, eek πεπτό-ς, τή, Latin *coctu-s*, *ta*. Forms like *wes-ta-s*, onducted" (root *wed*), correspond in a euphonic respect Zend like *baś-tô*, "bound" (root *bandh*(, *iriś-tô*, "dead" ot *irith*), and Greek like πισ-τός, κεσ-τός (see §. 102.). To the othic participles of the weak conjugation correspond the pariples of those Lithuanian conjugations, which we have above

* In the former parts of this work the accent is not given to Sanscrit rds, as the subject of Sanscrit accent had not then been investigated. 1843, Böhtlingk published a treatise on Sanscrit accentuation (as the thor of this work tells us in the Preface to his Fifth Part), which opened a new field of inquiry. The mark over the *a* then, in *bhuktá*, is the ent, and does not denote vowel length.

† *Dh* euphonic for *t*, see §. 104. In Irish, *daghaim*, "I burn," corrends to the Sanscrit *dahâmi*; and *dagte*, "burnt," to the passive partile *daghda-s*, Lithuanian *degtas*.

(§. 506., p. 704) compared with the Sanscrit tenth class; thus, *myl-i-tas*, "beloved;" *pen-ĕ-tas*, "nourished;" *laih-y-tas*, "held."

825. The Sclavonic languages have, if the opinion expressed in §. 628. be well founded, transferred to the active voice the passive participle here spoken of—with the retention, however, of the meaning of past time—and have weakened the original *t* to *l*, probably by changing it in an intervening stage to *d*. In the former point they correspond to the New Persian, where the participle in question has, at least generally, an active signification: in the latter point they agree with the Georgian, where ჭამული *jam-u-li* signifies "eaten" (Sanscrit *jam*, "to eat"), and თბობილი *thbob-i-li* "warmed" (Sanscrit *tap*, "to burn").

[G. Ed. p. 1157.] The suffix ло *lo* (n. m. лъ *l'*, neut. *lo*, f. *la*) is joined, in Old Sclavonic, either directly to the root or to the class-syllable, the latter in the verbs which correspond to the Sanscrit 10th class and the German weak conjugation; hence, *e.g.* ВЫЛЪ *byl'*, ВЫЛА *byla*, ВЫЛО *bylo*, "been" = Sanscrit *bhûtás, tá, tám* (pers. *bûdeh*); ПИЛЪ *pi-l'*, ПИЛА *pi-la*, ПИЛО *pi-lo*, "having drunk" = Sanscrit *pî-tás, tá, tám*, "drunk;" НЕСЛЪ *nesl'*, НЕСЛА *nesla*, НЕСЛО *nes-lo*, "having borne;" ВОУДИЛЪ *bûd-i-l'*, ВОУДИЛА *bûd-i-la*, ВОУДИЛО *bûd-i-lo*, "having waked" = Sanscrit *bôdh-i-tás, tá, tám*, "waked."* Should, however, these Sclavonic participles not be connected with the Sanscrit participles in *ta*, it appears to me almost impossible to compare them with forms in the cognate languages; at least I do not believe that the suffix *la*, which occurs in Sanscrit only in a few words, *e.g.* in *chap-a-lá-s* "trembling," or the suffix *ra*, the use of which is in like manner but rare, *e.g.* that of *dîp-rá-s*, "shining," can have served as the source from which the Sclavonic participial suffix *lo* is derived.

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* With regard to the change of the old *t*-sound into *l*, compare also the Gipsy *mu-lo*, "dead," from *mudo*, Prâkrit *mudo* (nom. masc.).

826. The Sclavonic languages, however, are not deficient forms also which have preserved the old *t* and the pas-ve signification of the participle under discussion, although all the Sclavonic dialects this participle is generally rmed by the suffix *no* (fem. *na*) = Sanscrit *na*, of which reafter. In the Old Sclavonic we find an example in *to* om. masc. ТЪ *tъ*, fem. ТА *ta*, neut. ТО *to*) in ОТАТЪ *otaṅ-tъ*, *idemtus*" (prep. *otъ*, "from"), which in root and formation rresponds to the Sanscrit *yatá-s* (for *yan-tá-s*, from *yam-s*) and Latin *emtus*.* In Slowenian [G. Ed. p. 1158.] Carniolan the passive participles in *t* are very nume-us; *e.g. ster-t*, "extended" (compare Zend *štarĕta*, San-rit *stṛitá*), *der-t*, "flayed," *bi-t*, "struck," *slu-t*, "famed" anscrit *śru-tá-s*, "heard," *vi-śru-tá-s*, "famed," Greek κλυ-ς).† In Russian the following are examples: пишый *-tyĭ*, "drunk" (Sanscrit *pî-tá-s*); пролишый *pro-li-tyĭ*, spilt," *po-vi-tyĭ*, enveloped," *po-bi-tyĭ*, "smitten, slain," *lotyĭ*, "stuck;" шанушый *tanutyĭ*, "drawn."‡ The opi-on, however, that the suffix *t*, *la*, *lo* is based on the San-rit *ta-s*, *tâ*, *ta-m*, is not refuted by these forms, as it is by means uncommon in the language to find together with e new and corrupted form the original also existing, ith regard to which I will here only refer to the division the suffix here treated of into *tu* and *du* (see §. 822.), hich, in my opinion, made its first appearance in Latin.

Remark.—A. Schleicher, who, in his work, "The Languages of Eu-pe," p. 261 *passim*, opposes the opinion that the Sclavonic participle ferred to is, in its origin, identical with the Sanscrit in *ta*, finds it inex-icable that from the to-be-presupposed forms like *nest* the favourite mbination of consonants *st* should be changed into the much rarer *sl*.

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* "Kopitar Vocab.," p. 78; and Miklosich, "Doctrine of Forms," p. 47.

† See Metelko, p. 105, *passim*.

‡ See Reiff, "Grammaire Russe," p. 188. The termination *yĭ*, or her the simple ы (from *yo*), fem. *ya*, is the affix mentioned above 284.) of the definite declension.

but I assume that the *t* of the suffix under discussion h

[G. Ed. p. 1159] conjugations, and the majority of been corrupted to *l*. Were, however, *lo*, in the maj verbs, once substituted for the suffix *to*, it might, as be transferred by the force of analogy to those verbs final letters a *t* agrees better than *l*. Only in the case th *el* had been unendurable in Sclavonic would the roots i which, according to a general euphonic law in Sclav change this letter before *s* into *t*, have necessarily retai of the suffix. I must here recal attention to the fact also possesses a preterite, which appears to be of part has *l* for its most essentially distinguishing feature; made" (*kŏr-i-lă-m*), 2d pers. *kŏrili*. It is highly prob Müller ("Report of the British Association for Advan for 1847," p. 243) assumes, the *l* of these forms has aris the intervention of a middle point *d*, and that the ent origin to the Sanscrit perfect passive participle in *ta*; *kŏrilăm* would equal the Persian *kardam*, from whic distinguished only by the further weakening of the *d* t tion of the vowel of conjunction *i*, which, also in Sanscr in the participle referred to. In the 2d pers. sing. *kŏ* Persian *kardi*. With regard to the use in Bengālī of th perfect participle without alteration of form and signifi remarked that this is avowedly borrowed at a later peri §. 241.); and so, in general, in the Bengālī lingual The

distinguish between the words which have been as it w

hers *an-i-lá-s*, "wind," as "blowing;" *path-i-lá-s*, "traveller" (from *ith*, "to go"). One does not, however, see how this rare suffix with a resent signification has arrived at the destination of forming a preterite i Bengālī from every root. Another modern Indian dialect which furishes a corroboration to the Sclavonic languages with [G. Ed. p. 1160.] espect to the participle under discussion is the Marāṭhī.* Here a perfect assive participle in *lă* (m.), *lĭ* (f.), *lŏ* (n.),† springs from every verbal root;

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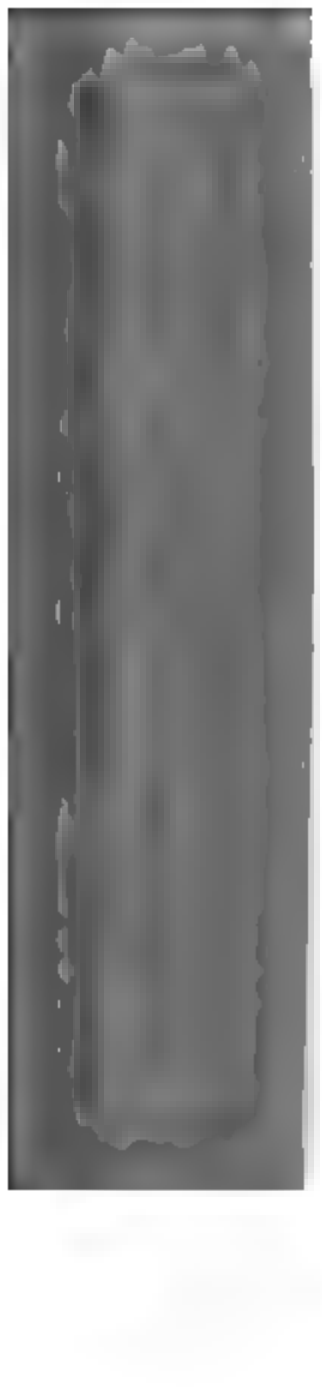
* It is very much to be regretted that the learned Professor has been guided in his remarks on the Marāṭhī language by Carey's Grammar, which was published half a century ago, and at a Presidency where the Marāṭhī language is not so well known as at Bombay. Hence he gives a past participle in ल to transitive verbs, the fact being that this participle is never separated from the vowel which marks the gender, and must be, *e.g.* पाहिला *pâhilâ*, पाहिली *pâhili*, पाहिलें *pâhileṅ*, never पाहिल *pâhil*. The sentence म्या बायकोस पाहिल *myâ bâyakós pâhil*, "I saw the woman," is altogether incorrect. It should be मीं ती बायको पाहिली *mîṅ tî bâyakô pâhilî*, or मीं त्या बायकोला पाहिलें *mîṅ tyâ bâyakôlâ pâhileṅ*. With reference to the termination स *s* and ला *lâ* in this case (be it the dative, or, as I regard it, the accusative), Dr. Stephenson rightly lays down the following rule: "When motion to a place is intended, then स *s* is preferred; but when the dative is the object of a verb, then ला *lâ* is more common; as, तो गांवास गेला *tô gâṅvâs gelâ*, 'he is gone to the village;' त्याने त्या बायकोला मारिलें *tyâne tyâ bâyakolâ mârileṅ*, 'he beat that woman.'" I am at a loss to guess where the learned Professor found authority for stating that the Sanscrit short *ă* is pronounced in Marāṭhī like *ŏ*; for so far from this being the case, I do not believe that that sound of *o* exists in any of the modern languages of India, except Bengālī, save, perhaps, before *r*.—[Note by the Translator.]

† The Sanscrit short *a* is pronounced in Marāṭhī and Bengālī like *ŏ*; so that the neuters of the participle under discussion in that language correspond exactly to those of the Sclavonic, as *neslo* (see §. 255 *a*.). The long *â* in the masculine of the Marāṭhī adjectives is probably based on the Sanscrit nominatives in *as*, so that for the suppression of the *s* compensation is made by lengthening the preceding vowel. On the other hand, the pronominal nominatives तो *tô*, "he," and जो *jô*, "which" (*j* from *y*, see §. 19.), are based on the corruption which the termination *as* has everywhere experienced in Zend, Pali, and Prâkrit (see §. 56 *b*.). Adjectives, as such, are not declined in Marāṭhī.



than "*a me jactus, jacta, jactum*;" although Carey, i
tenses, appears in reality to recognise an active form o
remarks (p. 67), "It must be observed that the gende
imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect tenses, varies, to ag
object." That which, however, is here called the ob
grammatical subject, and the participle is governed
gender, but also in number. At p. 129 it is remarke
served, that when the verb is used actively, viz. whe
pressed in the accusative, the form of the neuter s
When the object is in the nominative case, the verb i
with the gender of the subject." Ex. म्यां बायकोस् प
pâhilŏ, "I saw the woman;" म्यां बायको पाहिली *myâ*
woman was seen by me." I am convinced, however, th
[G. Ed. p. 1161.] tion is quite as much passive as the
active, the pronoun must have stood in the nominativ
therefore मीं *mîṅ*, and not *myâṅ*,‡ as in the second.
tween the two constructions is only this, that in the fi
sive participle stands impersonally, or contains the a
governs an accusative; while in the second the partic
of the subject, expressed by *bâyŏkŏ*, "woman." Con
tion be imitated in Latin it would be literally render
nam visum (*est*). In Greek, constructions such as τ
πεπτέον correspond to this. In neuter verbs, *i.e.* the
combination with various ideas, the Marāṭhī participl
Sanscrit prototype in *ta-s, tâ, ta-m*, has an active s
therefore also the pronominal or substantive subject pl

fem. *gêli-s*; 3d pers. masc. *tô gêlâ*, fem. *ti gêli*, without a personal termination. So in the verb substantive, *mîn jhâlô-ṅ*, "I was" ("I am having been"), fem. *jhâlê-ṅ*, 2d pers. *jhâlâ-s*, *jhâli-s*, 3d pers. *tô jhâlâ*, *ti jhâli*. The Marāṭhī, therefore, here appears almost in the dress of the Polish, which in like manner, in the 3d person, gives the bare participle, but in the 1st and 2d appends to it the personal terminations: masc. *byt-em*, *byt-eś*, *byt*, fem. *byta-m*, *byta-ś*, *by-ta*, neut. *byto-m*, *byto-ś*, *byto* (see §. 628. Rem. 1.) Irrespective of the passive participles newly borrowed from the Sanscrit, and which for the most part remain entirely unchanged, as *dóttŏ*, "given," *yuktŏ*, "bound," *grŏstŏ*, "swallowed," *sŏmâptŏ*, "ended," there is in Marāṭhī perhaps only one solitary participle of this kind which has preserved the old *t*, viz. *hôtâ*, fem. *hôti* (or *hôtê*), neut. *hôtŏ*, "having been"=Sanscrit *bhûtá-s*, *á*, *á-m*, (see Prâkrit *hô-mi*, "I am"), whence *hôtô-ṅ*, "I was," as above, from another root, and with a corrupted suffix झालों *jhâlô-ṅ*. According to this analogy one should expect *hólôṅ* from *hó*. The participle, which is found in the so-called 2d aorist present, *e.g.* the form *mîṅ kortô-n*, "I do" ("I am doing," see Sanscrit *kartâsmi*, "*facturus sum*"), fem. *mîṅ kartî*, I derive from the Sanscrit participle future, or noun of agent in *târ*, *tṛi*, [G. Ed. p. 1162.] nom. masc. *tâ*, which frequently occurs in the Vêda dialect in the sense of the participle present (see §. 814.).* The 2d pers. masc. *kŏrtâs*, "thou doest," answers to the Sanscrit *kartâsi*, "*facturus es*," or "*factor es*," but the substantive verb is not contained in the Marāṭhī form, but only the character of the 2d person; and this participle is treated in Marāṭhī as if it had been formed in Sanscrit by the suffix *ta* (not by *târ*, *tṛi*). In the substantive verb, both the Sanscrit *bhûtá-s*, "been," and *bhav-i-tâ*, "*futurus*," are represented in Marāṭhī by *hôtâ*. The said language, however, is not wanting in forms in which the form corresponding to the Sanscrit noun of agency, or participle future, appends its suffix by a conjunctive vowel *i*, *e.g.* इच्छितो *ichchhitô*, "wishing" (Carey, p. 80), fem. *ichchhitê*. As regards the *ó* of the masculine form *ichchhitô*, it corresponds to the before-men-

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* That the participle which appears in the 2d aorist present is not, perhaps, formally based on the Sanscrit passive participle in *ta* is evinced in the case before us, by the circumstance, that not only does *kartô-ṅ* answer better to *kartâ* than to *kṛitâ-s*, but also, that beside the genuine Marāṭhī *kêlâ*, "made," mentioned above, there exists in Marāṭhī a second borrowed form *krŏtŏ* (see Carey, p. 36, *îsvŏrŏkrŏtŏ*, "God-formed"), which, like the Prâkrit *kada* (for *karda* or *krnda*), is based on the original form *karta*, of which *kṛita* is a contraction (see §. 1.).

tioned (p. 1125, Note †) pronominal nominatives, as *tô*, "he," *jô*, "which;" while *tâ* in *hôtâ*, "being,"* answers to the ordinary adjective-nominatives in *â*. Carey, in the different verbs and auxiliary verbs which his garmmar exhibits, gives, in the 3d pers. masc. of the 2d aorist present under discussion, pretty indifferently either *tâ*, or *tô*, or *tôṅ*, only in *hôtâ* he gives only *tâ*, but elsewhere either *tôṅ* or *tô*. The nasal of the former is most probably only an inorganic affix, which the Marāṭhī occasionally adds also to some other forms which end in a vowel; as, *e.g.* in the instrumental म्यां *myâṅ*, "by me" (with *myâ*), mentioned above (p. 1126), and the analogous *tvâṅ*, "by thee" (Carey, p. 127), together with the *tvé* from the base *tva* (see §. 158.) corresponding to the Zend Grammar. We must similarly regard, I doubt not, the Anusvâra of the repeated participle in तां *tâṇ*, as *kŏrtâṅ*, *kŏrtâṅ*, "doing; continuing to do," since this participle

[G. Ed. p. 1163]. is only by its repetition distinguished in formation from that by which the 2d aorist present is periphrastically denoted. The case is different with the termination *tôṅ* of the 1st person, in which the never-failing *ṅ* is the expression of person=Sanscrit *mi*, and the preceding portion of the word is the masculine nominative. The feminine allows in the 1st person the suppression of the *ṅ*; hence *kŏr-tí*, "I make," opposed to *sŏk-té-ṅ*, "I can" (Carey, p. 79), with *é* for *î*, which appears in the 2d person *kŏrti-s*, while the masculine form retains its *ó* (*kŏrtó-s*).

827. By *ta* with the conjunctive vowel *ĭ* in Sanscrit are formed, from substantives, also adjectives, which can be taken as the passive participles of to-be-presupposed denominative verbs; as, *e.g. phaḷ'-i-tá-s*, "furnished with fruit," from *phalá*, "fruit;" whence might spring a denominative *phaḷ'-ayâ-mi*, "supplied with fruits," which would form a passive participle *phal-i-tá-s*. Corresponding forms in Latin are such as, *barbâ-tus*, *alâ-tus*, *fimbriâ-tus*, *cordâ-tus*, *aurî-tus*, *turrî-tus*, *versû-tus*, *verû-tus*, *astû-tus*, *cinctû-tus*, *jus-tus*, *nefas-tus*, *sceles-tus*, *robus-tus*, (*robur*, *roboris* from *robus*, *robos-is*), *hones-tus* (*honôr-is* from *-s-is*); and in Greek, forms like κροκω-τός, ὀμφαλω-τός, αὐλω-τός, φολιδω-τός, ἀνανδρω-τός. Let attention be directed to the inclination towards a long

* Carey, p. 92, *tô hôtá*, "he is" (literally, "he being").

owel before the suffix, evinced as well in Latin as in Greek. n like manner as the originally short *u* of the 4th declension, nd the *ĭ* of the 3d, is lengthened, so also is the inorganic *u* of he 2d in *nasû-tus*, and so is, in themes terminating in a consonant, the *i* which extends the base (see p. 1078), *e.g.* in *narî-tus*, *patrî-tus*, which, according to form at least, belong ere; so also in Greek is the *o* which extends the base; hence, .g. φολιδ-ω-τός. The word ἁμαξ'-ι-τός stands alone, properly, furnished with a wagon," which, by the suppression of the inal vowel of the base, and the assuming a vowel of conunction *ι*, corresponds admirably to Sanscrit formations like *nudr'-i-tás*, "sealed," from *mudrâ*, "a seal." [G. Ed. p. 1164.] Here belong also the Latin formations in *ê-tu-m*, *arborê-tum*, *uercê-tum*, *fimê-tum*, *pomê-tum*, which, as Pott too assumes "Etym. Inqui." p. 546), as it were presuppose denominatives f the 2d conjugation, in which we might well expect articiples like *monê-tus* (see pp. 1107, 1108).

828. In Lithuanian and Sclavonic also adjectives spring rom substantive bases, which in form and signification correspond to the passive perfect participles here treated of. Examples in Russian are рогашый *rog'-a-tyĭ*, "horned" Lithuanian *ragůtas*), from рогъ *rog'*, theme *rogo*, "horn;" волосашый *volos'-a-tyĭ*, "like hair," from *volos'*, theme *voloso'*, "hair;" горбашый *gorb'-a-tyĭ*, "humpbacked," from *gorb'*, theme *gorbs*, "hunch;" именішый *ime-ni-tyĭ*, "named," from имя *imya*, theme *imen* "name;" шресновішый *tresnov-i-tyĭ*, "embroidered," "covered with embroidery," from *tresna*, "embroidery;" *domov-i-tyĭ*, "domestic," from домъ *dom'*, "house" (see p. 348).* The words which belong

* The above examples, according to Dobrowsky (p. 529), apply in part also for the Old Sclavonic: compare, therefore, the formations beginning with a consonant from the denominatives treated of in §. 766, *e.g.* the infinitives in *a-ti*, *i-ti*, *ov-a-ti* (§. 768.), with which the insertions *a*, *i* (*ov-i*) (based on the Sanscrit *aya*) of the nominal participles above are identical.

here have, part of them, inserted an *s* before the *t* of the participial character, according to the manner of the Greek verbals like *ἀκε-σ-τός*, *ἀκου-σ-τός*, and of the Lithuanian abstracts in *stĕ*, opposed to the Sanscrit in *tâ*, and Latin in *ta*, *tât*, *tût*, of which hereafter. Thus, *e.g.* in Russian, каменистый *kamen-i-styĭ*, "stony" (Lith. *akmen-ů-tas*); шерністый *tern'-i-styĭ*, "thorny" (*tern'*, theme *terno*, "thorn" = Sanscrit *tṛiṇa* from *tarṇa*, "grass"); бородастый *borod'-a-styĭ*, "bearded, provided with a beard," (*boroda*, "beard," compare Sanscrit *vardh*, *vṛidh*, "to grow," Lith. *barzda*, "beard," *barzd'-ů-tas*, "bearded"). In Lithuanian an *o* usually precedes the suffix *ta* of this class of words (occasionally instead of it *ů* = *uo*), after the analogy of the denominatives treated of in §§. 766, 767, in the formations beginning with a consonant (§. 767); and in fact so that here also the final vowel of the base noun is dropped before the vowel which forms the denominative verbal base; thus, *e.g.* *migl'-o-tas*, "misty," "attended with mist," from *migla*, "mist;" *plauk'-o-tas*, "hairy," from *plauka-s*, "hair;" *plunksn'-o-tas*, "feathery," from *plunksna*, "feather;" *dumbl'-o-tas*, "slimy," from *dumbla-s*, "slime." In forms like *akmen-ů-tas*, "stony," *rag'-ů-tas*, "horned," from the bases *akmen*, *raga*, *ů* is only a substitute for the simple *o*; as, *e.g.* in *waźů-yu*, "I drive," opposed to *dumoyu*, "I think" (see p. 704). The verbs, however, in *ůyu* for *oyu*, do not retain their *ů* in the formations beginning with a consonant, but here exhibit simply *o*; whence *waź-o-tas*, "driven," not *waź-ů-tas*. In forms which admit of comparison in Sanscrit a long *â* fills the place of the Lithuanian *ů*; as, *e.g.* in *dádâmi*, "I give," *áśmâ*, "stone" (nom. of *áśman*) for the Lithuanian *dů-mi*, *akmů*.* The simple *o* also is often, in Lithuanian, the

[G. Ed. p. 1165.]

* I see, therefore, no reason to compare the forms in *ůta-s*, *ota-s*, with the possessives in Sanscrit like *dhana-vant*, *-vat*, "rich," from *dhana*, "riches," which are formed by the suffix *vant* (in the weak cases *vat*). Cf. Pott, II. p. 546.

tymological representative of a Sanscrit long *â*; *e.g.* in he feminine plural-nominatives like *aszwos*, "mares" (sing. *aszwà*), contrasted with the Sanscrit *áśvâs*, and Gothic forms ke *gibôs* (see §. 227). We may therefore identify both ıe *ů* of forms like *akmen-ů-tas*, and the preponderating *o* of ıch as *miyl'-o-tas*, *plauk-o-tas*, with the *â* of Latin forms ke *cord-â-tus*, as with the *o*, too, of Mielcke's 4th conjugation; *g.* that of *yeszk-o-me*, "we seek," *yeszk-ó-* [G. Ed. p. 1166.] s, "sought," is essentially identical with the Latin *â* of *am-â-us*, *am-â-tus*.* The forms in *ẽ-ta-s*, in Lithuanian, stand one; as *dulkẽ-tas*, "covered with dust," "dirty," from *dulkês*, lust" (nom. pl. from the base *dulkê*);† as here the *ẽ* of the ıse takes the place of the derivative *o*, which is found, *e. g.* *raukzl'-o-tas*, "wrinkled," from *raukszlẽ*, "wrinkle."

829. The feminine of the suffix त *ta*, viz. *tâ*, forms, in ınscrit, also abstract substantives from adjectives and ıbstantives. They accent the final syllable of the primi-ve base; *e.g. śuklá-tâ*, "whiteness," from *śúkla*, "white;" *má-tâ*, "levelness," from *samâ*, "level;" *pṛithútâ*, breadth," from *pṛithú*, "broad;" *vadhyátâ*, abstract from *ídhya*, "*occidendus*;" *strî-tâ*, "womanhood," from *strî*, woman." In Greek correspond the abstract substantive-ases in τητ, and in general, in the matter of accentua-on also, with the addition of a τ (see §. 832.), which shews

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* Above, also (§. 506.), Mielcke's 4th conjugation ought to have been dentified with the Sanscrit 10th class: it is distinguished from the 3d by his, that it retains the *o* in places where the latter exhibits *y* (=*î*) in the last-syllable; hence, *e.g. yeszk-o-tas*, "sought," *yeszk-o-su*, "I will ek," compared with *laik-y-tas*, "held," *laik-y-su*, "I will hold."

† Feminines in *ẽ*, like *giesmẽ*, "song" (Mielcke, p. 33), presuppose an lder *ia*, hence in the genitive plural *iû* or *yû* (*żwákiû*, *giesmyû*), as *rankû*, manum," from *rankà* (see §. 157. Note 3.). Remark, also, that the masculine adjective-nominatives in *i-s* (from *ia-s*) belong femi-nes in *ẽ*; *e. g.* the feminine of *didi-s*, "great," is *didẽ* or *didi* (Mielcke, 47).

hered-i-tât, juven-tut, senec-tut, vir-tut, servi-tut.
juven-ta, vindic-ta, (from *vindec-s, vindic-is*) the s
without the addition of a *t*. The German, too, as
been shewn, l. c., is not wanting in analogous
Their theme ends in Gothic in *thô,* which
as exactly as possible to the Sanscrit *tâ* (see
and in the noun is abbreviated to *tha* (§. 137.)
diupi-tha, "depth," *hauhi-tha,* "height," *gauri-t*
fulness," *niuyi-tha,* "novelty," in the *i* of which
the weakening of the *a* of the adjective pri
diupa, hauha, gaura, niuya, in agreement with t
observed in Latin, which, in like manner, weake
ganic *u* of the 2d declension, which corresp
Gothic 1st, to *i* (see §. 6.), or to *e* in case tha
precedes it (*puri-tât* for *puru-tât, varie-tât* fo
The organic *u* also of Grimm's 3d adjective-d
weakened before the suffix under discussion to

* See "Influence of the pronouns on the formation of wor
where, however, from the classical tongues only *tât*, ντητ,
with the Sanscrit *tâ*. It, however, admits of no doubt that
here, as the weakening of the *â* to *û* can no more surprise u
a to *u* (cf. *tûrus*=Sanscrit *târ*, p. 647).

† *Eges-tât* and *potes-tât* come from the participial-bases
and, indeed, so that the nasal is thrown out, and the *t* chan

-tha, "narrowness," from *aggvu*, "narrow;" *manvi-tha*, liness," from *manvu*, "ready;" *afgrundi-tha*, "abyss," the base *grundu*, "ground;" belongs, at least as regards ıtion, here. The bases in *ya*, with a [G. Ed. p. 1168.] nant preceding, reject their *a* before the suffix *thô*, and se the *y* to *i*: hence, *niuyi-tha*, "novelty," from the *ıiuya;* but not *fairnyi-tha*, but *fairni-tha*, "age," from the *fairnya*, nom. masc. *fairn-i-s* (see Gabelentz and Löwe, ımar, p. 75 c.); so *unhraini-tha*, "impurity," from the *ınhrainya*, "impure." The following are examples of :lass of words in the Old High German (where *d* s for the Gothic *th*, according to §. 87.): *hreini-da*, ty;" *herdi-da*, "hardness;" *samfti-da*, "softness;" *ster-*, "strength" (see Grimm, IV. 242). In English the ing words belong here: *heal-th*, *heig-th*, *leng-th*, , and some others. The New High German exhibits formations only in local dialects, as in the Hessian; *äng-de*, *Tief-de*, *Breite-de*, the latter answering to the rit *pṛithú-tâ*, and Greek πλατυ-τητ. With the suffix discussion the German languages form also abstracts f the themes of weak verbs; *e.g.* in Gothic, *svegni-tha*, exultation" (*svegnya*, "I exult"); *mêri-tha*, "notice, ur" (*mêrya*, "I announce"); *vargi-tha*, "condemna- (*ga-vargya*, "I condemn"). Here the *i* is the con- on of the class-syllable *ya* (=Sanscrit *aya*, see §. 109*. 6.), the preterite and passive participles; as, *sôk-i-da*, "I t," *sôk-i-ths*, "sought." So in Old High German; *e.g.* la, "scorn" (*hôniu*, "I scorn"); *hôri-da*, *ga-hôri-da*, ing" (*hôr-iu*, Gothic *haus-ya*, "I hear"). The Gothic *-tha*, "mourning, complaint" (*gaun-ô*, "I sorrow," ite *gaun-ô-da*), is the offspring of a verb of Grimm's ak conjugation. This, a solitary example of its kind, first came to light by the publication of the transla- f the Pauline Epistles (2 Cor. vii. 7.), confirms the opi- that the *i*, which in all other places precedes the *th*,

belongs not, as is commonly supposed, to the derivative suffix,

[G. Ed. p. 1169.] but to the primitive base, as I should have assumed even without the form *gaunô-tha*, "to know."*

830. Bases ending in a consonant add, in order to lighten the combination with the consonant of the suffix, in some words in Latin, an *i*; in Greek universally an *o*; hence, *e.g.* *virgini-tât*, *capâci-tât*, *felíci-tât*, *μελανό-τητ*, *χαριεντό-τητ*, in opposition to such words as *juven-tât*, *juven-ta*, *juven-tût*, *vehun-tât*, *senecta*, *senec-tût*, *vetus-tât*. To the latter corresponds, in Gothic, the solitary specimen of its kind, *yun-da*, "youth," =Latin *juven-ta*, with the contraction, however, which the Sanscrit sister-word *yuvan* has experienced in the weakest cases (*e.g.* gen. *yûn-as*, Latin *yûn-ê*, see §. 130.), and the Latin in the comparative (*jun-ior*). With regard to the inorganic affix *ga* of the base *yugga* (=*yunga*), whence we might have expected *yuggi-tha*, see §. 803. The *d* for *th* in *yun-da* must, I believe, be ascribed to the influence of the preceding *n*, although this liquid admits also of the combination with *th*.†

831. In no province of European languages has the type of Sanscrit abstracts, as *śuklá-tâ*, "whiteness," *bahú-tâ*, "plurality," been retained so truly as in Sclavonic. In order to see this, we must not, with Dobrowsky (p. 299.), assume a suffix *ota* for words like *dobrota*, "goodness," but must place the *o* on

[G. Ed. p. 1170.] the side of the primitive base, to which it in fact belongs; therefore *dobro-ta*, not *dobr-ota*. So among

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* "Influence of the Pronouns on the formation of Words," p. 22. I had in view there only the forms in which the *i* exhibits itself as the weakening of the *a* of the primitive base, as in *diupi-tha* from *diupa*. The explanation of the *i* as the contraction of the syllable *ya* in forms like *fairni-tha*, "age," for *fairn-ya-tha*, is here given for the first time.

† See §. 91. The feminine Sanscrit suffix *ti*, which is there spoken of, shews itself three times in the shape of *di* after *n* (*ga-mun-di*, "money," *ana-min-di*, "conjecture," *ga-kun-di*, "persuasion"), and twice in the form of *thi* (*ga-kun-thi*, "appearance," *ga-main-thi*, "community").

:hers also слѣпота *slyepo-ta*, "blindness," теплота *teplo-ta*, warmth," тѣснота *tyesno-ta*, "narrowness," нагота *nago-ta*, nakedness," from the indefinite adjective-bases *slyepo* nom. masc. слѣпъ *slyep*', f. *slyepa*, n. *slyepo*), *teplo*, *tyesno*, *ogo*, the final *o* of which is the legitimate representative of the Sanscrit *a* (see §. 257.). For comparison with the *nago-ta*, just mentioned the Sanscrit would present the form *nagná-tâ*, if *nagná*, "naked," did not prefer another suffix for its abstract. The adjective-bases in *yo* (see §. 258.), which, according to §. 255. n, change this syllable to *je* or *e*, form abstracts in *ye-ta* or *e-ta*; *e.g.* суѥта *sûye-ta*, 'vanity," from the base *sûyo*, nom. суй *suĭ*, "empty." Dobrowsky (p. 300) assumes for this class of words a suffix *ta*.

832. In the Vêda dialect there is a suffix *tâti*, which is used for the formation of denominative abstracts of the feminine gender just as much as *tâ*, and these agree with those in *tâ* also in this, that they accent the final syllable of the primitive base; *e.g. arishṭátâti-s*, "invulnerableness," from *árishṭa*, "unwounded" (here with a meaning equivalent to "invulnerable"); *ayakshmátâti-s*, "health," from *ayakshmá*, "healthy;" ("void of illness," *yákshma* and *yakshman*, "consumption"); *vasútâti-s*, "riches," from *vásu*, "treasure, wealth;" *dévátâti-s*, "sacrifice," (originally "godhead, divinity"), from *dévá*, *sarvátâti-s*, "allness, entireness, the whole," * from *sárva*, "every, all;" *śántâti-s*, "luck," from [G. Ed. p. 1171.]

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* On this *sarvátâti* is based the above-mentioned (p. 221, §. 207. Note †, and p. 229, §. 214. Note) Zend *haurvatât*, which I there, without knowing its Sanscrit prototype, and especially the Vêdic suffix *tâti*, have translated "entireness;" and, in fact, for this reason, because I thought I recognised in its suffix, as also in that of *amĕrĕtât*, an affinity to the Sanscrit *tâ*, Greek τητ, and Latin *tât*, regarding which, however, I had no occasion l. c. to deliver my sentiments more closely, because this circumstance belongs to the doctrine of the formation of words (see Burnouf, "Yaçna," p. 162, Note). As, according to Pânini, IV. 4. 142., *sarvatâti* has the same

tension of *tâ;* so that *ti* is properly only the r
tâ, with the weakening of the *â* to *i*, according
ciple of aorists, like *âpipam* for *âpâpam*, from *âp*
and of reduplication-syllables like *ti*, *pi*, for *tâ*
ṭhâmi, "I stand" (§. 508); *pípâsâmi*, "I wish
from *pâ* (§. 750.). It might be also possible
only a *t* was added to the suffix *tâ*, in the sam
roots with a short final vowel, and in Greek t
a long final vowel, where they are found at the
posites a *T*-sound is added as a support.* T
would, under this view of the subject, which plea
be only an off-shoot of later growth; and the
which occur occasionally in the Vêdas† must
[G. Ed. p. 1172.] be recognised as the oldest. Th
Zend abstracts in *tât* would not, therefore, have l
longing to the base, but only dispensed with a n
affix, which would also have remained aloof fro
and Latin, in case that the final *T*-sound of the

same signification as its primitive *sárva*, we may regard th
totality" as tantamount to "the all, the whole."

* Of this more hereafter. With regard to the Greek c
ἀγρώ-τ, ἀμαβρώ-τ, and especially with regard to the inclinati
to extend bases ending in a vowel by the addition of τ, see

tât, tût, is an heir-loom brought from their original Asiatic home, and has not first sprung up on European soil. It would, however, be surprising if the suffix under discussion, in Greek, Latin, and Zend, had sprung from the form *tâti,* but the final *i* in the three languages just named had been lost without leaving a trace, as this vowel elsewhere, in Greek and Zend at least, has never allowed itself to be displaced in the classes of words in *i,* which are common also to the Sanscrit. The abstracts in 𐬙𐬁𐬙 *tât* (𐬙𐬁𐬙𐬆 *tâṭ* according to §. 38.), which have hitherto been discovered in Zend, are, besides the frequently-mentioned *haurvatât,* "entireness," and *amĕrĕtât,* "immortality;* *uparatât,* "*supériorité,*" (see Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 285), from *upara,* "*superus,*" see Sanscrit *upari,* "over," Gothic *ufar,* &c.); *drvatât,* "firmness," (Burnouf, Études, p. 261.), from *drva* "firm," =Sanscrit *dhruvá* (Old High German *triu,* "true"); *paourvatât,* "*antériorité,*" (Yaçna, p. 285 Note 141), from *paourva,* "anterior," = Sanscrit *pûrva; ustatát,* "greatness," (Aufrecht, Journal, p. 162), from *usta,* "high, great," =Sanscrit *uttha,* "standing up, raising oneself," (see §. 102.), for *utstha;* 𐬬𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬎𐬙𐬁𐬙 *vaṇhutât,* "riches," (Aufrecht l. c.)=Sanscrit *vasútâti* (see beginning of this §.); *yavatât,* "duration," from *yava,* idem (Burnouf, Études, p. 9); 𐬀𐬭𐬱𐬙𐬁𐬙 *arstât,* perhaps the Vêdic *ariṣhṭátâti* (see beginning of this §., and Brockhaus, Glossary); *raśaṅśtât,* according [G. Ed. p. 1173.] to Anquetil, "droiture," of uncertain derivation, whence the signification also is uncertain.†

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* I regard *amĕrĕ* as = Sanscrit *amara,* "immortal." The word, therefore, in Vêdic form, would be *amarátâti* or *amarátât.* Regarding *haurvatât,* see beginning of this §. Note.

† *Raśaṅś* is, according to the form, a participle present, and signifies, perhaps, "shining," and its abstract "lustre." Compare *raś,* which lies the root of the Sanscrit *raśmi,* "beam of light," which does not elsewhere occur, but is probably related to *las,* "to shine."

the long *á* had first been shortened and then w
u; as, *e.g.* the *u* of Anglo-Saxon nominatives
first strong feminine declension (*gifu*) answers
thic short (*giba*) and Sanscrit long *á* (§. 137.).
the consonants, the law of the mutation of sou
thic would lead us to expect *thuthi*; but in
with what was remarked at §. 91., we cannot b
that in the former place the old tenuis has be
to a medial instead of to an aspirate. Forme
class of words *ayuk-duth(i)-s*, "eternity" (see
250), from a to-be-presupposed adjective base
masc. *ayuk-s*,* stood quite isolated. But now th
language which have been lately discovered sup
the bases *manag-duthi*, "a crowd" (nom. *-duths*, 2
and *mikil-duthi*, "greatness" (gen. *mikil-duthai-s*
duth, Skeir.). From the final *i* of the Gothic suffi

[G. Ed. p. 1174.] its being really connected wit
tâti, *tât*, one must not, however, deduce the infere
is necessarily the elder form, for the Gothic
further add to the *T*-sound, as the original final
suffix, an *i*; as the declension of consonants, with t
of *u* in Gothic, and generally in German, is not
and the lightest vowel *i* is readily applied t

theme terminating in a consonant to a more convenient order of declension; hence, *e.g.* to the Sanscrit base *chatvâr*, 4 (see §. 312.) answers, in Gothic, *fidvôri* (dat. *fidvôri-m*); and the bases *ṣhaṣh*, 6, *saptan*, 7, *navan*, 9, *daśan*, 10, in Old High German form their declension from *sehsi*, *sibuni*, *niuni*, *zehani*. If Grimm (II. 250.) is right, as I am much inclined o believe, in conjecturing an affinity between the Gothic uffix under discussion and the Latin *tûdo*, *tûdin-is*, we hould also be able to compare this suffix with the Sanscrit-Zendian *tât* or *tâti*. We must therefore regard *tût* (in *sertût*, &c.) as = the Vêdic-Zendian *tât* (see §. 832.), and lengthned to *tûdo*, *tûdin*, with the weakening of the second *t* to *d* ee §. 822.). The addition *ôn*, *in-is*, would be less surprisg, as the Sanscrit suffix *ti* also, of which hereafter, is ngthened in Latin by a similar inorganic addition, and, *e.g.*, e base *pak-ti* has become *coc-tiôn*. From *tûdô* we should pect in the genitive *tûdôn-is*, but the *ô* = Sanscrit *â* (see 139.), has, with the increase of the form, been weakened to as in *homin-is* (old *hemôn-is*, see p. 1077).

Remark.—The Vêdic suffix *tâti* forms not only abstracts, but has at times e the signification "making, maker" (Pânini, IV. 4. 142.), and, indeed, it ewise accents the syllable preceding the suffix. An example is afforded the Rigv. I. 112. 20., where the masculine dual *śántâtî*, "happiness aker," or perhaps "augmenter of happiness," is explained by *Sâyana sukhasya kartârâu*, "*gaudii factores*." In words of [G. Ed. p. 1175.] is kind, on whose age a doubt is cast by their not being represented in e European sister languages, *tâti* is perhaps from a different origin from at whence it springs when it appears as a formative of abstract substanes. We might recognise in it a derivative from the root *tan*, "to retch," without, on that account, extending, as Benfey does, this explation to the suffix of abstracts also, although the accentuation of both ds of words is the same; since, perhaps, the accentuation of the prederating abstracts has exerted an influence on that of the concretes, er that the feeling with reference to the difference of origin had been inguished. But if in the concretes in *tâti* a derivative of the root *tan*, extend," be contained, I would then, in certain cases, prefer to recog a noun of agency rather than an abstract: for although *ti* be no

ness," which sense is not suitable in the passage of the
been cited. But when, in a passage of the Yajurvéd
Scholiast Mahîdhara takes *jyéṣhṭhátátim* as an actual p
however, is not confirmed by the accentuation), in that h
being a derivative from *tan*, "to extend," and therefore,
sense, as = *vistára*, "extension," we cannot thence infer t
in the words formed by the suffix *táti* in general, or i
branch of them, possessive compounds with *táti*, "exten
member of the compound; for he adds to the explana
another and a more satisfactory one, and explains *jyéṣhṭ*
word formed by the suffix *táti*, when he refers to Pâniı
cording to which the suffix under discussion, in combinati
produces only a strengthening (*vṛiddhi*, properly "e
meaning of the original word, and therefore *jyéṣhṭhátáti*-
valent to "the best of all," or "the notoriously best."
confirm this signification of the (according to Pânini) inc
jyéshṭhátáti, by the circumstance of its being in its o
[G. Ed. p. 1176.] compound, we must then assign to it t
extension" (as it were, "most highly potent"), including

834. We may here at once notice another
in Sanscrit, just like *tâ*, *tât*, *táti*, forms abstract
tives and substantives, viz. the neuter suffix
probably an extension of the infinitive suffix
therefore, from *tu-a*, as the hereafter-to-be-di
tavya is from *tu*, with Guna, and *ya*. The ac
are oxytone; *e.g. amritatvá-m*, "immortality."

.825.), in Sclavonic, as त्व *tva*, according to §. 257., in Old clavonic could take no other form than *tvo;* and the nomiative *tva-m*, in like manner, could be nothing but *tvo*. he final vowel of the primitive base is rejected in Sclaonic; hence, *e.g.* дѣвьство *dyev-stvo*, "maidenhood," from ѣва *dyeva*, "maiden;" вдовьство *vdov-stvo*, "widowhood," om вдова *vdova*, "widow;" лоукавьство *lûkav-stvo*, "cunngness," достоиньство *dostoin-stvo*, "worth," from the adctive bases *lûkavo*, "cunning," *dostoino*, "worthy" (see obrowsky, p. 303). The Gothic, in the only word which longs here, has changed the old tenuis of the suffix त्व *tva* d instead of into *th*, as in *fidvôr*, "four" = चत्वार् *chatvâr* 312.)—I mean the neuter base *thiva-dva*, "serfdom," m. acc. *thiv-dv*, from the primitive base *thiva*, nom. *u-s*, "serf."

835. In the Vêda dialect *tva* occurs also as primary (Krit-) fix in the sense of the cognate *tavya*, and forms from *kar*, , "to make," the paroxonytised *kártva* = *kartavya*, "*faciens*," as neuter substantive (nom. acc. *kártva-m*), "work," "being to be done." So in Zend [G. Ed. p. 1177.] 𐬌𐬎𐬹𐬎𐬀 *běrěthwa*, "*ferendus*."* Here belong, in my opim, the Old High German masculine substantive-bases in ı (nom. *do*), for the most part abstracts; as, *e.g. suep-i-* (or *-du*), "*sopor;*" *irr-a-do, err-i-do, irr-e-do*, "*error;*" *yuch-* o, *yuk-i-do*, "*prurigo;*" *hol-ô-do*, "*foramen;*" the intermete vowel of which I assign to the class syllable of the rb. The *v* of the Sanscrit suffix *tva* is dropped in the l High German, with reference to which we may note o the still more marked abbreviation of the numeral *fior* mpared with the Gothic *fidvôr* and Sanscrit *chatvâr-as*. e Gothic has retained the semi-vowel in the suffixes ich belong here: *tva*, neut. (nom. *tv*), from *vaurs-tv*,

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Comparative with the prep. *upa*, *upa-běrěthwôtara* (V. S. p. 255, Burnouf, Études, p. 215).

"work;"* *thvô*, fem. (nom. *thva*, see §. 137.), from *fri-a-thva*. "love;"† *fi-a-thva* (for *fiy-a-thva*), "enmity;"‡ *sul-i-thvia*. pl. "harbour" (*sal-ya*, "I turn in, remain," pret. *sal-i-dhi*; Old High German *sal-i-tha*, *sal-i-da*, *sel-i-da*; *tvôn*, fem. (nom. *tvô*, see §. 142.), from *vah-tvô*, "watch," *ga-tvô*, "street" (Sanscrit root *gâ*, "to go"), Old High German *ga-za* (*gâ-m*. "I go"); *uh-tvô*, "morning, twilight," (Sanscrit *uṣh*, "to burn, to give light," *uṣhás*, "aurora"). Here belong also, I have no doubt, some Sclavonic abstract feminine-bases (together with nominatives) in *tva*, which Dobrowsky (p. 256.) reckons with the formations in *va*, since he derives them not from the root, but from the infinitive in *ti*; *e.g.* жатва

[G. Ed. p. 1178.] *schan-tva*, "mowing, harvest," (жынѫ *schynuṅ*, "to cut down" клятва *klaṅ-tva*, "*execratio*," (клынѫ *klynuṅ*, "*execror*"); ловитва *lov-i-tva*, "*venatio*," (*lov-i-ti*, "*captare*"). I now prefer to deduce also the above-mentioned (§. 807.) Lithuanian abstracts in *ba*, *bẽ*, and the abstracts in *ba*, which so frequently occur in the Sclavonic dialects, from the Sanscrit suffix *tva*, *i.e.* from its feminine form, and, in fact, so as to assume, after the *t*-sound is dropped, a hardening of the *v* to *b*, with regard to which I would recall attention to the relation of the Latin and Zend adverb of number *bis*, and that of the *bi*, which appears in both languages at the beginning of compounds, to the Sanscrit *dvis*, *dvi* (see p. 424.). From adjective-bases spring, in Slowenian, among others, the following feminine abstracts: *sladko-ba*, "sweetness," from *sladek(o)* "sweet;" *gerdo-ba*

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* It springs, perhaps, from *varth*, "to be" (*vairtha*, *varth*, *vaurthum*), with *s*, therefore, for *th*, according to §. 102. p. 102.

† From *friyô*, "I love," might be expected *friy-ô-thva*; yet the shortening of *ô* (=*â*) to *a*, according to §. 69., cannot surprise us.

‡ We might have expected *fiy-ai-thva*; but only the first part of the diphthong of the class-syllable *ai* has remained, as in *fiy-a*, "I hate," *fiy-a-m*, "we hate," for *fiy-ai*, *fiy-ai-m*.

igliness," from *gerd(o)*, "ugly;" *gnyilo-ba*, "rottenness," om *gnyil(o)*, "rotten; *tesno-ba*, "narrowness," from *tesen*,* narrow."

836. The perfect passive participle is, in a comparatively all number of roots, formed by the suffix *na*, which is al-ys united directly to the root, and, like the more prevalent has the accent. The following are examples: *lû-ná-s*, "dis-gaged forcibly;" *bhug-ná-s*, "bent," (root *bhuj*); *bhag-ná-s*, roken," (root *bhañj*); *bhin-ná-s*, "cleft," (from *bhid-ná-s*); r-ṇá-s, "spread," (root *star*, स्तृ *stṛî*); *pûr-ṇá-s*, "filled up," oot *par*, पृ *pṛî*).† To these correspond, in respect of accen-ation also, the likewise few in number Greek formations νο, feminine νη; as, στυγνό-ς, στεγνό-ς, [G. Ed. p. 1179.] μνό-ς, (for σεβνός), ἀλαπαδνό-ς, ἰσχνό-ς, σπαρνό-ς, φερνή, ηνή (Sanscrit छन्न *chhanná-s*, from *chhadná-s*, "covered," e §. 14.), τέκνο-ν, which has the accent thrown back. In tin belong here, besides *ple-nu-s*, *eg-e-nus* (with active nification), *regnum*, several words which, from a Roman int of view, are of obscure origin (see Pott, II. p. 570.); *magnu-s*, properly "grown," (Sanscrit *mah*, *maṅh*, "to ow," whence *mahánt*, *mahát*, "great,"); *lignu-m*, as "kin-ng," (Sanscrit *dah*, "to burn"); *tignu-m*, as "hewed," nscrit *takṣh*, "to break, to cleave,"; *dignu-s*, properly hewn, marked out," (Sanscrit *diś*, from *dik*, "to shew," eek δεικ). Perhaps *signu-m*, is connected with the San-it root *sañj*, Lithuanian *sej*, "to affix," so that it would perly signify the "affixed."

837. In German this suffix has extended itself over all strong verbs; but in such a manner that it is not, as

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* See Metelko (p. 44), who, however, in imitation of Dobrowsky's mple, assigns the *o* (*o* stroked through) of the adjective base to the ivative suffix (*oba*).

† In the two last examples *ṇ* stands for *n* through the influence of the ceding *r*.

in Sanscrit, Greek, and several Latin expressions which belong here, joined directly to the root, but by the intervention of a conjunctive vowel *a* (later *e*, Old Northern *i*); hence, *e.g.* in Gothic, *bug-a-n(a)-s*, "bent," (for Sanscrit *bhug-ná-s*, (from the root *bug*,* (*biuga*, *baug*, *bug-u-m*). The denominatives discussed above (§. 770.) point to an older period in which the *n* of this passive participle plays an important part,

[G. Ed. p. 1180.] but is joined direct to the root.† In the Sclavonic languages the suffix beginning with *n* of the perfect passive participle has obtained still wider diffusion than in the German dialects. The old Sclavonic verbs which are based on the Sanscrit 1st class, exhibit, in the place of the original अय *aya* before the participial suffix under discussion, either А (*a*), or Ѣ (*ye*), or Е; *e.g.* ГЛАГОЛАНЪ *glagol-a-n'*, "said;" ЗѢРѢНЪ *Zyrye-n'*, "seen;" VOLENЪ *vol-ye-n'*, "willed," (see §. 767.). The verbs which are based on the Sanscrit 1st class add to the root, as in most of the persons of the present, an Е. Compare НЕСЕНЪ *nes-e-n'*, "borne," fem. *nes-e-na*, neut. *nes-e-no*, with *nes-e-shi*, *nes-e-ty*, *nes-e-m'*, *nes-e-te*, *nes-e-va*, *nes-e-ta*. Perhaps, however, in this class of verbs the *e* is not the old class-vowel, but an insertion of later date, like the *a* of the corresponding Gothic participles. It is to be noticed, with regard to the

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* It is an oversight, that, in §. 770., the *a* preceding the *n* is identified with the class-vowel; for were the class character retained in the passive participle, in that case the verbs (see §. 109ª. 2.) belonging to the Sanscrit 4th class would retain the syllable *ya*; the passive participle of *haf-ya*, "I raise," would be *haf-ya-ns*, not *haf-a-ns*. Thus, from *vahs-ya*, "I grow," the participle under discussion is *vahs-a-ns*, not *vahs-ya-ns*, where it is to be observed, that in neuter verbs this participle has in the German languages, as in Sanscrit, an active meaning; thus, *vahs-ya-ns*, "qui *crevit*."

† A direct junction of the suffix is found also in the adjective *us-luk-na-s*, "open," properly "unlocked;" so the neuter substantive-base *bar-na*, nom. *barn*, "child," as "born" (like τέκ-νο-ν), compared with the actual participle *baur-a-ns*.

s belonging to the Sanscrit 1st class, that, in Sanscrit
, the character *aya* (dropping only the final *a*) extends
· the special tenses. This, too, is the case in German
ı the corresponding affix of the weak conjugation. It
urprising that the Lettish languages, although they
ler next on the Sclavonic, are nevertheless distinguished
he case of the participle under discussion, that they
loy the suffix *ta* more constantly than the latter do the
x *no*, fem. *na*. In the Lettish languages, however,
logous forms in *na-s* are not altogether wanting: they
however, no longer conscious of their origin, and pass
ordinary adjectives; as, *e.g.* the Lithuanian *silp-na-s*,
eak" ("weakened," see *silpstu*, "I become weak," pret.
au); *pil-na-s*,(Lithuanian *pil-n'-s*),"full," [G. Ed. p. 1181.]
perly "filled," = Sanscrit *pûr-ṇá-s*,* Zend *pĕrĕnô*, fem.
ênê for *pĕrĕnâ* (see §. 137.).

338. Just as the passive participial suffix *ta*, in Sanscrit,
ns from substantives possessive adjectives, like *phal-i-*
, "gifted with fruit" (see §. 824.), so for a like purpose
ısed the suffix *na*, in like manner, with the insertion of
onjunctive vowel *i*, which the Indian Grammarians
ude in the suffix. Examples are, *phali-ná-s*, "gifted
h fruit;" *mal-i-ná-s*, "covered with dirt." With these
ee, in respect of accentuation also, Grecian formations
πεδ'-ι-νό-ς (Buttmann, II. §. 119. 74.), properly "endued
h evenness," hence (1) "flat, even," (2) "living in the
in;" σκοτεινό-ς (from σκοτεσ-ι-νό-ς, see §. 128.), "endued

The *û* of the Sanscrit form owes its origin to the labial preceding;
rwise its place would be filled by *i*, as, *e.g.* in *stîr-ṇá-s*: the old form,
ever, is evidently *par-ṇa-s*, and the true root is *par*, whence *píparmi*,
fill." On *parṇa* is based also the Zend base *pĕrĕna*, of which the first
founded on the original *a*, while the second is explained by §. 44.
i of the Lithuanian *pil-na-s* is a weakening of the original *a*, as that
ilka-s, "wolf," compared with the Sanscrit *vṛika-s* from *varka-s*, see
, and "Vocalismus," p. 160.

with darkness;" φαεινό-ς (from φα-εσ-ι-νό-ς), "endued with light;" ὀρεινό-ς (from ὀρεσ-ι-νό-ς), "gifted with mountains." The ε of εὐδιεινό-ς is the weakening of the α of εὐδία, where it is necessary to recall attention to the fact, that the suffix ων also is very frequently preceded by an ε as a weakening of the final vowel of the primitive base; *e.g.* ῥοδεών from ῥοδο-ων. In words which express a time, as *e.g.* in χθεσ-ι-νό-ς, ἡμερ-ι-νό-ς, ὀρθρ'-ι-νό-ς, the fundamental signification lies more concealed: but χθεσινό-ς properly means no more than "with yesterday," "combined with yesterday," "belonging thereto," as our German expressions also, like "*gestrig, heutig*," contain a possessive suffix. In spite of the difference of accentuation, I be-

[G. Ed. p. 1182.] lieve that adjectives, too, like ξύλινος, λίθινος, ἀδαμάντινος, are not distinguished in their formative suffix from the oxytone forms in ι-νό-ς, but that the language only aims at bringing these expressions prominently forward with more emphasis, and therefore gives the more energetic accentuation (see p. 1052). There occurs also in Sanscrit, a word among the formations in *ina* which accentuates not only the suffix but the primitive word, viz. शृङ्गिणस् *śring-i-ṇa-s*, "horned," from शृङ्ग *śringa*, "horn." In Gothic the conjunctive vowel has been lengthened in the corresponding class of words to *ei* (=*î*, see §. 70.) before which the final vowel of the base word is likewise dropped; hence, *e.g. silubr-ei-n(a)-s*, "*argenteus*" (also *silubrius*, Matth. 27. 3.); *fill-ei-n(a)-s*, "*pelliceus;*" *liuhad-ei-n(a)-s*, "*lucidus;*" *suny-ei-n(a)-s*, "*verax;*" from the bases *silubra* (nom. *silubr*) &c.; *sunyô* (nom. *sunya*). The following are examples in Old High German: *hulz-î-n(a)*, "*ligneus;*" *stein-î-n(a)*, "*lapideus;*" *boum-î-n(a)*, "*arboreus;*" *rôr-î-n(a)*, "*arundineus;*" *eihh-î-n(a)*, "*quernus;*" *ziegal-î-n(a)*, "*lateritius.*" In New High German the vowel of conjunction *i* has been weakened to *e*, and, after *r*, altogether dislodged; hence, *e.g. eich-e-n, tann-e-n, gold-e-n, tuch-e-n, leder-n.* From plurals in *er* (out of *ir*, see §. 241.) spring forms like *bücher-n*

er-n, which have given occasion to misshapen *iner-n* for *stein-e-n* (Grimm, II. p. 179). From the c here belong, in respect to their suffix, words *gn-e-n'*, "fiery" ("fire-gifted"), from ОГНЬ *ogny*, НЪ *vrede-n'*, "pernicious," from ВРѢДЪ *vred'*, "in-НЪ *mir-e-n'*, "peaceful, pacific," from МИРЪ *mir'*, e *e* of which is evidently only a vowel inserted he words, and is not to be referred, with Do-24), to the derivative suffix. In Lithuanian the vowel of the suffix under discussion has been altered; and thus words like *sidabr'-i-na-s*, *uks'-i-na-s*, "golden," *milt'-i-* [G. Ed. p. 1183.] r," with the suppression of the final vowel of e base (*sidabra-s*, "silver," *auksa-s*, "gold," *mil-**, answer admirably to the above-mentioned ng of this §.) Sanscrit formations like *phal'-i-á-s*. From the bases in *-na* comes, by the a secondary suffix, the form *i-nia* (*ia* = Sanscrit ch hereafter), nom. *ini-s* for *inia-s* (see §. 135.), ence, *e.g. auks-i-ni-s* = *auks-i-nia-s*, "a florin," *na-s*, "golden." This derivative form, how-eral replaces the primitive, whereby the *n* is led.† Of the same signification with *sidabr-*ery" (also *sidabr-i-n'-s*), is *sidabr-i-ni-s* (see "*silbern*"). From *wara-s*, "copper," comes "made of copper;" from *yowara-s*, "beech," *s*, "beechen;" from *szikszna*, "leather," *szikszn'-*hern." We find also the vowel of conjunction nd written *y* (= *i*), and, indeed, in words which place filled with a number of the things ex-

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a to-be-presupposed singular *milta-s*.

† the doubling of consonants, which often has no other that of pointing out the shortness of the preceding vowel, "Contributions," &c., II. p. 32.

pressed by the base noun; as, *e.g.* from *osi-s*, "ash," *os'-y-na-s*, "ash-wood;" from *ůga*, "berry," *ůg'-y-na-s*, "a place where many berries are;" from *akmů* (theme *akmen*), *akmen-y-na-s*, "heap of stones." Words like *bĕd'-na-s*, "miserable" (properly "gifted with misery"), from *bĕda*, "misery," *dyw'-na-s*, "wonderful," ("gifted with wonder"), from *dywa-s*, "wondrous work," appear to have lost a vowel of conjunction; for else the final vowel of the primitive base would hardly be suppressed before the suffix. Compare Russian formations like *pyly-nyĭ*, "dusty," from пыль *pyly*, "dust;" *muchh-nyĭ*, "mealy," from *muka*; *bolot'-nyĭ*, "marshy," from

[G. Ed. p. 1184.] *boloto*, "marsh." There are, in Lithuanian, also formations in *na-s*, with *o* as conjunctive vowel, which run parallel to those above mentioned (§. 825.) in *o-ta-s*; *e.g. wiln'-o-na-s*, "to will," from *wilna*, "will;" *raud-o-na-s*, "red" ("endued with a red colour"), from *raudà*, "red colour."

839. In Latin the denominative formations in *nu-s*, fem. *na*, which answer to the Sanscrit and Lithuanian forms in *i-na-s*, stand in multifarious relations to their base word, which do not require a detailed explanation here. The originally short conjunctive vowel *i* has been lengthened, as in the older German languages, and the final vowel of the base word is suppressed, as in the sister languages. The following are examples: *sal-î-nu-s*, *Vejent-î-nu-s*, *reg-î-na*, *carnific-î-na*, *doctr-î-na* (for *doctôr-î-na*), *textr-î-nu-s*, *tonstr-î-nu-s* (from *tonstor*, whence *tonsor*, see §. 101., cf. *tonstrix*); *stagn'-î-nu-s*, *gall'-î-na*, *discipl'-î-na* (for *discipulîna*), *orc-î-nu-s*, *fer'-î-nu-s*, *tabul'-î-nu-s*, *pisc'-î-na*, *mar'-î-nu-s*, *ali'-ê-nu-s*, *lani'-ê-na*,* *pecu-î-nu-s*,† *bov-î-nu-s*. The conjunctive vowel

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* *ê* for *î*, to avoid two *i*-sounds following one after the other.

† The retention of the organic *u* of the 4th declension, in opposition to the suppression of the other vowels, agrees with the phenomenon, that in Sanscrit also *u* is retained before the vowels of the derivative suffix in preference to the other vowels, and, indeed, with Guna increment, and with euphonic change of the *ô* (=*au*) into *av*.

most commonly suppressed after *r* (as in German, see 818.); hence, *e.g. ebur-nu-s, pater-nu-s, mater-nu-s, ver-nu-s, ter-nu-s, quer-nu-s, inter-nu-s, exter-nu-s, infer-nu-s, super-nu-s.* Also after *g* (from *c*); *salig-nu-s, ilig-nu-s, larig-nu-s,* if we might not here to divide thus, *sali-gnu-s,* and assume the dropping of the final consonant of the primitive base (see *lie-gnu-s, privi-gnu-s*), when *gnu-s* (for *genus, ginus*) would signify "produced" (cf. Pott, II. 586.). The Indian Grammarians assume also a suffix *îna,* the *î* of which is probably, like measure, only a lengthened conjunc- [G. Ed. p. 1185.] tive vowel, so that *î-na* would be identical with the above-mentioned *i-na.* Examples are: *sam'-î-na-s,* "yearly," from *samâ,* "year;" *kul'-î-na-s,* "noble" ("gifted with good family, good descent"), from *kulâ-m,* "race." The Latin *â* also, in words like *mont-â-nu-s, urb-â-nu-s, sol-â-nu-s, veter-â-nu-s* (see *veter-nu-s, veter-nu-s*), *Vejent-â-nu-s* (*Vejent-î-nu-s*), *oppid'-â-nu-s, sul'-â-nu-s, Rom'-â-nu-s, Afric'-â-nu-s,* is probably only a vowel used to connect the words; so that here also only *nu* the true suffix, as *e.g. tu* in *cord-â-tu-s, sceler-â-tu-s* (see 824.), where we would recal attention to the disposition which the secondary suffix *tu* also has to be borne by a strong vowel. We might, however, also so regard the forms *nu-s* as though they bore the class-character of the 1st conjugation and presupposed verbal-themes like *montâ, terâ,* after the analogy of *amâ, laudâ.*

840. As the Sanscrit bases in *a* produce not only feminines in *â,* but some also in *î,* we may also regard such feminines as *indrâṇî,* "the wife of Indra," *rudrâṇî,** "the wife of Rudra," *varuṇânî,* "the wife of Varuna," *mâtulânî,* "the wife of an uncle by the mother's side" (from *mâtula*), *kshatriyâṇî,* "wife of the kshatriya caste," as productions of the suffix ण *ṇa,* and bring them into relationship with the Latin, Lithuanian, and German formations which have

* *ṇ* for *n,* through the influence of the preceding *r.*

μολύβδαινα, δέσποινα,† from θεανι-α, &c. (see §.
nine patronymics also, Ἀκρισιώ-νη, admit of
here, with the lengthening, therefore, of th
(*o* = Sanscrit *a*) of the primitive base, as i
case we ought not rather to distribute it 'A
look on the ω as the conjunctive vowel. Th
is corroborated by Latin forms like *Mell-ô-nia*,
Mell-ô-na (as it were, "the honey-bound"
matr-ô-na, *patr-ô-na*. We divide, therefore, a
Bell'-ô-na, *Morb'-ô-nia*, *Orb'-ô-na*, although the
in which the *u* and *o* are interchanged at th
base, authorises the referring the *ô* to the pr

841. In Lithuanian the feminine suffix *ẽnẽ*‡
the Sanscrit *â-ni*, Greek *αινα*, *ωνη*, and Latin *ô-*
respect to signification also, *e.g. brol'-ẽnẽ*, "br
corresponds admirably to Sanscrit formations
"wife of an uncle by the mother's side." Oth
formations of this kind are: *bern'-ẽnẽ*, "th
from *berna-s*; *kalw'-ẽnẽ*, "the smith's wife,"

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* Indian Grammarians regard *ân* in these words as

or *kaluya-s*); *awyn'-ĕnĕ*, "the uncle's wife," from *awyna-s*; *il'-ĕnĕ*, "she-ass," from *asila-s*; *wilk'-ĕnĕ*, "she-wolf," from *ilka-s*. In Old Sclavonic corresponds ынıа *ynya*, or, with ppression of the *a* in the nominative, *ini* [G. Ed. p. 1187.] ee Miklosich, "Doctrine of Forms," p. 12); *e.g.* рабынıа *b'-ynya* or рабыни *rab'-yni*, "maid," from рабъ *rab'*, theme *bo*, "servant;" богынıа *bog'-ynya* or богини *bogini*, "god-ss," from *bog'*, theme *bogo* (Dobr., p. 291). In Old High erman the suffix *inna* corresponds, probably by assimilation, om *inya** for *inia*, so that to the Sanscrit feminine character the common feminine termination *a* (from *â*, Gothic *ô*), has so been added (see §. 120.). The following are examples: *t'-inna*, "goddess;" *kuning'-inna*, "queen;" *meistar'-inna*, mistress;" *wirt'-inna*, "landlady;" *aff'-inna*, "she-ape;" *il'-inna*, "she-ass;" *hen'-inna*, "hen;" *hund'-inne* (for *-in-*), "a bitch." In the nominative and accusative singular ist abbreviated forms in *in*, as *gutin*, *kuningin* (together ith *gutinna*, *kuninginna*), on which are based our new erman forms like *Göttin*, *Königin* (Grimm, II. 319.), which tend over all the oblique cases of the singular; while e plural (*Göttinnen*, *Königinnen*) point to a more full sin-ular, like *Göttinne*, *Königinne*. So far, however, as one nnot cite a genitive, dative singular, or nominative accusa-ve plurals, as *gutini*, I see no reason to refer the forms un-er discussion in *in* to Grimm's 4th declension, according to hich they would belong to bases in *ini*, the *i* of which must be ppressed in the nominative and accusative singular. The nglo-Saxon genitive-dative forms, also quoted by Grimm I. 319.), as *gyd-enne*, "*deæ*," can be as well explained from ne 1st strong declension as the 4th: I prefer to refer hem to the 1st, and take *gyden*, "goddess," as the abbrevia-

* Compare the assimilation in forms like *quellu* from *quelyu* (Grimm, 870), which so frequently enters into the 1st weak conjugation, and milar phenomena in Lithuanian (§. 501.).

tion of *gydenu*,* from which Bosworth ("Dictionary of the [G. Ed. p. 1188.] Anglo-Saxon language") quotes the form *gydene* (*e* as the weakening of *u*). Important are the Old Northern forms, as *apynya*, "she-ape," *vargynya*, "she-wolf,"† for the support of the view, that the doubled *n* of the forms spoken of stand by assimilation for *ny*. The *y* comes by "*Umlaut*" from *u*, which approaches closer to the Sanscrit *i* of *âni* than the *i* of *inna*, which probably springs from it by still further weakening. For *wirtin*, in Old High German, *wirtun* actually occurs (Graff, I. 932.). In the circumstance that bases in *on* before the suffix *inna*, *in*, drop the final consonant of the base, together with the preceding vowel (*e.g. aff'-inna*, *aff'-in* for *affon-inna*, *affon-in*), the German agrees with a similar phenomenon in Sanscrit, where bases in *n* generally reject this consonant with the vowel preceding it before vowels and य् *y* of the derivative suffixes; hence, *e.g. râjhyá-m* (or, with the weaker accent, *râjhyà-m*), "kingdom," from *rájan*, "king."

842. We return to the primary suffix *na*, in order to remark, that by it and its feminine *nâ*, in Sanscrit, some oxytone abstracts also are formed direct from the root; as,

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* Observe that also the above-mentioned (§. 803.) formations in *unga*, in Anglo-Saxon, and even in Old High German (in Kero and Is.), have lost the final vowel of the base in the nominative (see Grimm, II. 362.), just as in New High German, through which, however, they nevertheless do not fall under Grimm's 4th strong declension, *i.e.* the bases in *i*. In Anglo-Saxon, on the other hand, the real feminine bases in *i* have nearly all passed into that declension, the final vowel of which ends originally in *â* (Gothic *ô*), *i.e.* into Grimm's 1st declension, feminine of the strong form; and thus *dæd*, "deed," presents no single case, which we must necessarily derive from a base *dædi*; and the nominative accusative plural *dæda*, and dative *dædu-m*, belong decidedly to the 1st declension; just so the accusative singular *dæde* (like *gefe*), as the final *i* has already been dropped in the accusative in Gothic (*anst*, "*gratiam*," for *ansti*).

† According to the weak declension, see Grimm, II. 319. Compare the masculine *varg'-r*, "wolf," with the Sanscrit *vṛika-s* from *varka-s*.

e.g. यज्ञस् *yaj-ñá-s*, "worship, sacrifice" (Zend 𐬌𐬀𐬯𐬥𐬋 *yas'-nô*, theme *-na*); *yat-ná-s*, "effort;" *praś-ná-s*, "question" (Zend 𐬟𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬥𐬀 *fraś-na*, neuter, *fraś-nĕ-m*, see Brockhaus, Glossary, p. 378); *raksh-ná-s*, "protection, support;" *yâch-ñá*, "the request, entreaty;" *tṛiṣh-ṇá*, "thirst." An exception as regards the accent is to be found in *svápna-s*, "sleep" (Zend *khaf-no*, see §. 35.), to which the Lithuanian *sáp-na-s*, "dream," very well corresponds, only with the rejection of the *w*. In Greek ὕπ-νο-ς corresponds, in Latin *som-nu-s* (see §. 126. Note). To Sanscrit feminines like *yâch-ñá* corresponds, irrespective of the accentuation, the Greek τέχ-νη. In Latin we may perhaps refer here *ru-î-na* and *rap-î-na*, which, therefore, have retained the class vowel *i* (see §. 109ᵃ. 1.), and, indeed, lengthened it, as in general this suffix, in Latin, loves to have long vowels before it (*î-nu-s*, *â-nu-s*, *ô-na*). The Old High German *loug-na*, "falsehood, lying" (see Graff, II. 131), and the Old Saxon *hôf-na*, "to weep, to lament," undoubtedly belong here. To the masculine abstracts in न *na* I refer the Old High German *loug-i-n* or *loug-e-n*, "*negatio*" (Graff, l. c.), theme *loug-i-na*, *loug-e-na*, with a vowel of conjunction inserted (cf. §. 837.).

843. There is a close affinity in Sanscrit between the participial suffixes त *ta*, न *na*, and the suffixes ति *ti*, नि *ni*, which are used principally for the formation of feminine abstracts, in the *i* of which I recognise the weakening of the *a* of the pronominal bases *ta*, *na*. The suffix नि *ni* appears only in those abstracts whose roots in the perfect passive participle replace the suffix *ta* by *na*; thus, *e.g.* *lû-ni-s*, "tearing apart," *glá-ni-s*, "exhaustion," *jír-ṇi-s*, "old age," *há-ni-s*, "abandonment," compared with the passive participles *lû-ná-s*, "torn asunder," *glâ-ná-s*, "exhausted," *jîr-ṇá-s*, "aged, old," *hî-ná-s*, "abandoned" (irregular for *hâ-ná-s*), to which, with regard to accentuation, they bear the same relation as in Greek, *e.g.* πότο-ς to ποτός (see §. 820.). The comparison of σπά-νι-ς with σπα-νό-ς, from an

[G. Ed. p. 1190.]

bar-ni-s (Dobrowsky, p. 290). In Gothic here feminine bases *lug-ni*, "a lie;"* *ana-bus-ni*, (*s* for *d*, *ana-biuda*, "I command," root *bud*); "subsistence," properly "welfare" (*z* from *s*, root *vas*; *visa*, *vas*, *vêsum*); *taik-ni*, "sign" (ori shewing," *e.g.* δείκνυμι, Sanscrit *diś*, from *dik*, ' *siu-ni*, "the looking, viewing;" nominative (see §. 135.). Moreover, the suffix *ni*, in Goth mon means for the formation of feminine ab weak verbs, the character of which is retaine suffix, with contraction, however, of the syllal 1st conjugation to *ei*, as in the 2d person sin imperative. The following are examples from jugation, which is here most richly represented "*salutatio*;" *hauh-ei-n(i)-s*, "*exaltatio*;" *haus-ei-tio*;" *gamêl-ei-n(i)-s*, "*scriptura*." The 2d con nishes us only with *lath-ô-n(i)-s*, "*invitatio*;" "*cogitatio*;" *salb-ô-n(i)-s*, *unctio*:" the 3d only [G. Ed. p. 1191.] "*ædificatio*;" *at-vit-ai-n(i)-s*, *midya-sveip-ai-n(i)-s*, "*diluvium*;" *lib-aî-n(i)-s*, " *n(i)-s*, "*spes*" (the verb is uncited).

844. To the Sanscrit oxytone passive part

* It being presupposed that the only citable ...

correspond abstracts in *ti*, which have also the accent in the radical syllable; compare *e.g. yúk-ti-s*, "joining," *pák-ti-s*, "cooking," *úk-ti-s*, "speech," *sthi-ti-s*, "state," with *yuk-tá-s*, "joined," *pak-tá-s*, "cooked," *uk-tá-s*, "spoken," *sthi-tá-s*, "standing" (see §. 821.). The following are examples of analogous abstracts in Zend: 𐬑𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬌𐬙𐬀 *kars-ti-s*, "the ploughing" (*karsta*, "ploughed"); 𐬑𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬙𐬀 *kharĕ-ti-s*, "the eating" (see p. 182.); 𐬑𐬀𐬬𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬙𐬀 *yaôschdâi-ti-s*, "purification" (see §. 637.).* In Gothic this feminine suffix takes, according to the measure of the preceding letters of the root, either *ti*, or *thi*, or *di* (see §. 91.), but with *i* regularly suppressed in the nominative (see §. 135.); hence, *e.g. ga-skaf-t(i)-s*, "creation," gen. *gaskaf-tai-s* (see §. 185.); *fra-lus-t(i)-s*, "loss;" *ga-baur-th(i)-s*, "birth;" *gamun-d(i)-s*, "memory" (cf. Sanscrit *má-ti-s*, "understanding, meaning," for *mán-ti-s*). For examples in Old High German see §. 91. p. 80.† In the present condition of our language, at this day, too, there are tolerably numerous remains of this class of words; as, *e.g. Brun-s-t*, *Kun-s-t*, *Gun-s-t* (see §. 95), *An-kun-f-t*, *Zu-kun-f-t*, *Zun-f-t* (see §. 96.), *Mach-t*, *Zuch-t*, *Fluch-t*, *Sich-t*, *Fahr-t*, *Schrif-t*, *Schlach-t*, which have partly lost their plural, or introduced it into the *n*-(weak) declension, partly, however, retained it on the grade of the Old High German, corrupting, however, the *i* of the base to *e*, the power of whose *Umlaut* (vide p. 38, Note), however, points to its predecessor *i*; hence, [G. Ed. p. 1192.] *e.g. Brünste*, *Künste*, *Zünfte*, *Mächte*, compared with *Fahrten*, *Schriften*, *Schlachten*. In Lithuanian here belong *pyú-ti-s*,

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* There is a misprint in the German text here in the word 𐬑𐬀𐬬𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬙𐬀 where 𐬬 is given for 𐬭. So, too, in §. 637. in the German, 𐬬 is given five times for 𐬭, a mistake which I have inadvertently followed.

† Where, however, in the First Edition, the word should be divided *bi-walt*, as its *t* belongs to the root (whence *waltu*, pret. *wialt*). The fault is corrected in the Second Edition.

feminine bases which belong here follow the
kosty (theme *kosti*, see p. 348). The base *pa-my*
"memory") I now read, according to p. 10
as ѧ is an *a* with a nasal sound; the Scl
therefore, has this superiority over the S
that it has not entirely lost the nasal of th
the suffix. Compare, also, the above-ment
base *ga-mundi*, nom. *ga-mund'-s*. The follow
Old Sclavonic abstracts belonging here, which
nominative: БЛАГОДАТЬ *blago-daty*, "benefit
s'-mry-ty, "death" (see Mikl., "Radices," p.
mṛi-ti-s, from *mar-ti-s*; ВЛАСТЬ *vlas-ty*, "
СТРАСТЬ *stras-ty*, "suffering" (root *strad*); *vy*
mation" (root *vyed*, compare Sanscrit causal
make to know, I inform," from the root *vid*, "t
this class of verbal abstracts belong most pro
Sclavonic and Lithuanian infinitives in *ti*, of wh

[G. Ed. p. 1193.] 845. In Greek the *t* of this s
χῆ-τι-ς, μῆ-τι-ς, (=Sanscrit *má-ti-s*, Sclavonic *m*
(together with φά-σι-ς), ἄμπω-τι-ς (with ἄμπω-
Sanscrit *pí-ti-s*, "the drinking"), has been retai
only under the protection of a preceding *σ*. T

ibilant, however, as in the just-mentioned Sclavonic formations, is the euphonic representative of an original *t*-sound; ience, *e.g.* πίσ-τι-ς (together with πεῖ-σι-ς), πύσ-τι-ς (with εῦ-σι-ς), λῆσ-τι-ς. With respect to the weakening of the τ σ, which generally takes place after vowels, compare the ame phenomenon in the 3d person singular of the conjugaon in μι, and of the 3d person plural of all verbs: as, therere, δίδω-σι, τίθη-σι, so also δό-σι-ς, θέ-σι-ς. After gutturals nd labials, with which the σ unites itself in writing to ξ, ψ, ne weakening of the *t*-sound to the sibilant is of most freient occurrence; hence, *e.g.* ζεῦξι-ς (=ζεῦκ-σι-ς, euphonic r ζεῦγ-τι-ς) compared with the Sanscrit *yúk-ti-s*, Latin nc-tio; πέψι-ς* (=πέπ-σι-ς) for Sanscrit *pák-tis*, Latin c-tio. It admits of no doubt, that, in Greek, the ι has btained an influence on the τ preceding, which does not, ndeed, prevail completely throughout, but is shewn in its referring an σ to the τ; hence *e.g.* the opposition beween ζευκ-τό-ς, πεπ-τό-ς, and ζεῦκ-σι-ς, πέπ-σι-ς; while in anscrit, *yúk-ti-s*, *pák-ti-s*, *tṛíp-ti-s* ("satiating"=Greek έρπ-σι-ς), with respect to the initial consonants of the suffix, gree with the passive participles *yuk-tá-s*, *pak-tá-s*, *tṛip-tá-s* Greek τερπ-νό-ς for τερπ-τό-ς, see §. 836.). Observe, that he Sanscrit, in accordance with the Greek, has retained he more energetic accentuation for the abstract (see §. 785, . 1052), while the participle has allowed the accent to sink lown upon the final syllable; thus, *yúkti-s* [G. Ed., p. 1194.] ompared with *yuktá-s*, as ζεῦξι-ς compared with ζευκτό-ς.

846. In Greek, from σι, by the inorganic addition of an α, the form σια has developed itself, in similar wise as above (§. 119. p. 130) we saw -τρια, *e.g.* in ὀρχήστρια, answer to the Sanscrit *trí*. The extended form σια appears, as has already been elsewhere remarked,† to be most inclined to unite itself with forms which, by derivative letters or com-

* Πεπ from πεκ=Sanscrit *pach* from *pak*, Latin *coc*.

† "Influence of Pronouns on the formation of Words," p. 23.

position, have enlarged thema
monosyllabic roots. We find,
φυσία, ῥυσία. On the other
ἱππασία, θερμασία, σημασία, ἐπ
ternally these forms approxima
are formed by the suffix ια f
bases, in so far as these chang
syllable into σ; as, *e. g.* ἀκαθα
νασ'-ία from ἀθάνατο-ς.

847. In Lithuanian, also, t
which, like the Greek in σια,
to the suffix *ti* under discussi
tia, whence, in the nominativ
Thus, together with the *pyú-ti*
above (p. 1192 G. ed.), there exi
cation, and at the same time
tia-s, genitive *pyuchio*, euphoni
another example is *beg-tẽ*, " the
structs in *y-stẽ*, as *bagot'-y-stẽ*,"
yaun'-y-stẽ, " youth," from *y*
" godhead," from *dieŭa-s*, " Go
[G. Ed. p. 1195] from *mergà*, "
mentioned (§. 829.) Sanscrit al
y-stè with *dêva-tá*, " godhead "
their suffix, to belong to *ti*, a
as юность *yuno-sty*, " youth,
ness," have inserted before th
tive of this, they already ans
structs in *tia* or *tie-s* (see §. 1
gri-tia, *pigri-tie-s*, *justi-tia*, a
the *i* of which (before the *t*) l
the final vowel of the primitive
example of a neuter belongi

* See Dobrowsky, p. 302, and comp
tva (§. 834.)

Latin the suffix *ti* here discussed has received, as a means of formation of verbal abstracts, a further extension by the addition of *ôn;* thus *tiôn*, nom. *tiô*, with the euphonic alterations required by §. 101. = Sanscrit *ti*. Compare *e.g.* *coc-tio* with *pák-ti-s*, *frac-tio* with *bhák-ti-s*, *junc-tio* with *yúk-ti-s*, *fis-sio* (from *fis-tio*, and this for *fid-tio*, see §. 101.), with *bhít-ti-s* (from *bhid-ti-s*), *sta-tio* with *sthí-ti-s*, *i-tio* with *i-ti-s*. The latter hardly occurs in its simple state, but exists in *sám-iti-s*, "fight," properly "the coming together, the conflict." In Latin occurs, together with *i-tio*, also *i-tiu-m*, in the compound *in-i-tiu-m*, which, in its formative suffix, answers to the nominal abstract *servi-tium*. Remarkable remains of the older formation of this class of words are supplied to us by the adverbs in *tim* (or *sim*, according to §. 101.), which I elsewhere (which Pott, E. I., I. 91., has overlooked) have represented as adverbial accusatives of lost abstracts;* thus, *e.g.* *trac-ti-m*, properly "with drawing;" *cur-si-m*, "with running;" *cæ-si-m*, "with [G. Ed. p. 1196.] hewing, smiting;" *confer-ti-m*, "with pressing together" (Sanscrit *sám-bhṛi-ti-m* (from *sam-bhar-ti-m*), acc. from *sámbhṛiti*, "bringing together, crowd"). *Passim*, from *pas-ti-m*, I derive not from *pando*, but with *pas-sus*, "step" (from *pas-tu-s*), from a lost root "of going;" and I would bring to remembrance the Sanscrit *pad*, "to go" (whence *pada-m*, "step"), as also *path* id., whence *pathín*, *pánthan*, "path" (Latin *pons*, see §. 255. (g.) p. 319). The following are declinable words of the older formation: *mes-si-s*, from *mes-ti-s*, "the mowing," *tus-si-s*, from *tus-ti-s*, "cough," whether the latter be connected with the Sanscrit root *tus*, "to sound," or with *tundo*, when it would properly signify "the thrusting;" *semen-ti-s* is probably derived from a noun,† but is

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* "Influence of Pronouns on the formation of Words," p. 24.

† From *semen;* for from the denominative verb *semino* we should expect *semin-â-ti-s* (compare *nomin-â-tim*).

to be remarked on account of the pure retention of the suffix. *Mor-s* and *men-s* have probably lost an *i* belonging to the base (therefore from *morti-s*, *menti-s*): the former answers to the Sanscrit *mṛí-ti-s* (from *mar-ti-s*) "death," the latter to *má-ti-s* for *mán-ti-s*.

848. With the suffix *ti*, in Sanscrit, masculine substantives also are formed, which, according to their fundamental signification, denote the person acting; as, *e.g. yá-ti-s*, "tamer, binder (of the senses)," from the root *yam*; *pá-ti-s*, "lord (ruler), husband," for *pấ-ti-s* (root *pâ*, "to support, to rule"); *sáp-ti-s*, "horse," as "runner;"* *jñâ-ti-s*,† "relation." To

[G. Ed. p. 1197.] *páti-s* answers the Lithuanian *pati-s* in *wiesz-pati-s* (usually *-pat'-s*), the Gothic *fa-di*, nom. *fath-s* (see §. 90.), the Greek πό-σι-ς, Latin *po-ti-s*. To this class of words belong, further, among other words, the Greek μάν-τι-ς, the Latin *vec-ti-s* (from *veho*), the Gothic *ga-drauh-t(i)-s*, "soldier" (root *drug*, "doing military service," pret. *drauh*, pl. *drugum*); *gas-t(i)-s*, "guest," as it appears to me, as "eater,"‡ Sclavonic *gos-ty*. Here belong, further, in Lithuanian, *gen-ti-s*, "relation," and the following with a

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* The root *sap*, "to follow," akin to *sach*, id. (from *sak*), the Latin *sequor*, Lithuanian *seku*, "I follow," Greek ἕπομαι, probably denoted originally "rapid motion," as also other terms used to denote a horse, are based on the notion of rapidity. Compare Weber, "Vâjasanêya-Sanhitæ Specimen," II. 54.

† Perhaps from *jan* ("to bear, to produce"), transposed to *jñâ* (compare *dhmâ* with *dham*). In the Vêda dialect this suffix forms also adjectives with the signification of the participle present; *e.g. vṛ́ddhi* (euphonic for *vṛ́dh-ti*), "growing;" *júṣṭhi* (euphonic for *júṣti*), "loving" (Rigv. I. 10. 12.).

‡ Compare Sanscrit *ghas*, "to eat," to which the Latin *hos-ti-s* also appears to belong, as, in Sanscrit, ह् *h* and घ् *gh* are often interchanged, and ह् *h* is represented in Latin also by *h*. In Lithuanian, *gas-padà*, "house-keeping," appears, in respect to its initial syllable, to belong here, and *padà* seems to be radically akin to the Sanscrit *padá-m*, Greek πεδό-ν. Compare also the Latin *hos-pes*.

ngthening of the base by an inorganic *a*, which, however, wanting in the nominative (see §. 135.): *kwes-ti-s*,, "inter" (gen. *kwechio*, root *kwet*, whence *kwetu* and *kwechiu*, I invite"); *rais-ti-s*, "head-band" (*riszu*, "I bind"); *msz-ti-s*, "stopple" (*kamszau*, "I stop"); *ram-ti-s*, "support" (properly "the supporter," *pa-remyu* and *ramstau*, I support"); *yau-ti-s*, "ox" (Sanscrit *yu*, "to couple," *yáú-mi*, "I bind"), compare Latin "*jumentum*." Perhaps, so, in the Latin nominal derivatives *cœle-sti-s*, *agre-sti-s*, ly *ti* is the true suffix, and *s* a euphonic prefix,* as in the thuanian formations like *yaun-y-ste*, "youth," and the Slanic in *s-tvo* (see §§. 834. 847.). So the *s* of *campe-stri-s*, *terre-i-s*, *silve-stri-s*, might owe its introduction only to the inclition a *t* has to lean on a preceding *s*; [G. Ed. p. 1198.] that here *tri* would present itself as the true suffix, and a development from the above-mentioned (§. 810.) *tôr* = nscrit *târ*, fem. *trî*. If any one, however, would desire, th Pott (l. c.), to recognise in the syllable *sti* of *agre-sti-s*, *le-sti-s*, the root of "to stand," according to the anagy of Sanscrit compounds like *divi-ṣhṭhá-s*, "standing in aven," "heavenly," I still see no reason to recognise in e above-mentioned Lithuanian and Sclavonic classes of rds compounds with derivatives from the said verbal ot, as a euphonic *s* in the forms spoken of does not surise us more than in the Greek words *ἀκου-σ-τός*, *ἀκουτής*, *ἀκου-σ-τικός*.† The *e* of the Latin formations in *e-sti-s* d *e-stri* I regard as a corruption of *i* (see §. 6.), occaned by the following combination of consonants.

849. The Indian Grammarians assume a suffix *ati* to

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* *Dome-sticus* presupposes a more simple *dome-sti-s* (compare Pott, . I., II. 543.); and thus, too, *rus-ti-cus* a more simple *rus-ti-s*.

† *-τι-κος* presupposes abstract bases in *τι*, as *σι-μο-ς* (*βά-σι-μο-ς*, *κρί-σι-ς*, *πτώ-σι-μο-ς*) presuppose such bases in *σι*. See Pape, "Etymol. xicon," p. 140 *b*.

explain some rare words; as, *aratí-s*, m., "wrath," and with the accent on the root, *árati-s*, f., "fear, care" (from the root *ar*, *ṛi*, "to move oneself," compare Latin *ira*); *ramatí-s*, m., "the God of Love," as "sporter" (root *ram*, "to sport"); *vahatí-s*, m., "wind," as "blower." I believe, however, that in this class of words *ti* only is the true suffix, and *a* the retained class-vowel (see p. 1108). The Lithuanian presents as analogous forms *gyw-a-sti-s*, "life," and *rimm-a-sti-s*, "rest," the *s* of which is therefore euphonic. The latter answers also radically to the Sanscrit *ram-a-á-s*, as *ram*, with the prep. *á* (*áram*), signifies "to rest." On the other hand, from *gyw-a-sti-s* (*y*=*ś*) we had to expect *jív-a-ti-s*. The circumstance that the said Lithuanian words form in the genitive *gywaschio*, *rimmaschio*, from *gywaschia*

[G. Ed. p. 1199.] and *rimmaschia* (*chia* euphonic for *-tia*, see §. 783., p. 1046), and are become masculine, which the Sanscrit abstracts in *ti* never are, need not deter us from recognising the affinity of formation of the words spoken of in both languages, as similar extensions of the limits of words, as also changes of gender, are not uncommon in the Indo-European stock of languages. I refer, with respect to both these points, to the Latin *in-i-tiu-m* for *in-i-ti-s* above mentioned (§. 847.). Together with *gyw-a-sti-s*, "life," and *rimm-a-sti-s*, there exist also, in Lithuanian, some analogous masculine abstracts which exhibit *e* for *a* as the middle vowel; thus, *luk-e-sti-s*, "the writing;" *mok-e-sti-s*, "paying;" *rup-e-sti-s*, "care;" *gail-e-sti-s*, "penitence;" *pyk-e-sti-s*, "rancour" (*pykstu*, "I am wrath," pret. *pykau*). In Greek we find a few analogous forms which admit of comparison with the above-mentioned Sanscrit abstract *ár-ati-s*, "fear, anxiety," in which *c* has been inserted: *νέμ-ε-σι-ς*, *λάχ-ε-σι-ς*, *εὕρ-ε-σι-ς* (see p. 1098), where the agreement in accentuation is also to be noticed.

850. The suffix *ni*, moreover, is, in Sanscrit, not only a means of forming feminine abstracts, but produces also

similar appellatives, which accentuate, some the root, the suffix: *e.g.*, *vrish-ní-s*, "rain," as "impregna- euphonic for *n*);* *ag-ní-s*, "fire," is perhaps an ab- tion of *dag-ni-s* (compare *dág-dhum*, "to burn," root which reaches back beyond the time of the separation guages, as *áśru* is a more recent one of *dáśru* (Greek ; *váh-ni-s*, in the Vêdas, among other things, "horse," aring" or "drawing" (see Benfey's Glossary), in classic it "fire;" *yó-ni-s*, masc. fem., "*vulva*" (root *yu*, in together"). An accurately-re- [G. Ed. p. 1200.] analogous form to *agní-s* is to be found in several European sister languages: in Latin, *ig-ni-s*, in nian, *ug-ni-s*, which latter, however, has become ne; while the Sclavonic ОГНЬ *og-ny* (theme *ogni*) has ved the gender handed down to it. In Lithuanian ears in some other feminine bases, the root of which ured; thus, *us-ni-s*, "thistle," is perhaps originally ticking," and radically akin to the Sanscrit *ush*, "to (Latin *us*, *ur*);† *szak-ni-s*, "root," may be named 'to grow," and be akin to the Sanscrit *śak*, "to e;" as, conversely, the Gothic *mag*, "I can," and)-*s*, "might," conduct us to a Sanscrit root which s "to grow" (*mah*, *maṅh*). In Latin we may per- urther refer here *crî-ni-s*, *pâ-ni-s*, *fi-ni-s*, *fû-ni-s*, and ljectives *lê-ni-s* and *seg-ni-s*, which, however, are all n more or less obscured as to their roots. *Crî-ni-s* ike the Sanscrit *rô-man* for *rôh-man* (see §. 796.), and *há*, "hair of the head" ("growing on the head"), ned from "to grow" (*cre-sco*, *cre-vi*), inasmuch as it

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ot *varsh*, *vṛish*. The Latin *verres*, which is probably akin, takes perhaps by assimilation for *verne-s*.

us, in all probability, *dygulis*, "prickle, thorn," *digsni-s*, "stitch e needle," and *dẽyiu*, "I stick" are connected with *degu*, "I

does not spring, as *capillus* from *caput*, from another term for the head (Sanscrit *śíras* from *kiras*, "head," Greek κάρα); *pâ-ni-s* signifies, perhaps, "the nourishing" (Sanscrit *pâ*, "to support, to nourish," compare *pa-sco*), but might also have lost a final radical consonant (as, *e.g. lu-na*, *lu-men*, for *luc-na*, *luc-men*, *ful-men* for *fulg-men*), and may be named from "to bake;" * *fî-ni-s*, perhaps for *fid-ni-s*, from *fid*, *findo*; *fû-ni-s* [G. Ed. p. 1201.] is referred by Pott (Et. I., I. 251.), and I believe rightly, to the Sanscrit *bandh*, "to bind," with which he also compares *fido*, *fœdus*, and the Greek πείθω (root πιθ); consequently, in the latter forms, the old *a*, as in our pres. *binde* (see p. 106), has been weakened to *i*; while the *û* of *fû-ni-s* for *fud-nis* is closer to the old *a*, and compensates by its being lengthened for the consonant that has been dropped.† But if *fûnis* belongs to *bandh*, the *n* might also be radical, which, however, I do not believe, as *fîdo* also, and πείθω, have lost the nasal, and roots which terminate in a mute with a nasal preceding dispense rather with the less important nasal than with the mute: hence, in Sanscrit, *e.g. baddh-á-s*, "bound." *Seg-ni-s* I hold to be akin to the Sanscrit root *sajj*, "*adhærere*;" *sañj*, "*affigere*" (*sak-tá-s*, "*affixus*"): it may originally sig-

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* The *p* of the Sanscrit *pach* (from *pak*), Greek πέπτω, has been changed into a guttural in *coquo*, which does not prevent the assumption that the original labial has not been entirely lost.

† Regarding the origin of the aspirates of *funis* and *fido*, opposed to the Greek πείθω, see §. 104., and Ag. Benary, "Doctrine of Roman Sounds," p. 190. As regards the Greek π for Sanscrit *b*, we find the same relation in πυθ, compared with the Sanscrit root *budh*, "to know." The circumstance, that in Sanscrit, together with *bandh*, there exists another root which cannot be cited, *bundh*, cannot instigate me to refer the Latin *fû-ni-s* rather to this *bundh* than to *bandh*; but I believe that the weakening of the *a* to *u* (see §. 604.), which, for the reason given above, has been lengthened in Latin, has found its way into the Sanscrit *bundh*, Latin *fû-ni-s*, and Gothic *bund-um*, "we bound," for the first time after the separation of languages, from a principle common to the three languages.

ıeld fast, held in," hence "slow, inactive." In ian, *segu* means "I fasten," the original *a* of which ıtained itself in *sak-ti-s* (gen. *-tes*), "clasp, buckle." if it be akin to λεῖος, can have *ni* only as forma- x. In Sanscrit, *lî*, cl. 1., signifies "*liquefacere, sol-* hence *lî-ná-s*, "*solutus, extinctus;*" *lî*, cl. 9., "*adhæ-erere, insidere.*"

p. 1202] 851. The intermediate vowel-weakening ·onominal bases त *ta*, न *na*, exhibited by the suffixes ıew that they stand in the same phonetic relation to s *ta, na, ti, ni*, as that in which, in the interrogative, ı *ku* stands to *ka, ki* (see §§. 386. 389. 390.). The is particularly important in Sanscrit as a forma- the infinitive, and of a gerund in *tvâ*. I have al- ı my System of Conjugation (pp. 39, 43), represented ıer as an accusative, with *m* as the sign of case, latter as an instrumental, and will not repeat here ınds which induce me to regard the infinitive in ıages as an abstract substantive, with the privilege ning, like the so-called gerunds and supines, the he verb, and to employ several other freedoms in tion. The Indian Grammarians assign the *m* of ıitive in *tum* to the suffix, which they call *tu-mun*, to express by *n*, which is joined by means of the ive vowel *u* to the *tum*, which they view as the fix, the denial of the accent, which rests on the yllable; hence, *e.g. dâ-tum*, "to give;" *sthâ-tum*, "to *pâk-tum*, "to cook;" *trâs-tum*, "to tremble;" *ât-tum*, " *vêt-tum*, "to know." That the Indian Gramma- ard the final *m* of these forms not as the sign of the e, and therefore as alien to the true suffix, must sur- the more, as in the Vêda dialect, of which I was ig- hen I first began to treat of this subject, the abstract ive in *tu* occurs also in other cases, and, indeed, in e with the termination *tavê* or *tavâi*, and in the

genitive-ablative with the termination *tôs*. In these forms, however, the Indian Grammarians refer the case-terminations *é* or *âi*, and *s* likewise, to the suffix (Pânini, III. 4. 9.); yet we can hardly imagine it possible that Pânini, when he,

[G. Ed. p. 1208.] *e.g.* III. 4. 13., says, *îsvarê tôsun-kasunau*, *i.e.* that in construction with *îsvará*, "lord, capable," the unaccented suffixes *tôs* and *as* may supply the place of the infinitive suffix *tum*, he can therein have overlooked that here *tôs* is the genitive of the suffix *tu*, and *as* the genitive termination of abstract substantives without any suffix. It is, however, certain that the practical Grammarians often overlooked that which was not far to find, if it was no longer clearly perceptible in the usances of the ordinary language of the day; and if Pânini has made a mistake here, we cannot wonder that Colebrooke also, who, in his Grammar, keeps strictly to the rules handed down by the native Grammarians, should assign the formations in *tôs*(*un*), (*k*)*as*(*un*), *tum*(*un*), and (*k*)*tvâ*, to the "aptotes" ("Grammar of the Sanscrit language," p. 122);* and, *e.g.* place *kártum*, "to

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* As regards the infinitive in *tum*, and the gerund in *tvâ*, A. W. v. Schlegel, too, has, in noticing my view of these forms (Indische Bibliothek," I. p. 125), so far assented, as to say that the assertion that the infinitive in *tum* is the accusative of a verbal noun in *tu* "has a certain speciousness," for the supine of the Latin has undoubtedly the appearance of a verbal noun of the 4th declension. As regards, however, the form in *tvâ*, Schlegel very decidedly denies the justness of viewing in a gerund of the same (*i.e.* according to his idea) any oblique case whatever of an abstract substantive governing the case of the verb; but he will have the form in question called "an absolute participle," perhaps because it, as he remarks at p. 124, when it governs an accusative, can be aptly rendered into Latin by the ablative absolute; *e.g.* *tan dṛishṭvâ* by *eo viso*. Though, however, *tan dṛishṭvâ* might aptly be so rendered, yet this does not prevent its properly signifying "*post-actionem videndi eum*," "after seeing him:" for the instrumental, which I recognise in *dṛishṭvâ*, expresses also, where it refers to a time, the relation "after;" hence, *e.g.* *achiréṇa kâléna*, "after a short (not long) time;" consequently this gerund

ce," *kṛitvâ*, "after making," in the same [G. Ed. p. 1204.]
s with adverbs like *kútas*, "whence?" *yátra*, "where?"

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nd case, where it expresses the relation "after," is fittingly translated other languages by a preterite participle; thus, *e.g. ity uktvâ* ("after peaking") may be rendered into Latin by "*ita locutus*," and into nan by "*so gesprochen habend*." We must, however, be on our d, if we would understand the nature of a form of speech, against sing of it according to the fashion in which it can be most conve- ly rendered into another dialect without injury to the general im- . As the instrumental also expresses the relation "with," the gerund r discussion may also be employed where a present participle might xpected, and where, in translations into other languages, we might y avail ourselves of such a part of speech; as, *e.g.* Nal. IX. 24., "he e to *Bhâimî* with explanation," *i.e.* "explaining" (compare W. v. nboldt in Schlegel's I. Bibl., II. 127.); where, indeed, in the original, lo not find the gerund in *tvâ*, but another, of which hereafter, which, ever, in its constructions, agrees exactly with that in *tvâ*, and in h, too, an instrumental may be recognised, though not, indeed, as rly. Our gerund expresses the relation "with" also there, where it es after *alam*, "enough," in which position, however, we more com- ly find the instrumental of other abstract substantives. The forms n *bhuktvâ* and *alam bhôjanêna*, *i.e.* "enough with eating," signify the e; and I have appealed already, in my Conjugation-System (p. 52), his kind of construction as to a decisive proof of the instrumental and ndial nature of the form in *tvâ*; and will only further add here, that ster also, whose Grammar was then unknown to me, regards the form vâ, in this particular case, as a gerund ("Essay on the principles of scrit Grammar," p. 463), without, however, entering into any expla- on of its origin, and of the case-relation denoted by it. The use of nds with *alam* is very rare in authors, in that, as it appears, the tracts in *ana*, which will be discussed hereafter, and on which our man infinitive is based, have almost entirely supplanted the gerunds in and *ya* in this position. I am able at present to quote only one solitary mple of the gerund in *ya* with *alam*; viz. Mah. III. 869. 1., *alan ṣhṇâ' vamanyâi' nam*(*-ya ênam*), "Enough, Kṛiṣhṇa, with despising n" (*i.e.* "despise him no further"). Schlegel grounds a principal ection against the formative affinity of the form in *tvâ* and the infini- e in *tum* on the circumstance that the two forms do not stand in such act accordance with one another in all roots as in *páktum* and *paktvâ*; but

trating examination of the disputed point, whether the fo
indeclinable participle or a gerund, has not been deterre
rences from recognising in the infinitive and the form in
affinity and common suffix, and from uniting with me in r
latter as a gerund invested with the termination of the i
expressing the relations of this case (l. c. II. p. 127).
hand, Lassen (l. c. III. p. 104) consents indeed to recogn
in *tvâ* a gerund, but denies it to be an instrumental.
against the original identity of the infinitive and the geru
evident from what has been said, I have never assert
"older forms of the gerund" which occur in Pânini (VI
fore I mention these forms, I must repeat, that, as Lasse
other places, that alone is to be considered as ancient
dialect exhibits differing from the classical Sanscrit; oth
(to keep to the instrumental) regard the Vêdic instrume
in the Scholiast to Pânini, VII. I. 39., *dhitî*, *matî*, *suṣhṭ*
maty-â, *suṣhṭuty-â*), which have dropped the case-termi
as locatives like *charman* for *charmani*, l. c.—as older th
the classic language which are provided with the case-ter
the analogy of the said Vêdic instrumentals may also b
Vêdic gerunds in *tvî* (*e.g. vṛitvî*, Rigv. I. 52. 6.), if
("Journal of Lit. Crit.," 1844, p. 114), compare these fo
instrumentals like *dhṛishṇuyâ*, "with courage," which I
without, however, assuming, with the said learned man, t
mentals come from bases in *vi*; but I hold the *y* of *dhṛ*

ccusative relation, but is also found expressing rela-
ions otherwise far removed from the [G. Ed. p. 1206.]

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suming, together with the pronominal base *amû*, a base *amvi*, simply in rder to annex thereto the terminations beginning with a vowel, especially s from *amví*, according to the only rule which prevails in Sanscrit, must ome *amvy-â*, *amvy-ô-s*. If we, however, choose to consider the *y* in mu-*y*-*â*, *amu-y-ôs*, as an insertion, the inference of this recoils also upon he said Vêda forms *dhṛishṇu-y-â*, *uru-y-â*, which in the Scholiast to Pâṇini (l. c.) are represented as=*dhṛishṇu-n-â*, *uru-ṇ-â*, and belonging to he masculine or neuter, which can hardly be established by the Vêda ext. In the substantively-used *dhṛishṇuyâ*, "with courage," the gender annot be discovered from the passages of the Rigv. which lie before me. I regard it, however, as feminine, until I find proof to the contrary. The Vêdic gerunds in *tví*, if we derive the *tví* from *tu-y-â*, accord with the bove-mentioned Vêdic instrumentals (*dhîtí* from *dhîty-â*, &c.), in so far hat they, in like manner, have, after dropping the termination, changed he preceding semi-vowel into the corresponding long one. But if the ermination *tví* do not rest on this principle, I would explain, as I have efore done, *tví* from *tvá* as the consequence of the weakening of the owel, according to the principle of forms like *yu-nî-más* for *yu-nâ-más* see §. 485.).—The Vêdic gerunds in *tvâ-ya* have the appearance of da-ives from bases in *tva:* as they, however, have not a dative, but, in like manner, an instrumental meaning, and also in their formation, exclusive f the affix *ya*, approximate to the usual form in *tvá*, but not to the bove-mentioned (§. 835.) abstracts in *tva*, *e.g. gatvâya* (Schol. to Pân. VII. I. 46.) to *gatvá*, *vṛittvâya* (Yajurvêda XI. 19.) to *vṛittvá*, *kṛitvâya* l. c. 59.) to *kṛitvá* (cf. *kártva-m*, §. 835.), I would rather, with Pâṇini, egard *tvâya* as a lengthened form of *tvâ* with the affix *ya*, than con-ersely, with Lassen (l. c. p. 106), look upon *tvâ* as an abbreviation of *tvâya*. The lengthening of the instrumental termination *â* to *âya* is like hat by which, in bases in *a*, the dative termination *é* has prolonged itself o *aya* (from *é* + *a*, see §. 165.), only the *y* here is the representative of he *i* contained in the diphthong *é*, while the *y* of *tvâya* is perhaps an uphonic insertion (see §. 43.); as, *e.g.*, in *yâ-y-in*, "going" (root *yâ*, uffix *in*); and in the Vêdic *dhâ-y-as*, "the carrying, supporting" (root *dhâ*, suffix *as*).—Besides *tví* and *tvâya*, *tvînam* also (Pân. VI. I. 48.) is named as the representative of the termination *tvâ*, occurring, however, as added to the root *yaj*, "to honour" (*iṣhṭvînam* for *iṣhṭvâ*); and in the scholium on the said Sûtra we find also a form in *tvânam*, viz. *pîtvânam*

accusative, may have chiefly occasioned the ove
[G. Ed. p. 1207.] its *m* to be the sign of the ac

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for *pîtvâ*. If these forms, of which I know no examples that c
are really equivalent in meaning to those in *tvâ*, and therefore
of instrumental relations, I can but recognise in their terminat
enclitic; and I could only join with Lassen in conjecturing a
and deriving from it *pîtvânam*, after the analogy of *râjânu*
regarding *iṣhṭvînam* as a weakened form of *iṣhṭvânam*, if the f
nam and *pîtvânam* were shewn, according to this signification,
satives; but I could in nowise be induced to look upon the
which is also the prevailing one in the Vêdas, as an abbrevia
in *tvânam*. M. Professor Lassen, in his polemic against my
regard to the form in *tvâ*, has kept the principal point of my argu
in the back ground; viz. this, that the forms which termina
we regard them, as Lassen does, as gerunds, express in all
well demonstrated by W. v. Humboldt's copious investigation
case-relations as are denoted by the instrumental, but whic
and entirely removed from the accusative, as also from the
were this not the case, the mere form would never have led
nise in the formations in *tvâ* the instrumental of feminine sub
tu, which, with regard to their gender and their suffix, find
port in the Greek abstracts in *τύ-ς* (as *ἑδητύ-ς*), to which
attention in my treatise "On the influence of Pronouns on th
of Words" (p. 25). However, Lassen further remarks (l. c.
if we compare the lingual use of this gerund, the instrumenta
tive" were perhaps better adapted for expressing the notional
this verbal form, than the accusative, which is never suited fo
pose. Into the province of the ablative, however, in my o
gerund never enters, unless one thinks of the Latin ablativ
the same time, represents the Sanscrit instrumental; hence
passage of the Bhag. (II. 37.), *jitvâ* may be aptly translated by
of the gerund (*vincendo*), thus, "*vel occisus cœlum es adeptu*
cendo possidebis terram." If need be, however, I would rega
the instrumental gerund as expressing the relation "after,"
quering thou wilt possess the earth." A Sanscrit ablative, pe
"from the victory," or "on account of the victory," could
expected in this and similar passages. Still more decisively
passage just quoted, is the genuine instrumental relation, or
Latin ablative of the gerund expressed in a passage of the

he relation of which the infinitive evidently there ex-
resses, where it is governed by verbs, or verbal-substan-
ives, or adjectives, which express, "to [G. Ed. p. 1208.]
vill," "to wish," "to know," "to strive," "to be able,"
'to begin," "to command," "to determine;" where it is
o be observed, as regards the verbs of mo- [G. Ed. p. 1209.]
ion, that the object of every motion in Sanscrit is regu-
larly expressed by the simple accusative. As to the accu-
sative nature of the infinitive a passage of the Śakuntalâ,
already cited by Hofer ("Of the Infinitive" p. 95), is very
characteristic, in which, of two actions influenced by a
verbal expression denoting "beginning," the one is ex-
pressed by the accusative of an abstract substantive in *a*,
and the other by the infinitive: *bâhûtkshêpaṅ rôdituñ-cha
pravṛittâ*, "she began outstretching arms and to weep."

already cited by me in my Conjugation-system (p. 45): *tvam uchchâiḥ
śabdan kṛitvâ svâminan kathan na jâgarayasi*, "*tu clarâ voce clamorem
faciendo dominum cur non evigilas.*" When Lassen (l. c. p. 105) stu-
diedly calls the gerund under discussion "indeclinable," I have nothing
to say against it, inasmuch as one may term any case, *as such*, indeclina-
ble, and so much the more those which are only the remains of the ori-
ginally perfect declension of a certain class of words. When, however, the
said learned person refuses to see what can have induced me to blame
those who have preceded me for calling the gerund indeclinable, I must
be allowed to remark, that my censure chiefly consists in this, that my
predecessors have called this "gerund," not "a gerund," but "a partici-
ple." One might very well be content with an indeclinable gerund, though
perhaps no one would see the necessity of making especial mention of the
incapability of further declension in a form which had been admitted to
be a gerund. As, however, in the form in *tvâ* a participle was recognised,
by which one had reason to expect a capacity for declension (cf. W. v.
Humboldt, l. c. II. 134.), Wilkins expressly called this putative participle
"indeclinable," and Carey "adverbial:" on the other hand, Lassen, in
that he acknowledged the gerundial nature of the form under discussion,
supported the one moiety of my assertion, and, in the same manner as my-
self, blamed the clothing the formations in *tvâ* and *ya* with the name of
indeclinable or adverbial "participles."

Sâvitrî, V. 100. (Diluvium, p. 39), *yadi mâñ jîv*
"*si me vivere cupis;*" Râm. ed. Schl. II. 12. 1
tvâṁ vishahê, "*non vivere te sustineo;*" Vṛihatk
172, *kam api râjâṇaṁ snâtun tatra dadarśa*, "he
king bathe there." In verbs of motion the
presses at the same time the place to which
directed. As one, however, moves toward
order to execute it, the accusative terminati
finitive here enters upon the province of the
latter case, in Sanscrit, most usually expres
relation, while the proper dative relation is
part expressed by the genitive, which in Pri
has indeed quite supplanted the dative. Thus
I. 34., *âgatô hantum imân sarvân*, "arisen in or
all these;" Râm. ed. Schl. I. 20. 2., *abhya*
[G. Ed. p. 1210.] *ayôdhyâyân narâdhipam*, "h
the prince of men in Ayôdhyâ;" II. 97. 12.,
abhyêti bharataḥ, "Bharat draws near to s
Hence the language may have arrived a
through the accusative of the infinitive, the c
also, in places where it is not the object o
motion, or where the direction of the motion i
towards a distinctly-expressed place, and the i
expresses the reason of the motion; thus, e.g.

Yamunâ to drink water." Without a verb of motion, Draup. 4. 20., *alan tê pâṇḍuputrâṇâm bhaktyâ klêśam upâsitum*, 'Away with thy love to the sons of Pâṇḍu, in order to bear listress;" Indralôka, I. 15. 16., *âruhasva rathôttamam . . . udurlabham samârôḍhum*, "ascend the best of chariots, vhich to ascend (on account of the ascending) is hardly to e attained." I now, too, regard the infinitive as expressng the dative relation where it is by the side of words vhich express a time, or by other substantives, and at the ame time it appears to represent the genitive or the Latin erund in *di;* as, *e.g.* Nalas, 20. 16., *nâ yaṇ kâlô vilambitum*, this is not the time to hesitate" ("to the hesitating, for e hesitating"); thus Urvaśî (Lenz, p. 10., Bollensen, p. 12), this is not the time to see Śatakratus (*draṣhṭum*); Draudî III. 7., "The time has approached for these most exellent heroes to come here" ("to the, or for the, approach"); itôp. ed. Bonn. p. 59, line 6, *sthâtum ichchhâ*, "the wish to ay" (not "of staying"); Râm. ed. Schl. II. 9. 7., *śrôtuñ handaḥ*, "the wish to hear;" Mah. 1. 422., [G. Ed. p. 1211.] *ṇḍavân hantum mantraḥ*, "the plan to slay the Pâṇḍavas" r the slaying, on account of the slaying, not, "of the slayg"); Hitôp. ed. Bonn. p. 119. Sl. 40, *yôddhuṁ śaktiḥ*, "the wer to fight;" Arjun's return, 9. 6. (Diluvium, p. 111), *taram . . . padâd vichalitum padam*, "room to move foot om foot." Observe that the ordinary accusative also casionally expresses the relation of the cause or of the ject; as, Bhagavad Gîtâ, XVI. 3. 4. 5., *sampadan dâivîm hijâtô 'si*, "to a god-like destiny art thou born." Conrsely we sometimes find the dative of common abstracts constructions where the infinitive was to be expected in genuine accusative function. I have already, in a Note "Arjuna's journey to Indra's heaven" (p. 79), drawn tention to such a use in *upa-kram*, "to begin, to comence." We read, viz. Hidimba, I. 22., *gamanâyô 'pachakrmê* "he began to go" ("to the going," or "on account of

rôchay (causal of आभरुच् *abhuruch*), "to be will, to wish," with the dative of abstract sul stead of the infinitive standing in the accusat *e.g.* Râm. ed. Schl. I. 36. 2., *gamanâyâ 'bhir* [G. Ed. p. 1212.] pleased to go" (to the goin "the going," *actionem eundi*). So also *utsah*, in which again the remarkable circumstance in the example before me the dative governe verb, viz. *paribhôgâya*, "to enjoy" ("to th like the ordinary infinitive *paribhôktum*, gov sative, Mah. III. 16543., "Thee, O Maithilî, I ((*tvâm . . . . nô 'tsahê paribhôgâya*). So we s the dative expressing the place towards whic made, for which purpose the accusative is a specially employed; *e.g.* Mah. II. 2613., *vanâ* "they went forth to the wood;" III. 10076., *â chhâva*, "we go (both of us) to the hermitag other hand, we find precisely in its place abstract substantives as representative of in the causal relation; *e.g.* in a passag Journey to Indra's heaven," p. 74) of the 12 Mah., already elsewhere quoted, "in order to

ikâya vrajati, "he goes to cook" (in order to cook) rvaśî (Lenz, p. 4., Boll. p. 5.), *yatishyé vaḥ śakhîpratyânaya*, "I will strive to bring back your friend." It deserves notice, that the abstract substantives, which in lassical Sanscrit intrude upon the functions of the infinive, are all, except the proper infinitive in *tu-m*, formed y the suffixes *ana* or *a*, to which I particularly draw attenon for this reason, that we afterwards meet with the ame suffixes slightly corrupted in the European languages lso.

852. We very often find the abstracts, [G. Ed. p. 1213.] hich are formed with *ana*, in order to express the causal elation of the infinitive, in the locative, which, in Sanscrit pecially, very frequently stands for the dative. Such infitive locatives, after the manner of ordinary substantives, gularly govern the genitive; as, *e.g.* Sâvitrî, I. 33., *bhartur vêshaṇé tvara*, "hasten to seek a spouse" ("in the seeking a spouse," or "on account of the seeking"); Nal. 24. 29., *dyaḥ .... ânayanê tava*, "the means of bringing thee ther" ("to the bringing hither of thee"); 17. 29., *nalasyânyanê yata*, "strive to bring Nala here;" 34., *yatadhvan lam ârjaṇé*, "strive ye to seek Nala" ("in the searching Nala");* Mah. 3. 14798., *na tv abhyanujñâṅ lapsyâmi manê yatra pâṇḍavâḥ*, "I shall not, however, obtain permission (thither) to go, where the Pâṇḍavas." As the tive of abstract substantives is found representing the ccusative relation, so is also the locative of the form in a, and, indeed, in the example before me, it is governed by k, "to be able," with which in general usage we find the finitive in *tum*; but Râm. ed. Schl. I. 66. 19., *na śêkur vahanê tasya dhanushaḥ*, "they could not receive this bow" 'in the receiving this bow"), with which may be com-

* On the other hand, the same verb with the form in *tum*, Nal 15. 4., *rvaṁ yatiṣhyé tat kartum*, "all this will I strive to do."

pared the above-mentioned (G. ed. p. 1212.) *nô 'tsahé paribhógâya.* As in the passage mentioned this *paribhóga* governs an accusative, so also is the form in *ané* occasionally found with an accusative; but hitherto I know of no parallel example to place by the side of that already quoted elsewhere ("Arjuna's Journey," &c., p. 80). It [G. Ed. p. 1214.] occurs Nalus 7. 10., *tam . . . . suhṛidâṁ na tu kaśchana nivâraṇé 'bhavach chhaktô dîvyamânam,* "but none of his friends was capable of restraining him (in the restraining) playing." It is more rare to find the locative of a substantive formed by the suffix *a* as representative of the infinitive. One example occurs, Râghuvaṁśa, 16. 75., where, however, it is uncertain whether *tadvichayé* be to be taken as a compound, or whether *tad* be an accusative neuter, governed by *vichayé,* "to seek." I annex the whole passage: *samajñâpayad âśu sarvân ânâyinas tadvichayé* (or *tad vichayé*) "he commanded therewith all fishermen to seek* that (bracelet," *valaya* masc. neut.). It may be considered as a point in favour of the view which regards *tad* as the accusative governed by *vichayé* that both the dative and accusative of abstracts formed by the suffix *a* occur as substitutes for the infinitive in construction with the accusative. As regards the dative, I recall attention to *tvâm paribhógâya,* "to enjoy thee," in the passage quoted above (p. 1212 G. ed.). An instance of the accusative of this class of words governing the accusative as substitute for the infinitive is afforded us in the Kriyâyôgasâra, of which we have to expect an edition from Wollheim: *chakré vivâhan tân kanyâm, i. e.* lit., "he made to marry that

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* The commentary takes *tadvichayé* as compound, and explains *tad* by *tasyâ 'bharaṇasya.* I, however, do not doubt that *tad,* whether it be taken as the first member of a compound in the genitive relation, or as an accusative governed by *vichayé,* certainly refers to *valaya,* "bracelet," and not to *âbharaṇa,* "ornament," which, in the preceding Ślôka, stands at the end of a Bahuvrîhi (*tulyapushpâbharaṇaḥ*).

laiden." Here we must return to the feminine form of he suffix *a*, viz. *â*, isolated accusatives of which are employed in Zend for the infinitive, where it expresses the ccusative relation (see §. 619.). I now [G. Ed. p. 1215.] refer to translate the *varayâm prachakramuh*, mentioned at . 619. p. 842, and which remains, as yet, a solitary example, y "they made to gain," than by "they made gaining."* o this form in *âm* may also be referred the Marāṭha infinitives in *ûn*, *e.g.* करूं *kŏrûṇ*, "to make, to do," so that *û* ould be to be taken as a corruption of an original *â*, as n the first persons; as, इच्छूं *ichchhûṇ*, "I wish" (=Sanscrit *chchhâmi*); करूं *kŏrûṇ*, "I make;" सकूं *sŏkûṇ*, "I can;" for hich, in Sanscrit, we should expect, according to the 1st lass, *karâmi*, *śakâmi*. It appears to me, however, more robable, that the said infinitives have lost a *t*, just as in bâû, "brother," for *bhrâtâ*. If this view be just, still the Marāṭha infinitive cannot therefore be compared with the anscrit in *tum*, because there is no reason apparent why he *u* should have been lengthened; but I would rather xplain ऊं *ûn*, from तूं *tûn*, for *tvam*, in the same way as am, "thou," in Marāṭhī has become तूं *tûn*. In the Marāṭha infinitive, therefore, the suffix त्व *tva* would be ontained, which in classical Sanscrit forms denominative bstracts (see §. 834.), and in the Vêdic dialect also verbal bstracts (see §. 835.). From this suffix I should prefer lso to deduce the Marāṭha gerund in ऊन् *ûn;* thus, *e.g.* रून् *kŏrûn*, "after the making" ("having made"), from he instrumental *kŏrtvâna*,† with the suppression of the inal *a*, which is left in the Prâkrit gerunds as

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* If *prakram* be not confirmed in the meaning "to make," we must anslate "they began to obtain," which does not prejudice the infinitive ature of the form in *âm*.

† Cf. देवान *dêvânŏ*, or देवाने *dêvânê*, "by the God"=Sanscrit *dê-v-n-a*.

[G. Ed. p. 1216.] *pâûṇa, ghêûṇa, lahiûṇa, vilôhiûṇa, âgantûṇa, ghêttûṇa.** The Prâkrit, however, is not wanting also in

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* The *t* of the gerundial suffix appears to be preserved principally, if not solely, under the protection of a preceding consonant. The first *t* of *ghettûṇa* (Sanscrit root *grah*) evidently rests on assimilation, be it that the *ṇ* or the *h* of *ghêṇh* (inf. *ghéṇhiduṁ* and *ghettuṁ*) has assimilated itself to the *t* following. In *hattûṇa*, from *han*, the first *t* stands decidedly for *n*. Lassen also (Inst. p. 367) compares these Prâkrit gerunds with those in Marāṭhī, but traces them both back to the above-mentioned (G. ed. p. 1207), but as yet unciteable, gerund in *tvânam*. Against this explanation, even if the gerund in *tvânam* were better established than it is, as accusative, the objection would present itself, that the Prâkrit has nowhere else allowed the accusative sign *m* to be lost, but has everywhere retained it in the form of an anusvâra. Lassen (l. c. p. 289) also deduces the Prâkrit nominal abstracts in *ttaṇa* (by assimilation from *tvaṇa*) from the already-mentioned *tvan;* but since then, in the edited Vêda text an actual secondary (*taddhita*-) suffix *tvana* has been found, which, as such, as also by its form, has a much stronger claim to be regarded as the origin of the Prâkrit *ttaṇa*. The following are examples: *mahitvaná-m*, "greatness" (from the Vêdic *mahi*, "great"); *śakhitvaná-m*, "friendship;" *martyatvaná-m*, "mortality or humanity" (?). I cannot, however, see the reason why Benfey (Glossary to the Sâma-Vêda, s. v. *mahitvá*) calls the suffix *tvana* more organic than *tva*: for the broader form might as well be an extension of the shorter, as conversely the shorter be an abbreviation of the broader. They both appear to be of primitive antiquity. The former we have already recognised in Gothic and Sclavonic (see §§. 834. 835.); on the latter is based very probably the Greek *σύνη*; *e.g.* in *δουλοσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *σωφροσύνη*, which has passed into the feminine. With regard to the syllable *συ*, for the Sanscrit *tva*, compare the relation of *σύ* to *tva-m*, "thou" (§. 326.) In Marāṭhī we meet with the Vêdic suffix *tvana* in the rather obscured form of *pŏṇŏ* in abstract neuters; as, *bâlŏpŏṇŏ*, "childhood" (see Vans Kennedy, "Dictionary," II. p. 16), with *p* for *tv* (cf. §. 341.; Schluss and Hoefer, "de Prâcrita dialecto," p. 165). Carey (Gramm., p. 32) writes पण् *pŏṇ* for पण *pŏnŏ*, and suppresses also, in his dictionary, very frequently the final vowel of Sanscrit neuter bases in *a:* he writes, *e.g.*, पाप् *pâp*, "sin," दञ्चन् *dŏsŏn*, "tooth," पायस् *pâyŏs*, "milk," चंदन् *chŏndŏn*, "sandal-wood," वाहन् *vahŏn*, "*vehiculum*," for पाप *pâpŏ*, &c.

unds, which are based on the Sanscrit [G. Ed. p. 1217.]
vâ; as, *e.g. gadua* = Sanscrit *gatvâ*, with the final vowel
rtened. The Marāṭhī also uses, to express the infinitive,
tract substantives in *ŏṇŏ*, and, indeed, especially to ex-
ss the nominative relation, in which the form in *ûn*
carcely to be found. Thus, in Carey (Grammar, p. 76),
â kŏrŏṇŏ pŏḍŏtŏ, "to me to do (the doing) (is) beseeming:"
he other hand, p. 78, *mîn kŏrûn sŏkûn*, "I can do;" p. 80,
kŏrûn ichchhûn, "I wish to do." We may here, on
ount of the frequent and pervading interchange of
d *l*, recall remembrance *en passant* to the remarkable
ilarity between the Marāṭha dative-accusative termina-
lâ and the modern Persian *râ*. Compare, for example,
just-mentioned *mŏlâ*, "to me, me," with the Persian
â; and *tulâ*, "to thee, thee," with *turâ*; *âmhâlâ* (from
lâ, see §. 166.), ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς, with *mârâ*; *tumhâlâ*, ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς,
shumârâ.

853. At the beginning of compounds, the infinitive in
, according to the universal principle of the formation
compound words, loses its case-sign, and then arises
bare theme in *tu*; *e.g.*, Nal. IX. 31., *nachâ 'han tyaktu-*
as tvâm, "nor also am I of the will to leave thee"
aving a quitting-wish"); where it is to be remarked,
in Sanscrit the first member of a compound may be
ated, in respect to syntax, as an independent member
he sentence, wherefore *tyaktu* here governs the accu-
ve (*tvâm*) just as much as if *tyaktum* stood there alone.
854. The Vêda dialect generally employs the dative to
ress the causal relation of the dative; and, indeed, either
t above mentioned (§. 851.) in *tavé* or [G. Ed. p. 1218.]
ti,* from the proper infinitive base in *tu*, or the dative

The form in *tavâi* is the more rare: it accents, beside the radical
able, also the case-termination; *e.g. yámitavâi*, "in order to bridle"
gv. I. 28. 4.); *kártavâi*, "in order to make" (Naigh. II. 1.). In
combination

of abstract radical words, or of an abstract feminine base terminating in *dhi* or *dhî*, of which only the dative in *dhyâi* has been retained; so that this form has gained a still more genuine infinitive appearance through the lack of other cases from the same base. The termination *dhyâi* is always preceded by *a* or *aya*, by, therefore, the theme of the special tenses of the 1st or 6th class, with *a* as class-vowel; or by that of the 10th class, or causal form, with the character *aya*. Compare, *e.g.*, *píb-a-dhyâi* (strictly *piba-dhyâi*, cf. §. 508.), "in order to drink" (Rigv. I. 88. 4.), with *píbati*, "he drinks;" *kshár-a-dhyâi*, "in order to flow" (l. c. 63. 8.), with *kshár-a-ti*; *sáh-a-dhyâi*, "in order to conquer" (S. V. ed. Benf., p. 154), with *sáh-a-ti*; *vand-á-dhyâi*, "in order to praise," with the accusative, Rigv. I. 61. 5.; *víram* . . . . *vandádhyâi*, "in order to praise the hero," with *vánd-a-tê*; *char-á-dhyâi*, "in order to drink" (l. c. 61. 2.), with *chár-a-ti*; *mâd-ayá-dhyâi*, "in order to gladden or rejoice," with *mâdáyati* (causal of the root *mad*, "to rejoice," Yajurv. 3. 13.); *iśayadhyâi*, "in order to enjoy, to the enjoyment" (Rosen, "Rig-Vêdæ Specimen," p. 8), with *iś-ayati*.*

[G. Ed. p. 1219.] The *iśadhyâi*, "in order to stride through," cited by Westergaard (Radices, p. 278), belongs probably to the Vêdic *iś*, cl. 6., and answers, therefore, to *iś-á-ti*, "he goes" (Naigh. II. 14.). Among the infinitives in *dhyâi*, the

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combination with prepositions the first accent, and in other forms from the infinitive base in *tu* the only one falls on the preposition; *e.g.* *ánvêtavâi*, "in order to follow" (from *ánu* and *êtavâi*, Rigv. I. 24. 8.); *prátidhâtavê*, "in order to place, to support" (from *práti*, "against," and *dhâtavê*, l. c.).

* A denominative from *iś*, "wish, food;" hence it signifies also "to wish" (so Rigv. I. 77. 4.). I have already, in the "Journal for Lit. Crit." (Dec. 1830, p. 949), explained the form *iśayadyâi*, which Sâyana regards as an instrumental plural, and explains by *êshaṇîyâi*, as Rosen does by "*exoptatas*," as an infinitive, but I then found a difficulty in the *i*, in that I presupposed a verb of the 10th class, which would lead us to expect *éshayadhyâi*. Cf. Lassen, Anthol., p. 133.

n *vâvṛidh-á-dhyâi*, "in order to make grow" (Rigv. I.
3.), stands hitherto quite isolated, and may be regarded
a first attempt to form infinitives out of the themes
ther tenses than the present, or also as a remnant of
ngual period, where, perhaps, from all or most of the
es of the indicative, infinitives in *dhyâi* might have
n formed. Westergaard (Radices, p. 189) takes the said
n as the infinitive of the perfect, with which, in form
it admirably corresponds, as the root *vardh* (*vṛidh*),
grow," also "to make to grow, to augment, to ex-
l," in the Vêda dialect, everywhere exhibits *vâ* for *va*
he syllable of reduplication. The fact of *vâvṛidh-á-dhyâi*
nging, according to its meaning, which Sâyana explains
the causal infinitive *vardhayitum*, to the present, cannot
impugned by its derivation from the perfect base, as
he Vêdas the participles also of the reduplicated pre-
te very often appear with a present signification; *e.g.*
v. I. 89. 8., *tuṣhṭuvánsas*, "*laudantes.*" The *a* inserted in
ridh-á-dhyâi is evidently the conjunctive-vowel *a*, which
ngs to the perfect, and which, in several places of the
icative, has been weakened to *i* (see §. 614.); compare
, with regard to the accentuation, the dual forms *vâ-*
h-á-thus, *vâvṛidh-á-tus*. Just, however, as this *a* of the
icative is referred by the Indian Grammarians to the
sonal terminations, so Pâṇini (III. 4. 9.) regards the *a*
he forms in *a-dhyâi* as really a mem- [G. Ed. p. 1220.]
of the formative suffix.* It may be left to further ex-

Pâṇini gives, l. c., the suffix spoken of in six different forms, viz.
yâi, *adhyâin*, *kadhyâi*, *kadhyâin*, *śadhyâi*, *śadhyâin*. The final *n* ne-
res the accentuation of the suffix (cf. p. 1202, G. ed.), and the initial *ś*
ts out that the root appears in the form of the special tenses; hence,
the above-mentioned *píbadhyâi*, according to Sâyana (ed. Müller,
12), contains the suffix *śadhyâin*; while *mâdayádhyâi*, since it has
accent on the *a*, which is reckoned to belong to the suffix, according
Mahidhara contains the suffix *śadhyâi*. Compare the suffix *śa*, i.e. *a*
according

amination of the usances of the Vêdic dialect to decide whether we have not to assume also aorists of the infinitive in *dhyâi*, but with present signification, as in the potential (see §. 705.). It is certain that when, as by Benfey (Glossary, p. 216), the potential forms like *huréma*, *huvémahi*, *huvéya*, and the participles *huvát*, *huvâná* (from the form *hu*, which is a contraction of *hvé*, "to call"), are ascribed to the aorist, we may with equal justice regard the infinitive *â-huvádhyâi*, "to invoke" (Yajurv. 3. 13.), as the aorist. For the present I prefer, however, to assume that the form *hu*, which is contracted from *hvé*, is, in the Vêda dialect, inflected according to three different classes, and refer the said potential forms to the 6th class, the participles *huvát*, *huvâná*, and the plural middle *hûmáhe* (the latter with irregular lengthening of the *u*), to the 3d, [G. Ed. p. 1221.] and forms like *hávaté*,* "he calls," to the

according to Wilson ("Introduction to the Grammar of the Sanscrit Language," 2d Ed., p. 327), by which adjectives like *pibá*, "drinking;" *paśyá*, "seeing;" *pârayá*, "filling." By *k* is pointed out the pure, devoid of Guna or weakened form of the verbal theme; and hence, *e.g.*, to the form *âhuvádhyai*, "to invoke" (Yajurv. 3. 13.), from the form *hu*, which is contracted from *hvé*, is the suffix *kadhyâi* assigned. *Adhyâi*, or, without accent, *adhyâin*, is the suffix when it is appended to the form of the root strengthened or incapable of the Guna-increment; *e.g.* in *kṣháradhyâi* (Rigv. I. 63. 8.), "in order to flow," from the root *kṣhar*, Cl. 1.

* I believe I may venture to trace back to *hu*, Cl. 1., the Zend *du*, "to speak," which as yet has not been satisfactorily compared with the Sanscrit (see Burnouf, Études, p. 309); while another *du*, which signifies "to run," evinces unmistakeably its affinity with the Sanscrit roots of motion: *dhu*, *dhû*, and *dhâv* (the latter likewise "to run"). I look upon the transition of ह् *h* to द् *d* in this light, viz. that the former has first become ज् *j*, and thence *d*, since of the *dh* sound only the first element remains. In the former respect, compare the relation of جنیدن *jan*, "to slay," to the Sanscrit हन् *han*; in the latter, that of the Old Persian *adam*, "I," to अहम् *ahám*; and of the New Persian *dest*, "hand," to हस्त *hásta*; *dânem*, "I know," to जानामि *jânâmi*.

. The 1st person singular *huvê*, which occurs at the l of the Śloka quoted, might as well be referred to the as to the 6th class, and just so the active participle *vát*: I prefer, however, to assign the latter to the 2d her than to the 6th class, because, as participle of the class, it answers to the middle participle *huvâná*. Then *uvádhyâi*, *gámadhyâi*, "to go" (Yajurv. VI. 3.), would 'e greater claim to be regarded as the infinitive of the ist (*ágamam*), as *gam* in the special tenses substitutes *hh*; if, however, the hitherto uncitable form *gámati*, ich Yâska (Naigh. II. 14.) assigns to the Vêda dialect, established, then *gámadhyâi*, too, may hold good as the nitive of the present. It would be a convincing proof he existence of an infinitive of the aorist could we any- ere point out the form *vôchadhyai* (cf. §. 705.).

555. As infinitives of the third formation of the aorist (not, vever, of the form in *dhyâi*) may be regarded the forms, ntioned by Pâṇini (III. 4. 10.), *rôhiṣhyâi* and *avyaṭhiṣhyâi* : latter with *a* privative). The root *ruh*, "to grow," ıld, according to the third formation of the aorist, form *hiṣham*; and from *vyath*, middle, "to tremble," is really be found the aorist *ávyaṭhiṣhi*. After deducting the aug- nt and the personal termination, there [G. Ed. p. 1222.] nain *rôhiṣh*, *vyaṭhiṣh*, as temporal bases; whence, through : feminine form *î* of the suffix *a*, might easily arise as ıtracts *rôhishî*, *vyathiṣhî*, the datives of which must be *iṣhyâi*, *vyaṭhiṣhyâi*. These datives might also be derived m feminine bases in short *i*, which, therefore, would be pended to the aorist theme *rôhiṣh*, *vyaṭhiṣh*, in the same y as, *e.g.* that of *ráṅhi*, "quickness," to the primitive ot *raṅh*. In this case, instead of *âi* we might expect also -*ê* in the dative. But if the said infinitives really be- ng to the third formation of the aorist, then those in *sê*, ith the general dative termination *ê*, may be referred to e 2d (Greek 1st) (see §. 555.); where we should have to

assume that the conjunctive vowel, which enters between the appended verb substantive and the personal termination, does not extend itself to infinitives like *vakṣhê*, "to drive," *jiṣhé*, "to conquer." The first example occurs in the Schol. to Pân., III. 4. 9., the latter Rigv. I. 112. 2, *anaśvân yâbhî rátham âvatam jiśé*, "by which ye help the courserless chariot to conquer" ("on account of conquering"). Sâyana calls the termination of this infinitive form *kṣê*,* because the radical vowel has no Guna. The gunised infinitives in *sê* (euphon. *ṣhê*, on account of the preceding *i, ê, k*), like the l. c. adduced *mêṣhê*, "to cast, to cast down" (root *mi*), answer better to the 1st aorist formation, viz. to the middle of roots ending in a vowel, which reduce the Vriddhi augment of their active, on account of the too great weight of the middle terminations, to that of Guna; while the roots ending in a consonant renounce all increase to the vowel in the middle. We might therefore refer all

[G. Ed. p. 1223.] infinitives in *sê*, whether with Guna or not, to the 1st aorist formation. But whether the infinitives in *sê* are to be considered as formed from the 1st or 2d aorist, their agreement is remarkable with that of the 1st aorist in Greek; as, λῦ-σαι, τύπ-σαι, δεῖκ-σαι; for which, in Sanscrit, if *lû*, "to cut off," *tup*, "to smite, to wound," *diś* (from *dik*), "to shew," had formed an infinitive of this kind, we should have expected *lû-ṣhê*, *tup-ṣhê*, *dik-ṣhê*: to θῦσαι would correspond *bhû-ṣhê*; where we may recall attention to the fact, that the Vêda dialect has in the imperative also retained aorists of this kind; and, indeed, from the root *bhû*, the forms *bhû-ṣha* = φῦσον, *bhû-ṣhatam* (*upa-bhûṣhatam*) = φύσατον, without our being able to trace the analogous indicative form.

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* The grammatical technical language decides, with respect to the accent and the stronger or weaker form of the root, according to Pân. l. c. *sê*, *sên*, and *kṣê*.

The Vêdic infinitives in *sê*, and their analogous forms in *σαι*, conduct us to the Latin in *re*, which, "Annals of Oriental Literature," p. 58, I have al- ndeavoured to compare with the Greek infinitives lst aorist. It is certain that in the Latin infinitives :om *se*), just as in the Greek 1st aorist, and the four mations of the Sanscrit aorist, the verb substantive ined. This is clearly seen in *pos-se* (for *pot-se*), as throughout its conjugation, exhibits the combination (by assimilation *pos*) with the verb substantive (re- ; *pot-ui* from *pot-fui*, see §. 558.). *Es-se* for *ed-se* (with most accurately corresponds with the said Sanscrit es; and if, in the Vêdas, an infinitive of this kind occur from the root *ad*, it must, in accordance with l-known law of sound, be no other than *at-sê*. In om *fer-se*, and *vel-le* from *vel-se*, the sibilant of the y verb has become assimilated to the preceding nt. For *fer-re* we should have expected in the ialect *bhṛi-ṣhê*, or *bhar-ṣhê*. To the Latin infinitives *tâ-re*, *î-re*, would, in Vêdic Sanscrit, [G. Ed. p. 1224.] ond *dâ-sê*, *sthâ-sê*,* *i-ṣ^{h}ê* (according to the analogy),† or *ê-ṣhê* (after the analogy of *mê-ṣhê*). Observe, ly those Latin verbs which absolutely, or in some by the direct annexation of the personal termina- the root, are based on the root of the Sanscrit 2d ee §. 109^{a}. 3.), may or must also annex this suffix of nitive directly, while all others retain the class-vowel, leed, in the third conjugation *e* (for *i*, from *a*), on of the following *r* (see §. 707.); hence *veh-e-re* cor- s to the above-mentioned Sanscrit *vak-ṣhê* (euphonic

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ot *sthi-ṣhé*, with the *â* weakened to *i*, as in *sthi-tá* (p. 1118, nd in *sthí-ti* (§. 844.).

he Schol. to Pân. l. c. we actually find *prêṣhé* as compounded hé.

to the dative *stótavé* of the common infini
pûshann ṛiñjáse vémi stótavé, "I come, O Pû
glorify! I come (thee) to praise!" Thus, I
chákṣhasé stands beside the dative of the c
[G. Ed. p. 1225.] tive *étavé*: "by which deed
blind (Rijrâśvas) to see, the Śrônas to go."

857. We cannot overlook the possibility
the Sanscrit infinitives in *asé* might also
vowel of the verb substantive, though the l
compounds, and in many simple formation
Then *-asé* would correspond to the Latin *ess*
esse is not to be divided into *es-se*; and here,
root of "to be" would occur twice, which
mitted as possible above, in the subjunctive
that, however, as it may, the forms in *asé*
really contain the verb substantive, accord,
principle of formation of the final infinitive e
the simple infinitives, which exhibit the dati
dical words; as, *dṛiśé*, "in order to see."
express a genuine dative relation; as, *e.g.*, I
súryan dṛiśé, "in order to see the sun;"
barhír ásádé, "in order to repose on this

5. 16., *atikrámê*, "to step beyond, to slight." The last-named ssage deserves especial notice, since here the dative of the finitive appears to hold the place of the nominative of a ture passive participle, exactly in the same way as we , for the same end, the infinitive with the preposition u," in such sentences as "*er ist zu loben*" (*laudandus est*), "he is fitted for praise." Moreover, in the said pas- e in the Sanscrit text the substantive verb is, in spirit, sent, but, as is very common, not formally expressed. nnex Wilson's translation: "The sun, who is avowedly de the path in heaven, is not to be disregarded, Gods, you)."* Perhaps the Latin also was [G. Ed. p. 1226.] wanting in infinitives which correspond to the Vêdic *dṛiṣhê, â-súdê, ati-krámê*: they would be to be looked in the 3d conjugation, where, by the side of passive nitives like *dici* (older form *dici-er*), must stand active ms like *dice*, in case the passive infinitive terminations *-er*, are not abbreviations of *eri, erier*; for from *dicere* st have come *diceri, dicerier*, as *amari, amarier, moneri, erier, audiri, audirier*, from *amare*, &c. As regards the gin of the Latin passive infinitives, the form in *i* is evi-

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Asâú yáh pánthâ âdityó́ diví pravâchyaṅ kṛitáh | ná sá dêvâ atikrámê. ini, in constructions of this kind, appears really to regard the infinitive ves in *ê*, with those in *tavâi* (see §. 851. p. 1165), as Vêdic represen- ves of the future passive participles in *ya, tavya*, and *anîya* (called in technical language of grammar *kṛitya*); for (III. 4. 14.) he puts them the same footing with two real participial suffixes capable of declen- , when he says that the suffixes *tavâi, ê, ênya*, and *tva*, in the Vêdas, used in the sense of *kṛitya*. In the following Sûtra *avachakṣhê* (root *kṣh*, prep. *ava*) is expressly represented as a participle of this kind; in the Commentary he explains *nâ 'vachakṣhe* by *nâ 'vakhyâtavyam, n narrandum.*" In the passage referred to above, Sâyana regards form under discussion as a future passive participle, since he para- ases *nâ 'tikrámê* by *nâ 'tikramituṅ śakyaḥ*, and cites Pânini's Sûtra e quoted.

dently an abbreviation of the older *i-er* (*laudarier, viderier, credier*, see p. 662). The transition of the active *re* into *ri* before the appended *er* of the passive can scarcely arise in aught else than in the avoidance of the cacophony which would be occasioned by two successive *e* in forms like *laudareer*. We cannot be surprised that the *e* of the active infinitive termination is short, when, as the representative of the Sanscrit and Greek diphthong *sê*, *σαι*, it ought to be long, as vowels at the end of a word are, for the most part,

[G. Ed. p. 1227.] subject to abbreviation, or to entire suppression,* The length of the *ī* of the passive infinitive may be regarded as a compensation for the *er* that has been dropped.†

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* Observe, *e.g.*, the short final *e* in *benĕ*, *malĕ*; while in adverbs from adjectives of the 2d declension a long *ē* is found, in which I believe I recognise the Sanscrit diphthong *ê* (= *a* + *i*) of the locative of bases in *a* (= Latin *u* of the 2d declension). Compare, *e.g.*, *novē* with the Sanscrit locative *navê*, from the base *nava*, "new." Observe, also, the occasional shortening of the *ē* of some imperatives of the 2d conjugation (*cave*, &c.), and the regular abbreviation of the *ē* of Old High German conjunctives at the word's end; as, *bĕre*, "he may carry" = Sanscrit *bhárêt*, Gothic *bairai* (§. 694. p. 922).

† I should not wish to have recourse to the rule which is set forth in the prosody of Latin grammars, that *i* at the end of a word, exclusive of certain well-known exceptions, is long, since in all cases in which, in Latin, the final *i* is long, there is a reason for it at hand; *e.g.* in the genitive singular and nominative plural of the 2d declension (see pp. 215, 244). I now refer the dative termination *ī* rather to the real dative termination in Sanscrit *ê* (= *ai*), than to the locative termination *i*; as in the plural also the termination *bus* evidently answers to the Sanscrit dative ablative ending; while in Greek the dative singular and plural equally well admit of being compared with the Sanscrit locative (see §§. 195. 251.). The length of the *i* of *tibī* (*ibī*, *ubī*), *mihī*, contrasted with the Sanscrit datives *túbhyám*, *máhyam* (§. 215.), may be looked upon as compensation for dropping the personal termination *am*: without this loss, from *bhyam*, *hyam*, we should find in Latin *bium*, *hium*. In the 1st person singular of the perfect, the length of the *ī* may be looked upon as compensation

858. It remains for us to mention the infinitive of the atin perfect. Here we see, in such forms as *amavi-sse, ıonui-sse, legi-sse, audivi-sse,* the infinitive of the verb substantive, as plainly as, in the pluperfects like *amaveram,* we iscover the imperfect, with the loss, there- [G. Ed. p. 1228.] ›re, of the vowel of the auxiliary verb which I assume in *mave-ram* also (see §. 644.). But if the said perfect inıitives are, just as the pluperfects, evidently modern forıations, still forms like *scrip-se, consum-se, admis-se, divis-se,* ic-se, *produc-se, abstrac-se, advec-se* (see Struve "On the atin Declension and Conjugation" p. 178), which are of equent occurrence in the older dialect, have every claim) be regarded as transmitted from an ancient period of nguage, and to be placed beside Greek aorist infinitives; ıd, indeed, with so much the more right, as all the Latin erfects are very probably, in their origin, nothing else than rists (see §. 546.). We may, consequently, compare *scrip-se,* c-se, with the Greek γράπ-σαι, δεῖκ-σαι, and *advec-se* with e Sanscrit *vak-ṣhê* mentioned above (p. 1222 G. ed.). It is re important to remark, that, for all the perfect infinitives the 3d conjugation quoted by Struve l. c., there are also anagous perfects (aorists) of the indicative as points of deparre, just as there are for the Greek infinitives in σαι (ξαι, ψαι), dicatives in σα (ξα, ψα); only *invas-se, divis-se* (by assimilan from *invad-se, divid-se,* cf. §. 101.), are more perfectly prerved than *invâ-si, divî-si,* which have lost the final conso-ınt of the root; in compensation for which, in *divî-si,* the

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mpensation for dropping the personal termination (see §. 552. Conclun): in the 2d person the *î* of the termination *sî* represents, if the exmation given in §. 549. be correct, the long *â* of the Sanscrit ending *si*. In a similar way, the *î* of *utî* is based, as I now assume, in parture from §. 425., on the long *â* of Sanscrit pronominal adverbs *thâ; e.g. utî* corresponds to the Vêdic *ká-thâ,* "how?" (Pâṇ. V. 25.).

short radical vowel is lengthened. The future perfects* like *faxo, capso, axo, accepso,*† which in appearance are analogous to the infinitives in *se*, as also the perfect and pluperfect [G. Ed. p. 1229.] subjunctives, as *axim, ausim, objexim, excesis, dixis, induxis, traxis, sponsis, amissis, injexit, extinxit, ademit, serpsit, incensit, faxem, extinxem, intellexes, recesset, vixet, traxt* (see Struve, l. c., p. 175), can hardly be put on the same footing with the infinitives in *se;* first, because the least of these have an indicative perfect in *si* (*sci* = *c-si*) corresponding to them; and secondly, because, even if this were the case, still, *e.g. capso, axim, extinxem,* could not, perhaps, have been derived from the to-be-presupposed *capsi, axi,* and the actually existing *extinxi,* by the termination of the future perfect and of the perfect and pluperfect subjunctive being substituted for the terminations of the perfect. The said three tenses and moods are comparatively modern formations, and are formed by combining the future and the present and imperfect subjunctive of the verb substantive with the perfect base‡ of the attributive verb; and the affinity of their concluding portion with the *si* of perfects like *serp-si* consists, consequently, not only in this, that in the latter also the verb substantive is contained, but in primeval relationship, which extends beyond the time of the separation of languages, if I am right in identifying such perfects with the Sanscrit 2d and Greek 1st aorist formations (see §. 551.). We gain, therefore, nothing towards the explanation of the forms under dis-

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* In departure from what has been remarked at §. 664., I now regard *faxo*, and similar forms, as real future perfects.

† The *e* for *i* in *accepso*, and similar forms, is based on the principle laid down in §. 6.; whence *accepso, abjexim*, like *acceptus, abjectus*, for *acciptus, abjictus.*

‡ *Amave-ro* from *amavi-ero*, cf. §. 644.; *amave-rim* from *amavi-sim*, according to §. 710.; *amavi-ssem* from *amavi-essem.*

cussion, unless we presuppose non-existing perfects like *axi, faxi, sponsi;* for we must then first put aside the auxiliary verb of the perfect indicative, in order to replace it with the auxiliary of the new formation here spoken of (*so, sim, sem*); or we cannot explain, *e.g.*, *faxo*, from the to-be-presupposed *faxi*, by means of the hence theoretically-to-be-formed *faxero*, by presupposing an [G. Ed. p. 1230.] overspringing of the letters *er*. Why is it, however, that we do not occasionally find, together with the really existing future perfects, contractions of this kind? Why do we not, for instance, find, together with *fēcero* a *fēco;* with *cēpero, cēpo;* with *tetigero* a *tetigo?* Or must, *e.g.*, *fac-so* have been formed from a to-be-presupposed *facero*, in such wise that the *r* formed from *s* has again returned to its original state, and been joined directly to the final consonant of the root after the *e* has been rejected? Or was *faxo* formed from *faceso* at a time when *s* between two vowels did not regularly become *r* (see §. 22.)? I should now prefer deriving the obsolete future perfects, and the perfect and luperfect conjunctives in *sim, sem*, connected with these, from a lost stock of real perfects, since the existing preterites called perfects, of all gradations, are originally aorists. There might, *e.g.*, have existed, together with the aorists *fēci, cēpi* (see §. 548.), *dic-si, duc-si, spopondi*, (see §. 579.) perfects like *fefaca* (or *pefaca*), *cecapa,** *didica, duduca, poponda*, which we might well assign to the Latin in an earlier period of the language, at the time of its close connection with the Greek. It may remain undecided whether the Latin afterwards dropped the syllable of reduplication

* The existing law, according to which the heaviest vowel *a* is, in consequence of the incumbrance of the reduplication, weakened to *i* (see §. 6. 579.), must have had its beginning, and may not, perhaps, have obtained, in a time to which we are here endeavouring to look back. Observe that the Oscan *fefacust* is, in sense, = *fecerit*.

[G. Ed. p. 1231.] at once in the perfect indicative,* as it laid aside the augment in the imperfect and aorist: or whether this renunciation first took place when the verb was encumbered with the addition of the auxiliary verb substantive, just as the reduplicated aorists (perfects) in composition with prepositions for the most part dispense with the syllable of reduplication,† while the analogous Sanscrit reduplicated aorists (as *ádudruvam*) throughout retain it in composition also. Be that, however, as it may, at some time or other reduplicated future perfects, too, will have existed; thus, *e.g. fefaxo* (or *pefaxo*), *cecapso*, which, in essentials, would correspond to the Greek future perfects, as, λελύ-σομαι, τετύπ-σο-μαι, to which will have originally corresponded also active future perfects, as, λελύ-σω, τετύπ-σω, whose offshoots they properly are. Should this not be the case, we have nothing left but to abide by the opinion expressed above (§. 664.), and still earlier in my "Conjugation-System" (p. 98.), viz. that, as is also assumed by Madvig,‡ the future perfects under discussion are formally, as also partly as regards their meaning, primary futures. In fact, *axo* is as like the Greek ἄξω as one egg to another. Madvig fitly compares forms like *levasso* with those in Greek like γελάσω. The doubling of the *s* would consequently be purely phonetic, without etymological meaning, as, *e.g.* in the Greek ἐγέλασσα, mentioned by Madvig, and like ἐτέλεσσα, mentioned with a similar object above (§. 708.).

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* Then, perhaps, *faca*, *capa*, *sponda*, would have the same relation to *fefaca*, or *pefaca*, &c., as, in Gothic, *e.g. band* to the Sanscrit *babandha* (see §. 589.); and those preterites which have still retained the reduplication in Gothic, as, *e.g. gaigrôt*, "I, he wept"=Sanscrit *chakránda*.

† It is probably to the weak form of the roots, and their terminating in a vowel, that *do* and *sto* owe the pervading retention of the reduplication in composition.

‡ "De formarum quarundam verbi Latini naturâ et usu" (Solemnia academica etc., Hauniæ, 1835, p. 6.

oreover, if *levasso* be regarded as an abbreviation of
vasso, and as an actual future, it cor- [G. Ed. p. 1232.]
sponds, in respect to its denoting the future relation to
λάσω, just as, exclusive of the passive personal termina-
n, to the Greek future perfect like *τετιμήσομαι*. This
inion is especially favoured by the old infinitives in *ssere*
ruve, p. 180) with the signification of the primary
ure, *impetrassere*, *reconciliassere*, *expugnassere*, *averun-*
sere, *depeculassere*, *deargentassere*. They correspond, irre-
ctive of the infinitive suffix, which throughout, in Latin,
that of the aorist, and of the doubling of the *s*, which
not surprise us, to the Greek future infinitives like
λάσειν. We might reasonably expect that such infinitives
t only originally existed in the 1st conjugation, but
t there were such forms also as *habessere*, *axere* (=ἄξειν),
ere, *capsere*. It may be proper here to consider also
future perfects of the Oscan and Umbrian languages,
both these dialects, in several other grammatical points,
esent us with older forms than the Latin. It is im-
rtant here to notice, that the Umbrian, in most of the
ture perfects which have remained to our time, exhibits
combination of the future perfect of the verb substantive
th the present base, or the simple root of the principal verb,
t in such wise, that, after consonants, and also, in one in-
nce given by Aufrecht and Kirchhof (Umbr. Language,
146), after a vowel (*i-ust iverit*), the *f* of the root *fu* is re-
cted; hence, *e.g. fak-ust*, signifying "he is making to
ve been," while the Latin *fecerit* means, "he is having
ade to be." Other examples are, *covort-ust*, "*converterit*,"
mpr-e-fus, "*ambiverit*" (cf. *fus*, also *fust*, "*fuerit*"), *ambr-e-*
rent, "*ambiverint*" (cf. *furent*, "*fuerint*"), *fak-urent*, "*fecerint*."
he Oscan follows the same principle, only it is wanting
to the perfect retention of *fu*; but also in the simple *u*,
g. in *dikust*, "*dixerit*," *pruhibust*, "*prohi-* [G. Ed. p. 1233.]
erit," *fefakust*, "*fecerit*" Mommsen ("Oscan Studies," p. 62)

[G. Ed. p. 1231.] at once in .he lightwas thrown upon laid aside the augment in t' oot *fu* in the conjugation of ther this renunciation f .ly makes its appearance in the encumbered with the .s hence won for itself the capacity stantive, just as th .elation of past time, which, however, is position with p· the "*fust*" in Oscan signifying also "*erit*" the syllable ..., l. c. p. 61), the latter being in excellent scrit redu· with the Zendian *bûsyêiti*, and it in c ... *bus* (see p. 918 G. ed.). Wherefore, also, *fefakust* some ... literally taken to mean, "he is having made to be," ha· ... here the principal verb expresses past time by reduplication: the like may be the case with some reduplicated future perfects in the Umbrian (l. c. p. 146).

559. We return to the infinitive, in order to remark next, that, in the Vêdic dialect also, accusatives of abstract radical words are used as infinitives, and, indeed, in the genuine accusative relation, only, however, where the infinitive is governed by *śak*, "to be able." According to Pâṇini (III. 4. 12.) they are divided into two classes, of which the one strengthens the radical vowel, the other leaves it without extension. The Commentary furnishes as examples, *agnin vâi dêvâ vibhâjan* (*an* euphonic for *am*) *nâ 'śaknuvan*, "the fire could the gods not distribute;" * *apalupan*(*-am*) *nâ 'śaknuvan*, "they could not destroy." To these we add, also, out of the Rigvêda (I. 94. 3.), *śakêma*

[G. Ed. p. 1234.] *tvâ samídham*, "would that we could kindle thee;" and a passage from the Atharva-Vêda, cited by Aufrecht ("Umbrian Language," p. 148), *nâ śakan pratidhâm iśum*, "they cannot dispose the arrow." Though these infinitives may scarcely have been limited originally

* In this passage, which is detached from the context, I cannot answer for the exact meaning of *vibhájjam*. As regards the lengthening of the vowel of the root *bhaj* in this infinitive form, compare the feminine substantive *bhâj*, "portion, fortune, homage."

the construction with *śak*, yet it is probable they can ver have had a very extensive use, since, in general, the e radical words are the most rare kind of abstract subntives. I therefore prefer comparing the Oscan and ıbrian infinitives in *um* (which Aufrecht and Kirchhof er to this class) with the very numerous class of abstract stantives which are formed by the suffix अ *a*, and which, has been shewn, are also occasionally substituted for initives, and to the accusatives of which the Umbrianan infinitives correspond better, as regards form, than those of bare radical words; as bases ending in a consoıt, especially the words of the 3d declension in Oscan minate in the accusative in *im*, and in Umbrian, after analogy of the Greek, have lost the nasal of the ternation, and end in the masculine or feminine with *u* *o*. On the other hand, the accusatives of the 2d dension, which are based on the Sanscrit class of words in end universally in Oscan in *um* or *om* and in Umbrian nasal of the termination *um* or *om*, is frequently suppssed (Aufr. and Kirchh., p. 116); and just so in the initive, *e.g.* *aferu* and *afero*, "*circumferre;*" *erum* and *ero*, se." The following are examples of Oscan infinitives: *kum*, "*dicere;*" *akum*, "*agere;*" *moltaum*, "*multare.*"* The t example is that which most resists identification with accusatives of the Sanscrit radical words; and one sees inly that here the *u* is a formative suf- [G. Ed. p. 1235.] which has been added to the theme of the 1st conjution. As this corresponds to the Sanscrit 10th class (see 109a. 6.), we may compare *molt-â-um*, exclusive of the masline termination opposed to the Sanscrit-Zendian femine one, with the Sanscrit and Zend infinitives mentioned ove (§. 619.), like चोरयाम् *chôr-ay-ám*, [illegible] *raôdh-*

* Mommsen, l. c. p. 66. These forms are distinguished from the comn accusatives of the 2d declension only by the unmarked *u*.

ay-aim. Especial notice ought to be given to the form *triibarakavum*, if it, as Mommsen conjectures, is really a perfect infinitive; in which case *v-um*, euphonic for *u-um*, from *fu-um*, is the infinitive of the root *fu* with past signification (cf. p. 1232 G. ed. *dik-ust*, "*dixerit*," from *dik-fust*). Curtius* has compared with the Oscan present infinitives in *um* the Latin *venum*.† If this comparison be, as I think it is, correct, then this word, of which only the dative (*veno, venui*) and ablative *veno* are preserved, may originally belong only to the 2d declension: moreover, the *u* of the 4th declension, as formative suffix of an abstract in Latin, would stand quite isolated, while that of the 2d is frequently represented by the Sanscrit suffix *a* as a means of formation of masculine abstracts. These, for the most part, accent the radical vowel, and Gunise it when capable of Guna; while a radical *a* before a simple consonant is lengthened. The following are examples, in addition to those already mentioned: *bhéda-s*, "cleaving" (root *bhid*), *chhéda-s*, id. (root *chhid*); *yóga-s*, "combining" (root *yuj*); *kródha-s*, "anger" (root *krudh*); *hásа-s*, "laughter" (root *has*); *káma-s*, "wish, love" (root *kam*). In Greek, abstracts like πάλο-ς, φόβο-ς, δρόμο-ς, βρόμο-ς, τρόμο-ς, φόνο-ς, πλό(F)ο-ς, [G. Ed. p. 1236.] πόνο-ς,‡ ἔλεγχο-ς, ἴμερο-ς, correspond both in the suffix and in the accent. The Lithuanian, on account of the retention of the original *a* in abstracts of this kind, resembles the Sanscrit more than the Greek and Latin, which latter, with the exception at least of the base *venu*, already spoken of,

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* "Journal of Archæology," June 1847, p. 490.

† *Venundo*, properly, "I give to sell;" *veneo*, for *venum eo*, "I go to the selling."

‡ As *o* is a heavier vowel than *ε*, the choice of this vowel in place of the *ε*, which elsewhere prevails in the roots referred to, reminds us of the vowel increment which appears in the corresponding Sanscrit abstracts, although *o*, as also *ε*, is only a corruption of an original *a* (see §. 3. p. 4, and cf. §. 255. a.).

esents for comparison only *ludu-s*, and perhaps *jocu-s* (the ter from an obscure root). The following are examples Lithuanian: *miẽga-s*, "sleep" (*mẽgmi*, "I sleep"); *úz-ta-s*, "reproof, accusation,"* (*metù*, "I cast"); *báda-s*, unger" (*bâdù*, "I hunger," cf. Sanscrit *bâdh* or *vâdh*, "to :"); *jûka-s*, "laughter" (cf. Latin *jocu-s*); *kára-s*, "strife, r;" *mena-s*, "understanding" (*menù*, "I think," *meno-s*, am skilful in something"); *maina-s*, "exchange;" *vẽda-s*, der, regulation;" *róda-s*, "advice."

360. To this class in the Old Sclavonic belong those masculine abstracts, of which Dobrowsky says (p. 267) that they tain the pure radical syllable: they contain, however, in , the suffix *o*, corrupted from *a* (see §§. 255. a. 257.), which, the nominative and accusative, is suppressed, or, more rectly, replaced by ъ, which Dobrowsky does not write. e following are examples: ловъ *lov'*, "the seizing" nscrit *lábha-s*, "obtaining"); токъ *tok'*, "the flowing" кѫ *tekuṅ*, "I run"); бродъ *brod'*, "passage, forth;" ѯодъ *isχod'*, "exit;" гладъ *glad'*, [G. Ed. p. 1237.] unger;" † стоудъ *stûd'*, "shame;" страдъ *strad'*, "fear;" m the bases *lovo*, *toko*, &c. Observe the agreement nced by the Sclavonic with the Greek in the choice of stronger radical vowel, so that *e.g.* токъ *tok'*, has exactly same relation to *tekuṅ*, "I run," that, in Greek, δρόμο-ς, to δρέμω, φόβο-ς to φέβομαι, &c. The relation of удъ *stûd'*, "shame," to стыд *styd*, in стыдѣти ся *styd-i saṅ*, "to be ashamed" (see Micklos. Rad. p. 88) resembles t of Sanscrit abstracts like *yóga-s*, "joining;" to their

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* This word deserves notice on account of the retention of the old *a*, ich, in the verb and most of the other formations of this root, has been upted to *e*. *Metù*, "I cast," *uź-mata-s*, "reproof," *at-mota-s*, "out-" (also *at-mata-s*), bear the same relation to one another as, *e.g.* in ek, τρέπω, ἔτραπον, τρόπος.

† Sanscrit *gṛidh*, "to crave," from *gardh* or *gradh*, Gothic *grêdôn*, hunger," see Glossarium Sanscr. (Fasc. I. a. 1840), p. 107.

roots with *u*, for оу *û* is in Sclavonic the Guna of ы *y* (see §. 255. f.).

861. In German, too, the masculine abstracts which belong to this class have, by suppressing the final vowel of the base in the nominative and accusative, acquired the semblance of radical words. As, however, the bases in *a* and *i* are not distinguishable in the singular, it remains uncertain whether *e.g.* the Gothic *thlauh-s*, "flight," stands for *thlauha-s*, or for *thlauhi-s* (see §. 135.): in the former case it answers to the Sanscrit formations like *yóga-s*, "combination;"* but

* The root of the said Gothic abstract is *thluh*; whence *thliuha*, *thlauh*, *thlauhum*, the latter euphonic for *thluhum* (see §. 82.). The fact, that *thlauh-s* corresponds, as regards its vowel, better to the preterite than to the present, must not induce us to derive it from the preterite instead of from the root: otherwise we should have almost as much ground for deriving *e.g.* the Sanscrit *yóga-s* from *yuyója* ("I or he joined"); *bhéda-s*, "rupture," from *bibhéda*; and, in Greek, δρόμο-ς from δέδρομα. The truth is, that, in the formation of words, recourse is had sometimes to the pure, sometimes to the incremental radical vowel; and, moreover, in Greek and German, at times to the original radical vowel, at times to it in a form more or less weakened. Had, in Greek, δράμος been said for δρόμος, still the abstract would not have been to be derived from the aorist (ἔδραμον); but it would have had only this advantage in common with the latter, the retention, namely, of the radical vowel in its original form; while the ε of δρέμω is the greater, and the ο of δέδρομα the lesser weakening of the old *a*. In Gothic, *u* is the least (see §. 490.) and *i* the extreme weakening of the *a*; wherefore *run*(*a*)-*s*, "course, stream," from the root *rann*, "to run, to flow" (*rinna*, *rann*, *runnun*), stands on the footing of Greek abstracts like δρόμο-ς: so far, in reality, the said Gothic word belongs to the *a*-declension. We can, however, on account of the form of its radical vowel, just as little derive it from the plural of the preterite, as we could derive *e.g.* *anafilh*, "delivery" (neut.) from the same, because it exhibits the vowel of the present instead of that of the root itself (*falh*). Neither, too, can we derive *drus*, "fall," for *drusa-s* or *drusi-s* (the nominative sign is dropped in bases in *sa* and *si*), from the plural of the preterite; but, like the latter, it contains the pure radical vowel, which, in the present *driusa*, is Gunised by *i* (see §. 27.), and, in the singular preterite *draus*, by *a*. That the class of words under discussion is not wanting in Zend also is proved by

ıe Gothic diphthong in *thlauh-s*, can [G. Ed. p. 1238.]
ardly be a consequence of Guna, but must rather result
om the *h* following. That *slêp-s*, "sleep," belongs to this
ass, and is therefore for *slêpa-s*, not for *slêpi-s*, may be
educed from the cognate dialects.

862. To return to the Sanscrit infinitive suffix *tu*, it is
ırther to be remarked, that the forms which are con-
acted by means of it occur in the Vêdas also in the
ılative and genitive, which two cases are not formally
stinguished from one another. Their use, however, is
ıre, and the ablative appears in the examples mentioned,
ıd in the Schol. to Pâṇ., III. 4. 16., quite in the character of a
ımmon abstract substantive; and we might *e.g.* regard
ıe Latin *ortus*, everywhere that it occurs, as an infinitive,
ıually as well as the ablative *ud-êtôs*, go- [G. Ed. p. 1239.]
erned l. c. by *purâ*, "ere, earlier, before" (*purâ sûryasyô
êtôḥ* (*-ya ud*), "before the rising of the sun"). In the
ther examples, too, given l. c., the ablative of the abstract
ı *tu* is governed by a preposition, and, indeed, either by
urâ, "before," or by *â*, "to;" so also in a passage of the
st book of the Rigvêda (41. 9.), which has been already
ointed out by Böhtlingk (Commentary on Pâṇ., p. 152),
nídhâtôḥ, "to the casting (the dice)." Pâṇini, however,
imits the kind of infinitive under discussion to the roots
thâ, *kar* (*kṛi*), *vad*, *char*, *hu*, *tam*, and *jan*; and therefore
t is, probably, that Sâyana sees in *ní-dhâtôs* no so-called
sun, but a common abstract with the suffix *tu-n* (cf.
. 1220, Note, G. ed.). Perhaps, too, *ní-dhâtu* has a per-
ect declension, and thereby, in the opinion of the Indian

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y the bases [illegible] *zaôsha*, "wish, will" (Sanscrit root *juṣh*, "to
ve, to wish"); [illegible] *fraśa*, "query;" [illegible] *nâśa*, "destruction"
ee p. 995, G. ed., §. 724.); [illegible] *fra-vâka*, "announcement;"
[illegible] *raôdha*, "growth;" [illegible] *maga*, "greatness" ("growth," see
urnouf, Yaçna p. 72).

with *íśvara*, "lord, capable" (III. 4. 12.). liast gives as example, *íśvarô 'bhicharitôḱ*, affronting (lord of affronting)." Another ge kind, though not recognised as an infinitive, limited to the construction with *íṣhvara*, is *k* doing, making, transacting," which Naigh., II with the infinitive dative *kártavâi*, and the (see p. 1205, G. ed.), under the words signi ("deed"), and which, Rigv. I. 115. 4., is governe "in the midst."† As regards the relation

* The genitive termination *as* is looked upon by the rians in this case, not as a case-termination, but as a which is called in the technical language *k-as-un* (cf. p. 12 and is therefore unaccented, though, in general, the n words have the accent only in the strong cases on the p. 1085, G. ed., §. 785. Remark). We may ascribe the the radical words, where their genitive represents the circumstance, that the infinitive outbids the common abs power of life and action; and it will be well to recall wh fore (§. 814.) said regarding the double kind of accentua in *tár* (*tṛ́*), according as they, as participles, govern th stand as more inactive nouns of agency. The datives, radical words have, where they stand as infinitives, in g powerful accentuation, at least in the cases in which, acc (III. 4. 14.), the infinitive in *é* (in the technical language

umental *kṛitvá*, "after," or "with," or "through
o the accusative, which springs from the base
the common infinitive *kártum*, as also to the
rtavê, kártavâi, and to the genitive *kártôs*, and,
, the relation of the gerunds in *tvâ* to the infi-
the same root, it must be observed that the
roots which admit of increment or weakening
ibits the weaker form of the root, and has the
hout exception, on the case-termination. Com-

VE.	GERUND.	ROOT.
,	*uktvâ*,	*vach*, "to speak."
n,	*suptvá*,	*svap*, "to sleep."
m,	*pṛiṣhṭvá*,	*prachh*, "to ask.
n,	*iṣhtvá*,	*yaj*, "to offer."
m,	*gṛihîtvá*,	*grah*, "to take."
,	*śrutvá*,	*śru*, "to hear."
m,	*bhûtvá*,	*bhû*, "to be."
,	*yuktvá*,	*yuj*, "to join."
,	*bhittvá*,	*bhid*, "to cleave."
,	*sthitvá*,	*sthâ*, "to stand."
,	*hatvá*,	*han*, "to slay."

[G. Ed. p. 1241.]

is distinction in the form of the root and of the
n does not prevent the assumption, that the
d the infinitive originally had the same theme
ne accentuation, that, *e.g.*, together with *yóktum*,
yóktvâ, "after," "with," or "through joining,"
existed, just as the distinction which exists in
ple present between the strong and weak cases

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mination is compensated by lengthening the final vowel of
hich respect compare Latin datives like *lupô* from *lupoi* (see
compare वसन्त *vasanta* for वसन्ते *vasantê* in the Schol. to
39.).

to the declension of *pathin*, "way," from
only the middle cases, while the strong s
root by the insertion of a nasal, and, at the
centuate it; and, moreover, exhibit the su
stronger form (*pánthân* compared with *pathá*
weakest cases suppress the suffix, as also the
root, and let the accent sink down on the cas
hence, *e.g.*, in the instrumental we find *pat*
[G. Ed. p. 1242.] *pánthânam*, "*viam*" and *pat*
The declension of *vâh*, "bearing" (at the end
also presents a great agreement with the fo
of the gerund in *tvá* to the infinitive; that i
those gerunds which, in roots beginning wit
the *a* and vocalise the *v*; only in compoun
long syllable *vâ* is contracted in the weakest
û, while the short syllable *va* of the gerunds
to short *u*: in other respects *śâly-ûhá*, "thr
carrying," has the same relation to its acc
ham, as, *e.g.*, *uktvá* has to *váktum*. A short
by *anaḍ-váh*, "ox (wagon-drawer"),* in the
hence, *anaḍ-uhá*, *e.g.*, stands exactly in the sa
anaḍ-váham, as *uktvá* does to *váktum*. Witl
ever, to the circumstance that the feminin
from which the gerund and the infinitive

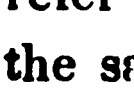
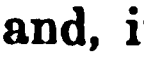
undergone a weakening only in the instrumental, *i.e.* in the gerund, but not in the other weak cases, we may perhaps look for the reason of this in the extremely frequent use of the instrumental of the gerund, as the forms most used are also most subject to detrition or weakening; for which reason, *e.g.*, the root of the verb substantive *as* loses its vowel before the heavy terminations of the present, while no other root beginning with a vowel undergoes such an abbreviation in any form whatever. Should the formal relation of the gerund in *tvâ* to the infinitive in *tum* be independent of the, as it were, moral principle which operates in the separation into strong and [G. Ed. p. 1243.] weak cases, I would assume, and I have already elsewhere alluded to it,* that the weight *tvâ* laid on the termination *tum* has had a similar influence on the preceding portion of the word, both with respect to the weakening of the form and the removal of the accent, as that exercised in the 2d principal conjugation by the weight of the heavy personal terminations. In that case, therefore, the relation of, *e.g.*, *i-tvá* to *étum*, *dviṣh-tvá* to *dvéṣh-ṭum*, *vit-tvá* to *vét-tum*, *dat-tvá* to *dá-tum*, *hi-tvá* to *há-tum*, would answer more or less to that of

i-más, "we go,"	to	*é-mi* "I go,"
dviṣh-más, "we hate,"	to	*dvéṣh-mi*, "I hate,"
vid-más, "we know,"	to	*véd-mi*, "I know,"
dad-más, "we give,"	to	*dádâ-mi*, "I give,"
jahî-más, "we quit,"	to	*jáhâ-mi*, "I quit."

Be that, however, as it may, it is certain that the gerund in *tv-á*, and the infinitives in *tu-m*, *tô-s*, *tav-é*, *tav-âi*, have a common formative suffix, and in essentials are only distinguished by their case-termination; and that the abstract substantive base formed by *tu* is feminine, which before

* Smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §. 562.

could only have been inferred from the instrumental in *tv-â*,* but now is also apparent from the Vêdic dative forms in *tav-âi*. The Greek abstracts in τύ-ς, as βοητύ-ς, βρωτύ-ς, ἐδητύ-ς, ἐπητύ-ς, ἐλεητύ-ς, γελα-σ-τύ-ς, ὀρχη-σ-τύ-ς, which were first brought into this province of formation in my treatise on the "Influence of Pronouns on the formation of Words" (p. 25).

[G. Ed. p. 1244.] testify in like manner for the feminine nature of the Sanscrit cognate words: they, however, testify also, and this is well worth notice, that it was after the separation of the Greek from the Sanscrit that this class of abstract substantives raised itself in Sanscrit to the position of infinitives and gerunds, while they still moved in Zend also in the circle of common substantives. Under this head is to be brought *pĕrĕ-tu*, the feminine gender of which is proved by the accusative plural *pĕrĕtûs*; but its abstract nature has been changed into concrete. It, perhaps, originally signified "passage, crossing,"† but has, however, assumed the signification "bridge." Perhaps, too,  *zantu*, "city" (originally, perhaps, "production, creation"), the gender of which is not to be deduced from the forms that now occur, is to be classed here. The instrumental *zaṅthwâ*, "through production," mentioned above (§. 254. Rem. 3. p. 280), as also  *jaṅthwa*, "through smiting, slaying,"‡ and the ablative *zaṅthwâṭ*, I now rather refer to the suffix *thwa* = Sanscrit *tva*, as in the Vêda dialect the said suffix also forms primitive abstracts (see §. 829.), and, indeed, from the strong form of the root; so that from जन् *jan* and हन् *han* might be expected the bases जन्त्व *jantva* and हन्त्व *hantva*. I am led to this opinion particu-

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* From a masculine or neuter base, in classical Sanscrit at least, would come *tunâ*.

† Root *pĕrĕ* = Sanscrit *par* (*pṛi*), see Brockhaus, Glossary, p. 376.

‡ See §. 160. p. 178, where *jaṅthwa* should be read for *zaṅthwa*. In the Ger. ed. §. 159 is here wrongly given for §. 160.

irly by the ablative 𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬑 *zaiṅthwâṭ*,* which answers etter to a theme *zaiṅthwa* than to *zantu*, as from bases in no other ablatives in *âṭ* have elsewhere been found, but only uch as have short *a* before the *ṭ*, or those [G. Ed. p. 1245.] hat append the ablative sign direct to the theme. The ıstrumentals in *thwa* (or *thwâ*, see §. 254. Rem. 3. p. 281) dmit of being deduced from feminine bases in *tu* quite as ell as from neuter or masculine in *thwa*. But it is de- dedly from a base in *thwa* that the accusative *raêthwĕm*, defiling,"† comes, from the theme of which *raêthwa* pro- eeds the denominative *raêthwayêiti*, "he defiles." The rimitive verb does not occur, whence it is uncertain hether *raêthwa* is really a primitive abstract.

865. It is clear that the Latin supines are identical ı their base with the Sanscrit infinitive bases in *tu*, although ıe analogous abstracts with a full declension, as *or-tu-s*, *ter-i-tu-s*, *sta-tu-s*, *ac-tu-s*, *duc-tu-s*, *rap-tu-s*, *ac-ces-su-s* (from *:-ces-tu-s*, see §. 101.), *câ-su-s* (from *cas-su-s* for *cas-tus*), *r-su-s*, *vom-i-tu-s*,‡ have, like their analogous forms in

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* V. S. p. 83, 𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬑 . . . 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬁 𐬞𐬁𐬭𐬌 *para nare . . . zaiṅthwâṭ*, *ante hominis generationem*," see Gram. Crit., p. 253.

† Cf. Spiegel, "The 19th Farg. of the V. S.," p. 82.

‡ The Sanscrit also frequently joins the suffix under discussion to the ot by means of a conjunctive vowel *i*; and forms, *e.g.*, from *vâm*, "to mit," the base *vamitu*; whence the infinitive *vám-i-tum* (=sup. *vom-i-* m), and the gerund *vam-i-tvâ*. With regard, however, to the infinitive d gerund not universally agreeing as to the insertion or not of the con- nctive vowel, and to our finding by the side of the infinitive *bhâv-i-tum*, to be," *e.g.*, a gerund *bhû-tvâ*, I would recall attention to the circum- ance that the suffix *vâṅs* of the perfect participle, when it is appended o the root by a conjunctive vowel *i*, rejects this conjunctive vowel in the eakest cases (instr. *pêch-úṣh-â*, opposed to the acc. *pêch-i-váṅs-am*), hich does not prevent me from assuming, that in this participle all cases riginally came from the same base. We do not require to explain the bsence of the conjunctive vowel in the weakest cases by the circumstance, hat here the formative suffix begins with a vowel, as *pêch-y-úṣhâ* (for *pêch-i-úṣhâ*)

[G. Ed. p. 1246.] Greek, not remained true to the feminine gender. How exactly in other respects, in many roots, the accusative of the Latin supine agrees with that of the Sanscrit infinitive, exclusive of the gunising of the latter, may be inferred from the following examples:—

SANSCRIT.	LATIN.
sthá-tum, "to stand,"	*stâtum.*
dá-tum, "to give,"	*datum.*
dhmá-tum, "to blow,"	*flâtum.*
jñá-tum, "to know,"	*nôtum.*
pá-tum, "to drink,"	*pôtum.*
é-tum, "to go."	*itum* (cf. ἴτυς).
śé-tum, "to sleep,"	*quiêtum.*
yó-tum, yáv-i-tum, "to join,"	*jûtum.*
sró-tum, "to flow,"	*rutum* (cf. *rivus*).
stár-tum, "to strew,"	*strâtum.*
pák-tum, "to cook,"	*coctum.*
ánk-tum, "to anoint,"	*unctum.*

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pêch-i-úshâ) could as little surprise us, as, *e.g.*, *nináy-i-tha* (with *nineé-tha*) from the root *nî*, "to lead," which prefixes a conjunctive vowel *i* at pleasure to the personal termination *tha*, and necessarily to the personal endings *va*, *ma*, *sê*, *vahê*, *mahê*, *dhvê*; hence *niny-i-vá*, *niny-i-má*, *niny-i-shé*, &c. The verbs of the 10th class, and the causal forms which are analogous to them, have all of them, as well in the infinitive as in the gerund, the conjunctive vowel *i* after the character *ay* (for *aya* of the special tenses), and gunise radical vowels which are capable of Guna; hence, *e.g.*, *chôr-ay-i-tum*, *chór-ay-i-tvâ*, from *chur*, "to steal." To the *ay* corresponds the Latin *â* or *î*, from forms like *am-â-tum*, *aud-î-tum* (see §. 109³. 6.). On the other hand, verbs of the Latin 2d conjugation, though they are based in like manner on the Sanscrit 10th class, relinquish their conjugational character, and add the suffix either direct to the root, or by means of a conjunctive vowel *i* (*doc-tum*, *mon-i-tum*, for *doc-ê-tum*, *mon-ê-tum*, cf. §. 801. Note †, p. 1115 Note **, G. ed.): *flê-tum*, *plê-tum* make a necessary exception; *dêl-ê-tum* makes a voluntary one.

ANSCRIT.	LATIN.
"to break,"	*fractum.* [G. Ed. p. 1247.]
, "to roast" (r. *bhrajj*),	*frictum.*
to join,"	*junctum.*
o eat,"	*êsum* (see §. 101.).
"to cleave,"	*scissum.*
d.	*fissum.*
o knock,"	*tûsum* (from *tus-sum* for *tus-tum*, see §. 101.).
to rend,"	*rôsum.*
o know,"	*vî-sum*, (from *vis-sum*, *vis-tum*).
"to beget, to bring	*gen-i-tum.*
o become,"	
"to sound,"	*son-i-tum.*
to break,"	*ruptum.*
'to go,"	*serptum.*
"to vomit,"	*vom-i-tum.*
'to shew,"	*dictum.*
'to bruise,"	*pistum.*
* "to milk,"	*ductum.*
"*mingere*,"	*mictum.*
'to ride,"	*vectum.*

ıe form which, in the Lithuanian and Lettish ı, is called "supinum," corresponds remarkably accusative of the supine in Latin, in that it is after verbs of motion, in order to express the ards which the motion is directed, *i.e.* the purpose it takes place (cf. p. 1209 G. ed.). [G. Ed. p. 1248.] ative-sign, the nasal of which is elsewhere in ı marked on the preceding vowel (see §. 149.), is

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ic for *dóh-tum*, from the root *duh*=Gothic *tuh* (*tiuha*, "I "I drew").

h-tum, whence next comes *mêḍ-ḍhum*.

altogether lost in this form, though it is preserved in its original shape in the already before-noticed composites like *bulum-bime* (see §. 685. p. 913, and §. 687.), under the protection of the following labial. I annex a few Lithuanian supine constructions out of the translation of the Bible: *iszẽyo sẽyẽyas sẽtu*, "A sower went forth to sow" (Matt. xiii. 3); *kad nuẽyeń in miestelus, saw nusipirktu walgii*, "that they may go (going) into the villages to buy themselves victuals" (xiv. 15); *nuẽyeńs yeszkotu paklyduseń*, "going to seek that which is gone astray" (xviii. 12); *yus iszẽyote .... sugáutu manneń*, "are ye come out for to take me?" (xxvi. 55). Nevertheless, the use of this supine in the received condition of the Lithuanian after verbs of motion is not exclusively requisite; but we find in the translation of the Bible, in such constructions, more frequently the common infinitive in *ti*, or with *i*, suppressed *t'*; *e.g.*, Matt. ix. 11, *asz atẽyau grieszmůsus wadinti*, "I am come to call sinners" (cf. Sanscrit *vad*, "to speak"); x. 34, *asz ne atěyau pakayuń susti*, "I am not come to send peace;" v. 17, *ne atěyau panukint'*, *bet iszpildit'*, "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." On the other hand, the Old Prussian—a language which approaches the Lithuanian very closely—has two forms for the common infinitive, of which the one corresponds to the accusative of the Sanscrit infinitive and Latin supine, as also to the Lithuanian supine; and, indeed, as in the common declension, retaining the sign of the accusative in the form of *n*; *e.g.*, *dâ-tun* or

[G. Ed. p. 1249.] *dâ-ton*, "to give" = Sanscrit *dâtum*, *pâ-ton** "to drink" = *pâ-tum*, *gem-ton*, "to bear a child" = *ján-i-tum*; and the other, with the termination *twei*, presents a remarkable similarity to the above-mentioned (§. 854.) Vêdic infinitive dative in *tavái* (for *tvâi*), of which no trace is left in any other cognate language of Europe. It has, however,

* *Ton* from *tun*, cf. §. 77.

of its origin, in like manner an accusative sig-
here I would remind the reader, that in the
ıe infinitives in *dhyâi*, discussed above (§. 854.),
ıeir dative form, occasionally suppress the ac-
tion; thus, Yajurvêda VI. 3., *uśmasi gámadhyâi*,
."* As regards, then, the Prussian form in
educe *twei* from *tu-ei*, *ei* answers as the femi-
mination to the pronominal datives in *ei*; as,
is" = Sanscrit *ta-sy-âi*, Gothic *thi-z-ai* (see §. 349.
night, however, be, that the *ei* of the said in-
may be based on the Sanscrit *é* (= *ai*) of the
in *tav-é*, so that, *e.g.*, *dâ-twei*, "to give," would
ıe relation to its accusative *dâ-tu-n*, that, in the
the to-be-presupposed *dâ-tav-é*, which, without
be *dấ-tv-é*, has to *dâ-tum*. The Rigvêda fur-
ith *pâ-tav-é*, the sister form to *pû-tw-ei*, "to
. ɛ.). The other Prussian forms which belong
ınd which Nesselmann, p. 65, has collected, are:
wi,† "to fear" (Sanscrit *bhî*, "to fear," *bhayá*,
-twei, "to stand;" *at-trâ-twei*, "to answer;"
ay" (Sanscrit *brû*, "to speak"); [G. Ed. p. 1250.]
"to regard" (Sanscrit *darś*, *dṛiś*, "to see");
‡ "to covet" (Sanscrit *lilaps*, infinitive *lilaps-i-*

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passage of the Yajurvêda (III. 13.) the infinitives *âhu-*
mmon," and *mádayádhyâi*, "to rejoice," are governed by
g to the Schol., *ichchhâmi*, "I wish, I will"), and have,
an accusative meaning: *ubhấ vâm indrâgnî âhuvádhyâ*
sahá mâdayádhyâi, "Ye both, Indra and Agni, (will I)
gether gladden on account of riches."
cur also *twi*, *twey*, and *twe*, see Nesselm., p. 65.
ix, and the initial consonant of the root doubled, accord-
nation peculiar to the Prussian to double consonants.
nscrit root *labh*, "to attain" (λαμβάνω, ἔλαβον), the desi-
h would regularly be *lilaps* (see §. 750.), for which *lips*.
attain," appears, too, through mere weakening of the
vowel,

tum, "to wish to attain, r. *labh*); *kirdî-twei*, "to hear;" *madli-twei*, "to ask;" *au-schaudî-twei*, "to trust;" *schlûsi-twei*, "to serve;" *turrî-twei*, "to have;" *wacki-twei*, "to allure;"* *gallin-twei*, "to slay;" *leigin-twey*, "to direct;" *smunin-twey*, "to honour;" *sundin-twei*, "to punish;" *swintin-twei*, "to hallow;" *menen-twey*, "to think, to mention" (Sanscrit *man*, "to think);" *gir-twei*, "to praise" (Vêd. *gir*, "song of praise;" *gṛi-nâ-mi*, "I praise"); *gun-twei*, "to drive;" *lim-twei*, *lemb-twey*, "to break" (Sanscrit *lump-â-mi*, "I break"); *ranc-twei*, *ranck-twey*, "to steal;"† *is-twei*, *is-twe*, "to eat;"‡ *tiens-twei*, "to fascinate;" *wes-twei* (from *wed-twei*), "to conduct."

867. More frequent than the infinitives in *tum*, *ton*, and *twei*, are, in the Old Prussian language, the infinitives in *t*; as, *da-t*, "to give;" *sta-t*, "to stand;" *bou-t*, "to be;" *giw-i-t*, "to live;" *teick-u-t*, "to procure" (Sanscrit *takṣh*, in the Vêda dialect, "to make"). These have, as I doubt not, lost a final *i*, and answer to the Lithuanian infinitives in *ti*, the *i* of which is also frequently apostrophised (see [G. Ed. p. 1251.] p. 1248 G. ed.), and in Lettish, as in Prussian, is utterly lost.§ Here also are to be ranked the

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vowel, the root *lubh*, "to covet," to have sprung. The Prussian root *lap*, "to command," appears to belong to the Sanscrit *lap*, "to speak."

* *En-wackémai*, "we invoke," cf. Sanscrit *vach* (from *vak*), infinitive *vaktum*, "to speak."

† Akin to this is, among other words, the Lithuanian *rankà*, "hand," as "taking," Old Prussian accusative *ranka-n*, plural accusative *ranka-ns*. In Sanscrit the as-yet-unciteable root *rak* (also *lak*) means "to obtain."

‡ Euphonic for *id-twei*, *id-twe* (see §. 457.), cf. Sanscrit infinitive *at-tum* from *ad-tum*.

§ The following are examples in Lettish: *yah-t* (=*jâ-t*), "to rule" (cf. Sanscrit root *yâ*, "to go"); *see-t*, "to bind" (Sanscrit root *si*, id.); *ee-t*, "to go;" *bih-t* (=*bî-t*), "to be afraid" (Sanscrit root *bhî*); *buh-t* (=*bût*), "to be" (Lithuanian *bu-ti*, Sanscrit *bhû-ti*, "the being"); *wem-t*, "*vomere*" (Sanscrit root *vam*).

l Slavonic infinitives, which, however, have constantly
:served the *i* of the suffix; hence, *e.g.*, ѣсть *yas-ti* (eu-
)nic for *yad-ti*), "to eat," as compared with the Lithua-
n *ẽs-ti*, and Prussian *is-t*. The source of these infini-
es is most probably, as has been already elsewhere re-
rked,* the Sanscrit feminine abstracts in *ti* (see §. 844.),
th whose theme the Lithuanian and Old Sclavonic infini-
es are, as regards their suffix, identical: compare *buti*,
ть *byti*, "to be," with the Sanscrit *bhûti*, "*existentia*;" *eiti*,
и *iti*, "to go," with इति *iti*, "the going" (only retained
sam-iti, "fight," properly, "coming together"). As,
wever, such base words, except at the beginning of com-
nds, do not occur in the languages, it becomes a ques-
n what case is represented by the Sclavonic-Lithuanian
initive forms in *ti*. I believe the dative; for the ac-
sative, which, according to sense, would be more suitable,
uld lead us to expect, in Lithuanian *tin*, and in Sclavonic
ty (cf. кость *kosty*, from the base *kosti*, p. 348), but in
: dative and the locative, which is of the same form
h it, the Old Sclavonic *i*-bases are not distinguished
m their theme (see §. 268. and p. 348); and in Let-
h also the bases in *i* exhibit in the dative, and at the
ne time also in the accusative, the bare primary form,
which the *i* in the nominative and genitive is sup-
essed: hence, *e.g.*, *aw'-s* as nominative and genitive for
nscrit *avi-s*, *avê-s*, Latin *ovi-s*, *ovi-s*, but dative and accu-
ive *awi*; and in the Lithuanian, in the common declension
bases in *i*, the dative is probably dis- [G. Ed. p. 1252.]
guished from the base only in this, that it reaches into
other province of declension.† If now the Sclavonic
d Lithuanian infinitives are properly datives, in spite of
: accusative relation which they generally express, they

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* "Influence of Pronouns on the formation of Words," p. 35.

† See p. 48 Note †, and §. 193.

resemble in this respect the Prussian infinitives in *tw-ei* explained above (see p. 1249 G. ed.); and, amongst others, also the Greek infinitives, which I regard, where they are not mutilated (as those in *μεν, εν, ειν*, from *μεναι*), universally as datives. Of this more hereafter. But we have here further to recall notice to the fact, that in Zend, also, the dative of abstract substantives in *ti* is used as representative of the infinitive, yet only to express a genuine dative relation, viz. the causal one; thus, Vend. Sad. p. 198, *karstayaê-cha hictayaê-cha para-kantayaê-cha*, "in order to plough, and to water, and to dig," from the bases *karsti, hicti, para-kanti;* l. c. p. 39, ᨠᨡᨠᨡᨠᨠᨠᨠ *kharĕteê*, "in order to eat, on account of eating" (see p. 959). However, it is further necessary to inquire whether datives of this kind anywhere else in the Zend-Avesta as genitive infinitives govern the case of the verb, for which, in the passage quoted, there is no occasion.

868. I regard as accusatives, though in like manner without case-termination, and as originally identical with the Sanscrit infinitive accusatives in *tum*, and their Latin and Lithuanian sister-forms, the Old Sclavonic infinitives in тъ *t'* called "supines," which are governed only by verbs of motion as the object of the motion; but from such constructions also are expelled in the more modern MSS. and printed books by the common infinitives in ти *ti* (see Do-
[G. Ed. p. 1253.] browsky, p. 646). Taken as accusative, the termination тъ *t'* has the same relation to the Sanscrit *tum* that сынъ *syn'*, "*filium*," has to सूनुम् *sûnúm*.* In the dative we should expect *tovi* after the analogy of сынови *synov-i*, "*filio*" = Sanscrit *sûnav-ê*, Lithuanian *sunu-i*. The examples given by Dobrowsky (pp. 645, 646), are: моучитъ *mûchit'* ("art thou come hither to torment us?" Matt. viii. 29); оучитъ *ûchit'*; проповѣдатъ *propovyedat'*, ("He departed thence to teach and to preach," xi. 1.); видѣтъ *vidyet'* ("what

* Lithuanian *sunu-n*, Gothic *sunu*, see §. 262.

nt ye out to see?" xi. 7.), сѣꙗть *syeyat* ("a sower went th to sow," iii. 3.); възовѣстить *v'zoryestit'* ("they did n to bring word," xxviii. 8). In respect of syntax, it serves notice that the Old Sclavonic supines can be also ed in construction like common substantives with the nitive; so, Matt. viii. 29, *mûchit' nas*, "to torment us," stead of *ny*.

869. We return to the Latin supine, in order to consider ore closely the form in *tû*. As ablative, it answers, at st in respect of signification, to the Vêdic ablative of the initive in *tôs* (=*taus*), which, however, has not hitherto en found in its strict ablative function, but only governed prepositions (see §. 862.), while the corresponding Latin m in *tû* avoids the construction with prepositions. Its lative nature, however, is clearly shewn where the abla- e of another abstract stands beside it in a similar relation; Terence: *parvum dictu, sed immensum exspectatione;* Liv.: raque *dictu quam re sunt faciliora*. As the 4th declension o admits datives in *û* for *ui*, we might regard the pine in *tû*, when it stands by adjectives which govern the tive, as a dative; thus, *e.g.*, *jucundum cognitu atque auditu* =*cognitui, auditui*. I would rather, [G. Ed. p. 1254.] wever, not concede to the suffix a 3d case, and believe at the form in *tû* may everywhere be taken as an ablative, d, indeed, in most cases, as an ablative more closely fined, which can be paraphrased by "on account of," "in spect to," as above, "*dictu quam re faciliora*." The asser- n, however, that it is possible to express the relation of moval by the ablative of the supine I now retract, since, a passage in Cato R. R. (*primus cubitu surgat, postremus bitum eat*), I no longer agree with Vossius (see also Rams- rn, p. 452) in recognising the supines of *cumbo*, but only e common ablative and accusative of the concrete *cubitus* couch, bed," therefore "Rise the first from bed, go last bed." Moreover, in *obsonatu redeo* (Plaut.) and *redeunt*

pastu oves, I cannot, with G. F. Grotefend (p. 347, see also Ramshorn p. 452), recognise the ablative of the supine; as the ablative of *obsonatus* and *pastus*, with which the said supine is, in its origin, certainly identical here, suffices very well. It is, however, certain, that the Latin supines, in respect to syntax, stand very near to the common abstracts of the 4th declension; and I do not think that the Latin brought its supines with it as such, or as infinitives, so early as from the Asiatic progenital land, but I now only assume a formative affinity with the Sanscrit infinitives in *tu-m*, as with the Greek abstracts in τυ-ς; but I admit of the syntactical individualization of the Latin supines first shewing itself on Roman soil, as, indeed, in the older Latinity also, the abstracts in *tio* have obtained the capacity, like infi-

[G. Ed. p. 1255.] nitives, of governing the accusative* which the more modern language has again resigned. The case is different with the forms of the Lithuanian and Sclavonic supines, which correspond to the Latin supines and the Old Prussian infinitive (§§. 866. 466.), which stand in the said languages isolated, and without any support on a class of words provided with a full declension, and shew themselves to be transmissions from the time of identity with the Sanscrit and the earlier, as the said languages, through several other phenomena, point to the fact that they were first separated from the Sanscrit at a time when the latter language had already experienced sundry corruptions, with which the classic and German tongues are not yet acquainted.†

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* The following are examples in Plautus: *Quid tibi hanc digito tactio est? quid tibi istunc tactio est? quid tibi hanc notio est? quid tibi hanc aditio est? quid tibi huc receptio ad te est meum virum? quid tibi hanc curatio est?* This idiom therefore appears to have been retained, or generally to have been adopted, in questions only.

† I have expressed myself more fully on this subject in a treatise read before the Academy several years ago, but still unprinted, "On the Language

'0. We ought not to ascribe a passive [G. Ed. p. 1256.]
fication to the ablative of the supine, at least it cannot

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of the Old Prussians;" and I have there appealed in particular to
latal *ś*, which has arisen from *k*, for which the classical languages
t the original guttural tenuis, the German languages *h* (according
rule for the permutation of sound, see §. 87.), while the Lettish
clavonic languages, in most of the words which admit of compari-
ve likewise a sibilant. Compare, *e.g.*, Sanscrit *áśva-s*, "a horse,"
"a mare," with the Lithuanian *aszwa*, contrasted with the Latin
equa, Old Saxon *ehu*; *śvan* (th.), nom. *śvô*, "dog, with the Lithua-
zů (nom.), gen. *szun-s*, contrasted with the Greek *κύων*, Latin
Gothic *hund(a)-s*; *śatá-m*, "a hundred," with the Lithuanian
-s, (masc.), Old Sclavonic *sto* (neut.), contrasted with the Latin
, Greek *é-κατόν* (p. 445); *śákhâ*, "bough," with Lithuanian *szakà*,
n *suk*, contrasted with the Irish *geag*. By another process, Kuhn
'eber's Indian Studies, p. 324) has arrived at the opinion, that the
nic languages "have continued longer united with the Indian, or,
ore probably, longer with the Zend and the Persian, than with the
of the Indo-Germanic family." I cannot, however, assume a spe-
inity between the Sclavonic (and Lettish) and the Arian languages
end, Persian, Kurdish, Afghān, Armenian, Ossetish); and in the
ntioned treatise regarding the Old Prussian I have drawn atten-
the fact, that an especial peculiarity of the Arian languages con-
this, that they have all of them before vowels, and the most part
semi-vowels also, as well at the beginning as in the middle of
changed the original or dental *s* (स) into *h*, or entirely suppressed
is token, however, fails in the Sclavonic and Lettish languages,
in this respect, have maintained themselves on a level with the
t. Compare, *e.g.*, the Lithuanian *septyni*, Sclavonic *sedmy*, with
nd *hapta*, Persian *haft*, the Armenian *yevthn*, *yefthankh*, Ossetish
nd Afghān *ôva*. When, however, the Sclavonic-Lettish lan-
at times accord with the Arian, in that they contrast with the
t ह *h* a sibilant, as, *e.g.*, in the nominative singular of the pronoun
1st person (see p. 471), I regard it in so far as casual, inasmuch as
ve that the two groups of languages (the Lettish-Sclavonic and
in these, on the whole, but rare coincidences, have reached a com-
al by separate routes; as the Greek, through its rough breathing,
tly coincides with the Arian *h* (cf. *e.g.* *ἑπτά* with the Zend *hapta*),
t, however, the change of the original *s* into the rough breathing
at

[G. Ed. p. 1257.] be assigned with more right to it than to other abstract substantives, in which it can be inferred only

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at the beginning of words having become a principle; for the Greek contrasts, *e.g.*, σύν, for Sanscrit *sam*, with the Zend *ham*. The Sanscrit ह् *h* is properly an aspirated *g* (*gh*), and, in pronunciation, has the same relation to घ *gh* that the Greek χ has to the Sanscrit *kh* (*k* + *h*), in which, as generally in the Sanscrit aspirates, an *h* is clearly heard after the said tenuis or medial. The Sanscrit *h* is therefore, as it were, a weak χ, and leads us, in the Lettish-Sclavonic languages, which have no aspirates, to expect a *g*, which we here also frequently find in the place of the Sanscrit *h*; as, *e.g.*, in Lithuanian *degu*, "I burn"=Sanscrit *dáhâmi*; and in the Sclavonic МОГѪ *moguṅ*, "I can," which is based on the Sanscrit root *maṅh*, *mah*, "to grow," whence महत् *mahát*, "great" (cf. *magnus*, μέγας), to which the Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬋 *mazô* is radically akin, with *z*, therefore, contrasted with the Sanscrit *h* and Sclavonic, Greek, and Latin *g*. Where, however, the Lithuanian contrasts a *ź* (=French *j*, Sclavonic Ж) and the Sclavonic a З with the Sanscrit *h*, there I regard the sibilant of the said languages, not as a corruption of the Sanscrit *h*, but of a *g*, in the same manner as, in Italian, the *g* before *e* and *i* has, in pronunciation, become *dsch* (English *j*): moreover, in this case the Lettish and Sclavonic languages, in spite of their near relationship, no longer invariably agree with one another; since, *e.g.*, the Russian contrasts with the Sanscrit *haṅsa*, "goose," the form гусь *gusy*, and the Lithuanian the form *źasis*. In the Zend this word would, in its theme, be either 𐬰𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀 *zaṇha* or 𐬘𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀 *jaṇha* (see §§. 56ª. 57.), the *h* of which the Lettish-Sclavonic languages would have scarcely conducted back to its point of departure, *s*. I would also recall attention to the fact, that in the Lettish and Sclavonic languages occasionally weak sibilants occur for the Sanscrit *g* or the *j* ज्, which was first developed out of the *g* after the separation of languages. Thus the Lithuanian *źada-s*, "speech," and *źodi-s*, "word," lead to the Sanscrit root *gad*, "to speak;" for which, in Zend, we have 𐬘𐬀𐬛 *jad*, "to require." To the Sanscrit root जीव् *jiv*, "to live," corresponds the Sclavonic root ЖИВ *schiv*; while the Lithuanian in this root has preserved the original guttural (*gywas*, "living," *gywenn*, "I live"), which is a proof that the corruption of the original guttural in this root, in Sanscrit and Sclavonic, first made its appearance after the separation of the Lettish-Sclavonic languages from Sanscrit. The divergence of the Lettish

the general sense whether the action passes from the ect or to it, as in general the abstract substantives ex-

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nd Sclavonic languages in the word "God" deserves notice; for the Lithuanian *dieva-s*, and Prussian *deiwa-s*, are based on the rit *dêva-s*, "God" (Zend *daêva*, "evil spirit"), the word *bog* (theme which is common to perhaps all the Sclavonic languages, leads us Old Persian *baga*, with which Kuhn also, l. c., has compared it, I, at a time when I was as yet unacquainted with the Old Persian ssion (Glossarium Sanscr., Fasc. II. a. 1841, p. 242), compared it with *bhagavat* (from *bhaga*, "*felicitas, beatitudo*"), "*felix, beatus, vene-*" (applied only to gods and saints); and under भग *bhaga* I have men- the Lithuanian *bagota-s*, and Russian *bagotyĭ*, "rich" (cf. Mikl. ices," s. v. БОГЪ *bog'*, "*deus*"). The Sanscrit root *bhaj*, from *bhag*, es, "to worship, to adore, to love;" and as the suffix *a* has also ive signification, the old Persian and Sclavonic term for "God" originally have also signified "worshipped, adored," the possibility ich, with regard to the Sclavonic word, is also admitted by Pott , I. p. 236). I would, however, by no means found an argument for ial affinity between the Sclavonic languages and the Old Persian on greement in the designation of "God" (in Persian, "gods"), as the rit itself supplies a very satisfactory root for that; and, moreover, nguages might very easily have fallen upon the same method, quite ndently of each other, so as to have designated "God," or "gods," "adoration;" as, too, the New Persian ایزد *ized*, "God," is based other root for "to pray," viz. on यज् *yaj* (Zend *yaz*), whence the t passive participle is, by contraction, *iṣhtá-s*. Though the opinion sed above (§§. 21. 50.), and supported also by Burnouf (Yaçna,), be correct with regard to the original identity of the Lithuanian *a-s*, "holy," Old Sclavonic СВѢТЪ *svaṅt'*, id., *svaṅtiti*, "*sanctifi-* see Mikl. Rad. p. 79, Prussian *swint-s*, "holy," acc. *swinta-n*, *nt*, "to hallow," it is nevertheless important to observe, that in vord also the Lettish and Sclavonic languages have thereby di- l from the Arian, or Medo-Persic, in that they have not changed nscrit group of sounds, *śv* into *sp*, but have left the old semi-vowel red. The Sanscrit supplies, as the original source of the word un- scussion (see Weber, V. S. Sp. II. 68.), the extremely fruitful root to grow," in the contracted form *śu*, if this be not the old form, and extension of it. From *śvi* we might expect *śvayanta*, according to

[G. Ed. p. 1258.] press in no degree whatever the relation of activity or passiveness. Moreover, the Sanscrit infinitive is wanting in a passive form; and where it has, or appears to have, a passive signification, this is discoverable only from the context, as, *e.g.*, in a passage of the Sâvitri (5. 15.), of which I annex the translation: "this man, bound by duty .... deserves not to be summoned by my servants," more literally, "is not deserving the summoning" (*nâ 'rhô nêtum*), where the circumstance that *nêtum* can be rendered by a passive infinitive does not justify us in assigning to it a passive signification. It has, if one will so view it, an active meaning with reference to the servants of Yama, and a passive with reference to *Satyavân*, while in

[G. Ed. p. 1259.] point of fact it denotes neither activity nor passiveness, but the abstract "summoning, leading away," which is itself irrespective of doing or suffering. So also in the Hitôpadêśa (ed. Bonn. p. 41), *abhiṣhêktum*, "to sprinkle," has no passive signification, which Lassen (II. 75.) would make this infinitive borrow from the passive participle *nirûpita*. In my opinion, *nirûpita* retains its passive meaning for itself, and does not consign it to the infinitive. That however, l. c., the sprinkling (the kingly inauguration by sprinkling) is not performed by the elephant of the said person, but by another, is clear from the context. In order to leave the active or passive relation as undefined as in the original, I translate *aṭavîrâjyê 'bhiṣhêktum bhavân nirûpitaḥ* by "to the sprinkling for the forest-sovereignty your honour is chosen."

871. We sometimes find the Vêdic dative also of the infinitive base in *tu* with an apparent passive infinitive signification; as, *e.g.*, S. V. (ed. Benfey, p. 143), *índrâya sóma*

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the analogy of *jayantá* (n. pr., originally "conqueror"), and from *śu*, *śavanta*; and, without Guna, *śvanta*; to which the Sclavonic СВАТЪ *svaṅt'*, theme *svaṅto*, would correspond admirably.

vṛitraghné paríṣhichyasê, "for Indra, O Sôma, for
ng (in order to be drunk) for the slayer of Vṛitra,
ırt poured around;" Rigv. 28. 6., *índrâya pátavê sunu*
, "for Indra, for drinking,* express the Sôma." Thus,
t times the above-mentioned (§. 857.) dative form of
ct radical words appears to supply the place of the
e infinitive; *e.g.* Rigv. 52. 8. *ádhârayô divyá sûryan*
"thou hast placed the sun in the heaven to see."†
ractical rule, we may lay down the [G. Ed. p. 1260.]
ition for classical Sanscrit, that where an instrumen-
the person accompanies the infinitive in *tum*, the
may, in languages which possess a passive infinitive,
nslated by it. Thus, in the passage cited above (*nâ*
tum matpuruśâiḥ); so also Mah. II. 309., *na yuktas*
mânô 'sya kartun tvayâ, "It is not, however, fitting
e to shew contempt for this one (=that contempt
le)." In another passage, which is in essentials simi-
ah. I. 769.), the passive participle *yukta*, "beseeming,
" (properly "joined"), is not governed by the subject,
nds impersonally in the neuter, *na yuktam bhavatâ*
nṛitênô 'pacharitum, "not beseeming (is it) that I, by
ith falsehood serve (=be served)."‡ There is also
resting, and hitherto, in its kind, unique passage in
ghuvansa (14. 42.), *yady arthitâ .... prâṇân mayâ*
ituñ chiran vaḥ. Irrespective of *mayâ*, "by me,"

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in order to be drunk." Sâyana explains *pátavê* by *pâtaum*;
, in classical Sanscrit, I should expect another abstract in the
ather than the accusative of the infinitive.

to be seen." The Scholiast explains *dṛisé* by *dráṣhṭum*, and
re closely by *sarvéṣhâm asmâkan darśanâya*, "on account of the
us all."

pare a passage in Sâvitrî (II. 22.), where *śakyam*, "*possibile*,"
ccording to the sense, to *dôṣha*, masc., "fault:" *sacha dôṣhaḥ*
ma na śakyam ativartitum, "and this fault it is impossible to
without utmost endeavour."

the literal translation would be, "if your wish to retain life long," and then the obtaining of life would refer to the persons addressed; but by the appended *mayâ*, "by me," the sense is essentially altered, and the retention of life referred to the speaker, though the life might be that of those addressed if the context allowed of this; but *dhâra-*

[G. Ed. p. 1261.] *yitum*, "to receive," remains, however, in so far, a genuine active infinitive, as it governs the accusative (pl.) *prâṇân* "*vitam.*" In order to imitate as closely the grammatical complexion of the original in translating it into German, we might perhaps render it thus, "if to you the wish (is) for the long retention of life through me;" only here the word that signifies "to retain" must be rendered as the common abstract with the genitive,* instead of as verbal with the accusative; and instead of the adverb "long" the corresponding adjective must be prefixed to it, while the proper infinitive is importantly distinguished from the common abstract by this, that it admits of no epithet.

872. It is worthy of notice, moreover, how the Sanscrit, being deficient in a passive infinitive, shifts for itself in cases where such an infinitive was to have been expected after verbs which signify "to be able" in such sentences as *vinci potest*. The Sanscrit then, in such cases, expresses the passive relation by the auxiliary verb शक् *śak*, "to be able," to which it has lent a passive, perhaps especially with a view to constructions of this kind, which, however, is only used impersonally; *e.g.* Mah. I. 6678., *yadi śakyatê*, "if it is possible" (literally, "if it is could");† on the other

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* *I.e.* the infinitive in Sanscrit, which in the German is rendered by "*Erhalten*," must be regarded as a substantive "retention," not as verbal "retaining."—*Translator.*

† The reader will pardon this expression, which must be coined in order to render "*wird gekonnt:*" I had only the choice between it and "is been able."—*Translator.*

past meaning, both in
kitá mentioned above
said *mahta was*, not
[G. Ed. p. 1264.]
passed in the
in the
neg. passive,
quitur (Pla. tive
alcisci (pass.), *nequitur* (Sans.)
al.). Observe, also, the way in
infinitive future in Latin is para-
ive of the supine [G. Ed. p. 1262.]
re, the auxiliary verb has, exactly
tê, "is could," taken upon itself the
relation, which the accusative of
ate form in Sanscrit, is incapable
natum iri, literally, "gone to love
o go to be loved." That, too, the
used in constructions of this kind,
in Cato (apud Gell. 10. 14.), *contu-*
iam mihi factum itur, "Insult is gone
f "goes to be done to me."*

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the peculiarity of Sanscrit idiom, as regards
ve of *śak*, "to be able," with the infinitive,
ssay on the principles of the Sanscrit Gram-
., 1818, No. 30, p. 476), and afterwards in
to Indra's heaven, p. 81; and I believe
ess a meaning on this subject, as the sin-
erb which signifies "to be able;" and the
s also of being used as a middle of the 4th
anst," N. XI. 6.) might also induce the
finitive in *tum* has both a passive and an
erefore, *e.g.*, *hantun śakyatê* literally signi-
potest." This is, however, opposed by the
re dependent on the decidedly passive par-
á (see p. 1118 Note ‡), and of the future
punar na śakitâ nêtun gangâ prârthayatâ,

[G. Ed. p. 1263.] 873. Let us now turn to the German infinitive; and we will, in the first place, call attention to the remarkable agreement which the Gothic shews to the Sanscrit in this, that in the want of a passive infinitive in the cases in which this form, did it exist, would be placed after the auxiliary verb signifying "to be able" (*mag*, "I can," "I am able") it expresses the passive relation in the auxiliary verb. As, however, *mag*, "I can," is a preterite with a present signification (cf. §. 491.), and as the Gothic is not in a position to form a passive, except out of present forms (see §. 512.), and not, like the Sanscrit and Greek, out of other tenses also, it has recourse to the passive participle *mahts*, *mahta*, *maht*, which, like the formal indicative preterite *mag*, has always a present signification;* on which account the temporal relation, if it be a past one, can be denoted only by the appended verb substantive, while

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"the Gangâ (would) not be able (possible) to bring back by the wisher;" Hidimba, I. 35., *kin tu śakyam mayâ kartum* "what, however, (is) to be able (possible) to do by me" (=what, however, can be done by me). Lassen (Hitôp. II. 75.) remarks that constructions of this kind can in nowise be limited to *śak*, "to be able," but it is nevertheless certain that the construction of the active infinitive with the passive of a verb which signifies "to be able" is the most original and most deserving of special notice; for that verbs which signify "to begin" have in Sanscrit, as in other languages, a passive, is just as little surprising, as that the action which is begun is expressed in Sanscrit, as in German, by the active infinitive, as it is not necessary that the passive relation should be expressed both at the beginning and in the action which is begun, though constructions occur in Latin like *vasa conjici coepta sunt* (Nep.); while we in German say, *e.g.*, *das Haus wird zu bauen angefangen*, "the house is begun to build (to be built);" and in Sanscrit (Hit., ed. Bonn. p. 49, l. 10.), *têna vihârah kârayitum ârabdhah*, "by this one (would) a temple be begun to be built." It is self-evident that, in constructions of this kind, the action expressed by the infinitive does not stand in an active relation to the subject.

* Cf. Grimm, IV. pp. 59, 60.

he Sanscrit *śakitá*, has already a past meaning, both in nd for itself. For the feminine *śakitâ* mentioned above p. 1262 G. ed., Note) Ulfilas would have said *mahta was*, not *nahta ist;* while in Sanscrit, if the usually [G. Ed. p. 1264.] mitted verb substantive were actually expressed in the assage quoted l. c., we should have *śakitâ 'sti*, in the anner of the Latin periphrasis of the lost perfect passive, s *amata est*. Though, in Gothic also, the circumlocutive or the passive infinitive by the participle preterite passive with the auxiliary verb "to be" (*vairthan*) already occurs Grimm, IV. 57.) and, *e.g.*, Matt. viii. 24. *καλύπτεσθαι* is endered by *gahulith wairthan*,* nevertheless Ulfilas rejects his periphrasis in the cases in which, in the Greek text, he passive infinitive is dependent on a verb signifying "to e able." Hence, Mark xiv. 5, *maht vêsi . . . . frabukyan*, *δύνατο πραθῆναι*; Luke viii. 43, *qvinô . . . . ni mahta* (nom. m.) *was fram ainômêhun galeikinôn*, *γυνὴ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ὑπ' ὐδενὸς θεραπευθῆναι*; John iii. 4, *hvaiva mahts ist manna gaiiran*, *πῶς δύναται ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι*; x. 35, *ni maht ist ataíran thata gamêlidô*, *οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή*; 1 Tim. . 25, *fithan ni mahta sind*, *κρυβῆναι οὐ δύναται*.

874. Like *mahts*, *skulds* (*skal*, "I must") also has the eaning of the present passive participle, while in form it

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* The preterite participle passive is well suited, with the auxiliary erb "to be," for a periphrasis of the present infinitive, because the auxiary takes, as it were, the temporal power from the expression of the st, and places the past or perfect nature of the action in the future, hereby the whole is, by this means, adapted to express the present. ompare the periphrasis for the future active in Old High Prussian by he perfect active participle and the auxiliary verb "to be" (see p. 1061 ote *). On the other hand, the perfect passive participle with *visan*, esse," analogously to the Latin, expresses the perfect passive infinitive; nd this is well worthy of notice. So in the subscription to 1 Cor., *mêda visan* ("*scripta esse*"). Cf. 2 Cor. v. 11, *svikunthans visan*, "*cognitos esse*" (*πεφανερῶσθαι*), with iv. 11, *svikuntha wairthai* (*φανερωθῇ*).

corresponds to the perfect passive participle of the Sanscrit and Latin. This *skulds* (fem. *skulda*, neut. *skuld*), receives [G. Ed. p. 1265.] in like manner the expression of the passive relation, which the language is incapable of expressing in the accompanying infinitive: hence, *e. g.*, Luke ix. 44, *skulds ist atgiban in handuns mannê*, as it were, "he is being compelled to deliver into the hands of men," instead of, "he must be delivered" *μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι*). Moreover, in Gothic it often happens that it can be known only from the context and the accompanying dative (alone or with *fram*, "from"), which, in Gothic, frequently represents the Sanscrit instrumental, that the infinitive has not the common active meaning, but a passive one.* Thus, in Matt. vi. 1, it appears from the dative *im*, "by them," that the preceding infinitive has a passive signification, and that *du saihvan im*, which we, in order to imitate the construction, must translate by "to the seeing by them," translates the Greek *πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς*, where the infinitive has, through the prefixed article, the form of a concrete. Without, however, the *im*, which shews what is the proper meaning, *du saihvan*, "to see," for "seeing," could not well be otherwise taken in this passage than as active, and the preceding words, which lead us to expect a passive expression, would not justify us in taking the said infinitive as passive.—Von Gabelentz and Löbe (Gramm. p. 140 c.), remark, that, by a Germanism, the Gothic active infinitive after the verbs "to command, to will, to give" occurs with a passive signification. I cannot, however, perceive any passive signification of the infinitive in the examples adduced l. c., except in *du ushramyan*, "to crucify" (="to the crucifying, to be crucified"). Among others, the following are cited as examples: Matt. xxvii. 64, *hait vilan thamma hlaiva*, "command to watch the grave," exactly as,

* Cf. the analogous Sanscrit constructions, p. 1258 G. ed.

Latin, *jube custodire sepulcrum;* only that [G. Ed. p. 1266.]
Gothic verb *vita*, "I watch," and therefore, also, its in-
itive, instead of the dative, governs the accusative, while
Latin *jubere* also admits of the passive infinitive, as in
Greek text, κέλευσον ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὸν τάφον ("com-
nd the being watched with respect to the grave");
ke viii. 53, *anabaud izai giban* (*dare*, not *dari* δοθῆναι)
, "He commanded to give her (*actionem dandi ei*), meat,"
it ei dare cibum, compared with the Greek διέταξεν αὐτῇ
ῆναι φαγεῖν, "He commanded the being given to her
ionem τοῦ dari ei) to eat (with reference to eating);"* a
struction which cannot be imitated in Gothic, but to which
ilas, in Mark v. 43, (*haihait izai giban matyan*) thereby
roximates, in that he renders φαγεῖν by an infinitive,
ch, however, here stands as the object of *giban*, "to
e," in the common accusative relation, and does not,
the Greek, express the relation "in reference to" (as
ας ὠκύς). Most common is the representation of the
ek passive infinitive by the Gothic active infinitive
h a passive signification to be deduced from the context,
cases in which the infinitive expresses the causal rela-
, and the Vêda dialect uses the dative in *tu*, or another
nitive form (see §. 854.), while the Gothic employs the
nitive with the preposition *du*, or, also, the simple infini-
; but the latter almost only after verbs of motion, where
irrespective of its possible passive signification, corre-
nds to the accusative of the Latin supine; *e.g.*, Luke
5, *garunnun hiuhmans managai hausyan* [G. Ed. p. 1267.]
leikinôn fram imma, "great multitudes came together
ear and to healing (=to be healed, θεραπεύεσθαι) by

By this un-German rendering I merely wish to shew that the Greek
ve infinitive stands in the accusative relation. The case-relation of
infinitive φαγεῖν is likewise accusative, and corresponds to that of
in the preceding example.

him;" Luke ii. 4, 5, *urran than yah ïosef* . . . . *anamêlyan mith marïin*, "and Joseph also went up to the taxing (to be taxed) with Mary;" 2 Thess. i. 10, *qvimith ushauhyan*, "he cometh to the glorifying (to be glorified," ἐνδοξασθῆναι). But above (p. 1265 G. ed.), for *du saihvan*, "to the seeing (to be seen"), *saihvan* alone could scarcely stand, as no verb of motion precedes: for the same reason, at Matt. xxvi. 2 also (*atgibada du ushramyan*, "is betrayed to be crucified," εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι), the preposition *du* could not be removed. On the other hand, the strictly active infinitive is occasionally also found in the causal relation without *du*, and without being preceded by a verb of motion; *e.g.* Eph. vi. 19, *ei mis gibaidau vaurd* . . . . *kannyan runa aivaggêlyôns*, "that utterance may be given unto me . . . . to make known the mystery of the gospel" (see Gabel. and Löbe, Gramm. p. 250).

875. In German, and indeed so early as in Old High German, the infinitive often apparently receives a passive signification through the preposition *zu* (Old High German, *za, ze, zi, zo, zu*. With it, for the most part, is found the verb substantive; and we render the Latin future passive participle, when accompanied by the verb substantive, by the infinitive with *zu*; *e.g. puniendus est* by "*er ist zu strafen*," "he is to punish" (*i.e.* "he is for the punishing fitted thereto"): on the other hand, in English we have, "he is to be punished" (="*er ist gestraft zu werden*"). J. Grimm, IV. 60, 61, gives examples of the Old and Middle High German, from which I annex a few: *ze karawenne** *sint* ("*præparanda sunt*"), Ker. 15a.; *ze kesezzenne ist* ("*constituenda est*"), Ker. 15b.; *za petônne ist* [G. Ed. p. 1268.] ("*orandum est*"), Hymn 17. 1.; *ist zi firstandanne* ("*intelligendum est*"), Is. 9. 2.; *daz er an ze sehene den frouwen wære guot*, Nib. 276. 2. But even without the accompaniment of

* Regarding the dative form, see §. 879.

verb substantive, we give, in appearance, to the infini-
e a passive signification in sentences like *er lässt nichts zu*
nschen übrig, "he leaves nothing to be desired;" *er gab*
n Wein zu trinken, "he gave him wine to drink." Such
nstructions answer to those in which, in the Vêda dialect,
e dative of the infinitive stands apparently with a passive
gnification (see §. 871.); since, *e.g.*, पातवे *pátavê* may very
ell be translated by "to be drunk," though it signifies
othing else than "on account of drinking," exactly like
ir *zu trinken* (*zum Trinken*) in the sentence cited above
f. pp. 1225, 1226 Note, G. ed.). Our infinitives have also
e appearance of a passive signification, and the capacity of
presenting the real passive infinitives of other languages,
ter *hören*, "to hear," *sehen*, "to see," *lassen*, "to leave,"
issen, "to be called," *befehlen*, "to command," in sen-
nces like *ich höre erzählen*, (*audio narrari*); *ich sah ihn mit*
üssen treten (*calcari*), "I saw him trampled under foot;" *ich*
nn kein Thier schlachten sehen (*mactari*), "I cannot see an
imal slaughtered;" *lass dich von ihm belehren*, "let thyself
taught by him;" *er befahl ihn zu tödten*, "he ordered
m to be slain" (see Grimm, IV. 61). Yet, when such
pressions arose, the want of a real passive infinitive was
rdly felt, and it was scarcely intended to give to the
ive infinitive a passive signification; for the active
aning of the infinitive is here quite ample, and in the
es in which an accusative is governed by the infinitive
sah mit Füssen treten ihn, &c.) it is even more natural
n the passive. Undoubtedly, in the sentences quoted
ve the infinitives are still more strictly active than the
nscrit *nêtum* in the sentence previously (p. 1258 G. ed.)
cussed, "he is not deserving the summoning by my
ple," because here there is no accusative governed by
m, "to summon," which allows the active expression to
ear in its full energy. The circum- [G. Ed. p. 1269.]
nce, that many languages in such kinds of expression

arrive at the same method independently of each other, proves that it is very natural. I further recall attention, with J. Grimm (l. c.), to French sentences, such as, *je lui ai vu couper les jambes ; il se laisse chasser ;* and, moreover, to the fact, that in certain verbs the Latin admits both the active and passive infinitive, which, however, proves that the former is perfectly logical and correct, as it is not necessity, *i.e.* the actual want of a passive form, which occasions its use.

876. As regards the form of the German infinitive, it appears to me beyond all doubt, that, as has already been elsewhere ("The Caucasian members of the Indo-European Family of Languages," p. 83.) remarked, the termination *an*, afterwards *en*, is based on the Sanscrit neuter suffix *ana*, the formations of which in Sanscrit also very frequently supply the place of the infinitive,* and on which, too, are grounded also the Hindūstānī infinitives, as also the South Ossetish in *in*, the Tagaurish in *ün*, and very probably, also, the Armenian, in the final *l* of which I think I recognise the very common corruption of an *n* (see §. 20.), as is the case, among other words, in այլ *ail*, "the other," compared with the Sanscrit *anya-s*, Latin *aliu-s*, Greek ἄλλος, and the Gothic base *alya* (see §. 374.). The vowel which precedes the *l* of the Armenian infinitives belongs, however, not to the suffix, but to the verbal theme, which we may learn from its changing according to the difference of the conjugations; hence, *e.g.* բերել *ber-e-l*, "to carry,"† (Sanscrit

[G. Ed. p. 1270.] *bhar-aṇá*, "the carrying, supporting")= Gothic *bair-a-n*, after the analogy of բերեմ *ber-e-m*, "I bear,"

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* See pp. 1211, 1213, G. ed.

† I write the Armenian consonants in the Latin character, according to their parentage, and the pronunciation which is assigned to them by the order of the alphabet (see Petermann, p. 16). The vowel է *e*, which is often pronounced like *ye*, corresponds etymologically to the Greek ε, and, as the latter generally does, to the Sanscrit *a*.

ber-e-s, "thou bearest;" *ta-l*, "to give" (Sanscrit *na*, "the giving, gift") with *ta-m*, "I give," *ta-s*, "thou givest" (Sanscrit *dádâ-mi, dádâ-si*); *mn-a-l*, "to remain," with *mn-a-m*, "I remain," *mn-a-s*, "thou remainest;" *merhan-i-l*, "to die," with *merhan-i-m*, "I die," *merhan-i-s*, "thou diest." In German languages also the vowel preceding the final *n* the infinitive does not belong to the infinitive suffix, but the class-syllable. In the weak conjugation (=Sanscrit 10., see §. 109ª. 6.), it is tolerably clear, that, *e.g.*, the lable *ya* of *satyan*, "to place" (see §. 741.), the *a* of which, ording to an universal rule of sound (§. 67.), is weakened ore a final *s* and *th* to *i*, is identical with the same lable in *sat-yu*, "I place;" *sat-ya-m*, "we place;" *sat-ya-nd*, ey place." I therefore divide the infinitive thus, *-ya-n*. In forms like *salb-ô-n*, "to salve" (pres. *salb-ô*, *-ô-s*, *salb-ô-th*, &c.), it is still more clear that the sim- *n* is the suffix of the infinitive. In Grimm's 3d con- ation of the weak form, the *i* of the diphthong *ai* is pped before the *n* of the infinitive, as generally before als, thus, *hab-a-n*, "to have," so, too, *hab-a-m*, "we have," *-a-nd*, "they have," contrasted with *hab-ai-s*, "thou hast," *-ai-th*, "he has, ye have:" on the other hand, in Old gh German, *hab-ê-n*, "to have," as also *hab-ê-m*, "I have," *-ê-nt*, "they have." In the strong verbs, which, with few exceptions in *ya* (see §. 109ª. 2.), belong to the San- it 1st class, it might have been before assumed that the receding the *n* in the infinitive is identical with the scrit first *a* of the suffix *ana;* that therefore, *e.g.*, *bair-* "to bear," *qviman*, "to come," *bindan*, "to bind," *beitan*, bite," *grêtan*, "to weep," correspond [G. Ed. p. 1271.] , with respect to the 1st *a* of the suffix, to the Sanscrit ter abstracts which are akin in formation, *bhar-ana*, "the ring, supporting," *gam-ana*, "the going," *bandh-ana*, e binding," *bhêd-ana*, "the separating," *krand-ana*, "the

weeping;" and this was formerly my opinion. As, however, the verbs which correspond to the Sanscrit 4th class retain the character *ya* in the infinitive, and, *e.g.*, the infinitive of *vahs-ya*, "I grow" (pret. *vôhs*), is *vahs-ya-n* (not *vahs-an*), and that of *bid-ya*, "I pray" (pret. *bath*, pl. *bêdum*), *bid-ya-n* (not *bid-an*), I now regard the *a* of forms like *bair-a-n*, *bind-a-n*, &c., as the class-vowel, and therefore as identical with that of *bair-a*, *bair-a-m*, *bair-a-nd*, *bind-a*, *bind-a-m*, *bind-a-nd*; and I derive in general the German infinitive from the theme of the special tenses, with which it always agrees in respect of the form of the radical vowel; since, *e.g.*, *bind-a-n*, "to bind," *biug-an*, "to bend," correspond in this respect to the present *binda*, *biuga*, but not to the true root *band*, *bug*, or to the singular of the preterite *band*, *baug* (plur. *bundum*, *bugum*). Consequently the German infinitive stands in exact accordance with the Armenian, if I am right in viewing in the *l* of the latter the corruption of an *n*, and therefore in the before-mentioned բերել *ber-e-l*, a form exactly analogous to the Gothic *bair-a-n*, Old High German *bër-a-n*.

Remark. — As the Armenian ե *e*, like the Greek ε, is the most common representative of the Sanscrit *a*; so the Armenian 1st conjugation, in the great majority of its verbs, viz. in those which interpose a simple ե *e* between the root and the personal terminations, corresponds to the Sanscrit 1st and 6th classes (see §. 109ª. 1.), which two classes cannot be distinguished in Armenian, a language in which Guna is unknown. The inserted ե *e*, therefore, of forms like բերեմ *ber-e-m*, "I bear," բերես *ber-e-s*, "thou bearest," բերեմք *ber-e-mkh*, "we [G. Ed. p. 1272.] bear," բերեն *ber-e-n*, "they bear," corresponds to the Greek ε of forms like φέρ-ε-τε, φέρ-ε-τον, ἔφερ-ε-ς, ἔφερ-ε, and to the Sanscrit *a* of forms like *bhár-a-si*, "thou bearest," *bhár-a-ti*, "he bears," *bhár-a-nti*, "they bear." The lengthening of the Armenian ե *e* to է *ê* in բերէ *ber-ê*, "he bears," բերէք *ber-ê-kh*, "ye bear," I regard as compensation for the dropping of the personal expression after the class-vowel;* for the *kh* of the last-named form is, to a

* As the 3d person *berê*, for *beret*=Sanscrit *bharati*, Gothic *bairith*, has

in extent, only the expression of plurality, as, in the 1st person, *-mkh* (*mkh*=Sanscrit *mas*). In the 2d person the to-be-presupposed *or takh*, like the Latin *tis* (*fertis*), would correspond rather to the crit dual (*bhár-a-thas*) than to the plural (*bhár-a-tha*). In the 1st enian conjugation occur also verbs, which add, not a simple *e*, but *ne* e root, in which it is easy to recognise, as in the Latin *ni*, *e.g.*, in *ti-s*, *ster-ni-t* (see §. 490.), the character of the Sanscrit 9th class, *nâ*, *nî*, as class-syllable. Here belongs, *e.g.*, the root *խառն χarh*, mix;" whence *խառնեմ χarh-ne-m*, "I mix," infinitive *խառնել -ne-l*. The corresponding Sanscrit root *kar* (कॄ *kṛī*), "to strew," the preposition *sam*, also "to mix," follows the 9th class, not, in- in this signification, but in another ("to slay"); and it admits of loubt that the Armenian *χarh-ne-m* corresponds to the Sanscrit *ṛ́-mi* (from *kar-ṇâ-mi*) and Greek *κίρ-νη-μι*. Probably, also, the enian verbs in *ane-m* and *ana-m*—as *հարցանեմ harc̣anem*, "I ask" crit root *prachh*); *լուանամ lovanam*, "I wash" (Sanscrit root *plu*, swim," causal "to wash," Greek *πλύνω*—belong to the Sanscrit 9th with the insertion, therefore, of an *a* between the root and the original character, in the same way as, at times, in Old High German, an *a* is ed to the formative suffixes beginning with a consonant (see §. 799.). re the passive character *i*, which Petermann (p. 188) [G. Ed. p. 1273.] compares with the Sanscrit *ya*, verbs of this kind, whether actually ing or presupposed, drop the vowel of the class-character. In this ner at least I think that we must explain deponents like *մեռանիմ anim*, "I die," for which we must suppose in Sanscrit *mṛi-ṇâ-mi* a *mar-ṇâ-mi*), but not so as to identify the syllable *ni* of *merhanim*, similar forms, with the *nî* which appears in Sanscrit before the heavy nal terminations (*yu-nî-más* compared with *yu-nấ-mi*). The Arme- 2d conjugation, which adds *a* to the root, as *e.g.*, *առաւմ orhs-a-m*, unt," would, if this *a* were based, like the *e* of the 1st conjugation, on syllable of insertion of the Sanscrit 1st and 6th class, have retained

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lost a *t*, I think, too, that in the ablative in *ê*, which Fr. Windisch- n, in his valuable academical treatise on the Armenian (p. 28), calls a terious phenomenon, we have to assume the dropping of a *t*, and, in- , the rather, as the original final *t* has become unendurable in many -European languages. Hence the Armenian ablatives like *himan-ê*, the base *himan*, may be compared with the Zend like *chaṣhman-aṭ* p. 197), and the *է ê* for *եր e* may be viewed as a compensation for the ping of the *t*.

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in Armenian might easily have sacrificed the semi-vow
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* "Foundation of the Armenian in the Arian Fa
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Part I., in the special impression, p. 44.

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abstract substantives much more rarely than the neuter.
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चना *yâchaná*, "the request;" वन्दना *vandaná*, "the praising."
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ɔn, also the Greek *αὐονή* and *ἡδονή*; while *ἀγχόνη* and
πάνη, in this latter respect, differ; but the latter has re-
ined the Old *a*-sound of the suffix. To this head, too, have

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r-nâ, "to slay" (Sanscrit *mârâyâmi*, "I make to die"), from *mŏr-nâ*[1], o die" (*ŏ*=Sanscrit *ă*, *mŏr-nâ*=मरण *maraṇa*, "the dying").—In the of Hindūstānī, causals like *chŏl-wânâ*, "to make to go" (*chŏl-nâ*, "to "), I recognise a corruption of the *p* of the causals like *jîv-âp-áyâ-mi*, cussed above (§. 749.). The transition of the *p* into *w* appears, how- r, to have taken place at a time when one more vowel preceded the ial; as, *e.g.*, in the numerals *ékâwŏn* 51, *bâwŏn* 52, *sŏtâwŏn* 57, in con-

distinction to *tirpŏn* 53, *pŏchpŏn* 55, where it admits of no doubt that h *wŏn* and *pŏn* are based on the Sanscrit *pañchâśat* 50, and therefore wŏn on *ékapañchâśat*, *tirpŏn* on *tripañchâśat*, the nasal of which is t in the Hindūstānī *pŏchâs* 50, while the simple پانچ *pânch* has re- ned it. The length of the *â* of پانچ *pânch*, compared with the Sanscrit rt vowel, may perhaps serve as a compensation for the dropping of the lable *an* (*pañchan*), for short *ă* appears in Hindūstānī regularly as rt *o*, which Gilchrist, according to English pronunciation, writes *u*. e Hindūstānī is most extremely sensitive with regard to the weight of vowel, and therefore weakens the long *â* of *pânch* again to *ŏ* when overloading the word by composition gives occasion for this, *e.g.* in drŏh 15; thus, *sŏtrŏh* 17, opposed to *sât* (from *saptan*) 7.

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[1] The vowel here given as *ŏ* by Professor Bopp is undoubtedly *ă*, and word مرنا is universally written *marnâ*. More than that, the sound es not exist in the language, except before *r*, any more than it does in rāṭhī, as has been noticed before. It is true that in Bengālī short *a* ronounced like *ŏ*; and hence Dr. Carey has imagined this to be the case Marāṭhī, but there is no foundation for such a belief.—*Translator*.

the character of its Indian prototype still more truly than the 1st conjugation. As, however, the Armenian ա *a* more frequently corresponds to the Sanscrit long *â* than to the short, it would also be possible that the ա *a* under discussion, like the Latin *â* of the 1st conjugation, with which Fr. Windischmann compares it,* is based on the Sanscrit *aya* of the 10th class (see §. 109ª. 6.) The circumstance, however, that the Armenian *a*-conjugation contains many neuter verbs, while the Sanscrit *aya* is principally devoted to the formation of causal and denominative verbs, makes the deduction of the Armenian 2d conjugation from the Sanscrit 10th class little probable, and favours rather the derivation from the 1st or 6th class, or from the 4th, containing scarce any but neuter verbs, which in Armenian might easily have sacrificed the semi-vowel of their character *ya* (cf. Petermann, p. 188). In the Armenian 3d conjugation there are many verbs which add *nu* to the root, and thereby at once remind us of the Sanscrit *nu* of the 5th class (see §. 109ª. 4.), with which Petermann also has compared them. Those which add a simple *u* have probably, like the Sanscrit verbs of the 8th class, lost an *n* (see §. 495.).

877. The Hindūstānī infinitive also has dropped the first vowel of the Sanscrit suffix *ana;*† and, on the other hand,

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* "Foundation of the Armenian in the Arian Family of Languages," in the treatises of the 1st class of the Bavarian Academy of Lit., B. IV. Part I., in the special impression, p. 44.

† The *â* by which transitives like *jŏl-â-nâ*, "*urere*," is formed from intransitives like *jŏl-nâ*, "*ardere*," I derive from the Sanscrit causal character *aya*, in the same way as the Latin *â* of the 1st conjugation (§. 109ª. 6.). By this *a* causatives also are formed from active transitives; *e.g.*, *bidh-â-nâ*, "to cause to bore," from *bêdh-nâ*, "to bore" (= Sanscrit[1] *bhêd-ana-m*, "the cleaving," root *bhid;* (Gilchrist, "A Grammar," &c., p. 147). With regard to the causal here exhibiting a weaker vowel than the primitive verb, while in Sanscrit the causals usually experience an increment to the vowel, it is probable that the Hindūstānī finds a reason for weakening the radical syllable in the incumbrance of the causal by the affix *â*. Where, however, the causal or transitive loses the proper causal character, it often exhibits a stronger vowel than the primitive; *e.g.*

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[1] Shakespear, with more probability, compares the word वेधन *vedhan* from व्यध *vyadh*, "to pierce." In the original, Professor Bopp writes *bid-â-nâ* and *bêd-nâ*, which do not occur in our dictionaries.—*Translator.*

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short ă, which in general, in Hindūstānī, either entirely suppressed or lengthened; th other words, in the names of male animals, females terminate in *î*, and the generic nar original final vowel (see Gilchrist "A Gramn Thus, *e.g.*, the general term for the buffal *hiṣha*) in Hindūstānī is مَيهِك *maihik*,* w buffalo is *maihikâ*, and the female *maihikî*, th scrit *mahiṣhî* (see §. 119.). As the Hindūstānī ter, the Sanscrit neuters, which in their them distinguished from masculine bases, have in th become masculines, and we may therefore compare the Hindūstānī infinitives in ن *nâ* scrit abstracts in *ana;* thus, *e.g.*, *jŏl-nâ*, "t scrit *jvalaná-m*, "the burning," or rather = *j* Sanscrit neuters have, in Hindūstānī beco The oblique case in *e* of the Hindūstānī infi a Sanscrit base in *a*, in which we e the Sanscrit locative of bases in *a* (see § fore, *e.g.*, in *jŏlnê*, "to burn,"† we percei *jvalanê*, "in the burning."

* The common term for a male buffalo in Hin

ıe dropping of the final *a* of the [G. Ed. p. 1276.]
euter suffix *ana* in the German infinitives accords

take, to receive," is governed by *śćkur* (euphonic for *śćkus*),
." So in Hindūstānī, in an example given by Yates ("In-
&c., p. 65), *maiṅ bôlnĕ nŏhîn sŏktâ*, "I cannot say," "I to
saying, for the saying, acc.) not being able." Where, how-
nitive stands in the nominative relation, as *sunnâ*, "to hear"
), in the example given by Yates l. c., "hearing is not like
ind the form in *nâ*. As the adjectives also, the participles
l, in the masculine singular nominative, in *â*, I regard the
of the originally short *a* as a compensation for the suppressed
l I therefore derive *â* from *a-s*, just as in Marāṭhī. In the
ıral nominative of both languages the termination *ĕ* corre-
Sanscrit pronominal declension (see §. 228.): hence, in Hin-
iṅ mârtâ, "I strike," properly "I (am) striking," fem.
'I (am) striking," pl. *hŏm mârtĕ*, "we (are) striking." Com-
ey" (pl.), which belongs either to the Zend and Old Persian
, as is more probable, to the Sanscrit reflexive base *sva*
which also the Old Persian *huva* (euphonic for *hva*), "he,"
from which we might have expected a masculine plural
vĕ. The Sanscrit diphthong *ê* plays throughout an important
ūstānī Grammar; and thus we find also, in the subjunctive
ũ mârê, "thou mayest strike," *vŏh mârê*, "he may strike,"
'we may strike," *vê mârêṅ*, "they may strike," a good rem-
crit Grammar, since the *ê* of those forms is evidently based
he Sanscrit potential of the 1st principal conjugation, and,
at the final *s* and *t* of the 2d and 3d person singular have
us, *mârê* for *mârê-s* and *mârê-t*, cf. *bhárê-s*, *bhárê-t*, p. 946);
rmination *ma* of the 1st person plural only the *m* has been
orm of a weakened nasal; thus, *mârê-ṅ* for *mârê-ma* or *-mŏ:*
rson plural we have *mârê-ṅ* for *mârê-nt* (see §. 462. p. 645),
ximates very closely to the Old High German forms like
nt." On the Sanscrit potential also is based, in my opinion,
nī future, just like the Latin of the 3d and 4th conjugations
§. 692.), only that, in Hindūstānī, to the subjunctive men-
where it represents the future indicative, a syllable has been
ich I recognise the above-mentioned (p. 1104, Note †) San-
ha, Vêd. also *gha* or *ghâ*, which, however, in Hindūstānī,

hŏm mârên-gê, "they will strike."

(d) The Preface here referred to is as follows:—"I laid before the public, not yet been able to finish my mar, but give here preliminarily the conclusion of th the locative of the derivative adverbs, and a part of t viz. the formation of participles, and of those subst which stand in close connection with any participle t suffix. Since the publication of the 4th Part of th Grammar has acquired a new region for research in which hitherto had remained almost unknown, a academical treatise, "A first attempt regarding the opened out to us.(e) Aufrecht, in his pamphlet, "De Sanscriticorum" (Bonn, 1847), treats of the accent Benfey and G. Curtius have been the first to draw instances of agreement between the Sanscrit and G former in his notice of Böhtlingk's treatise (Halle Jo rature, May 1845), the latter in his brochure, "Th guages in their relation to Classical Philosophy" (2 I believe I recognise a common fundamental prin accentuation in both languages in this, that in Sansc

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(e) Some very valuable corrections, which have since accentuated Vêda-text, are given by Holtzmann in Ablaut" (Carlsruhe, 1844), p. 9. Thus Holtzmann has

may expect in Gothic only
bandhandya, should be

the word, has become
rson singular of the
ntion to a similar
the form *mâtâ*,
occasions a
difficulty

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of a word, or the throwing back of the ac- pos-
lered the most emphatic, and that which
n to the whole word (see p. 1084 G. ed.
a very pervading, though hitherto almost
two languages in the accentuation of that
y and significantly the richest, viz. the verb
. A most convincing proof of the emphasis
llable is furnished by the Sanscrit in this,
f accent from the passive, but allows it to
hough in sound the two forms are identical;
mpared with *śúchyatê* '*purificat*:' it also
reference to this point, that the oxytone
i), when they are found as participles go-
refore, to use an expression employed by
nged from dead words to living ones, then
accentuation; hence, *e.g.*, *dâtâ maghâni*,
l to *dâtâ maghânâm*, 'the giver of riches'
st it to be found in the Greek paroxytone
ith the verbals in *τός*, which correspond to
iciple; *e.g.*, *πότος*, 'the drinking,' opposed
k' (see §. 817.). The two languages, when
se before us, do not intend to lay an em-
to remove from the whole word the em-
he first syllable. In accordance with the
he circumstance that the Greek gives the
gative *τίς* upon the number of its syllables
there is an increase of animation which
ce; while it oxytonises the indefinite pro-
ment with the Sanscrit weak cases of mono-
G. ed., 1053 E. Tr.). I cannot allow of a
logical

trasts with the Sanscrit nominative accusative *dvâra-m* [G. Ed. p. 1278.] the form *daur;* so instead of the Sanscrit

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carry," the Gothic like *bairai*, and Greek like *φέροι*. But in the 1st person singular *mârûn*, "let me strike" (at once future and subjunctive), I think I recognise the Sanscrit imperative termination *âni*, with *û* therefore for *â*, as above (p. 1215 G. ed.) in the Marāṭha present. The Hindūstānī fails to distinguish the Sanscrit terminations *âmi* and *âni*, as both have

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logical accent either to the Sanscrit (in simple words), nor to the Greek,[a] and I cannot see a reason for the proparoxytonising of *bódhâmi*, 'I know,' *bódhâmas*, 'we know,' and the oxytonising of *imás*, 'we go' (in disadvantageous contrast to *ἴμεν*), in this, that in the first-named forms the radical syllable, and in the latter the personal syllable, should be brought prominently forward as the most important, but I think it rather owing to the fact that the most animated accent belongs to the verb; but of this the form *imás* is, as it were, cheated through the influence which, in Sanscrit, in disadvantageous contrast to the Greek, the heavier personal terminations exercise, in certain conjugational classes, on the removal of the accent. In forms like *stṛiṇômi*, 'I strew,' *yunámi*, 'I bind,' the length of the last syllable but one has, in disadvantageous contrast to the analogous Greek forms (*στόρνυμι*, *δάμνημι*) exercised a similar influence in attracting the accent as that which a long penultima exercises in Latin in words of three or more syllables (see p. 1090 G. ed., p. 1057 E. Tr.), while in Greek it is only in the first syllable that the quantity has gained a disturbing influence on the original accentuation; so that, *e.g.*, *ἡδείων* stands in disadvantageous contrast when compared alike with the Sanscrit *svâdîyân* (see p. 1091 G. ed., p. 1058 E. Tr.), and with its own neuter *ἥδιον*, as in the dual of the imperative *φερέτων*, compared with the Sanscrit *bháratâm*, and the 2d person *φέρετον* (=Sans. *bháratam*).

"Besides the Greek, no other European member of our great lingual family has remained constant to the old system of accentuation, in which the accent forms an essential part of grammar, and does its part in aiding to decide the grammatical categories. In Latin the kind of accentuation, which

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[a] Benlöw is of a different opinion, who, in his work, "De l'accentuation des langues Indo-Européennes" (Paris, 1847), p. 44, "En Sanscrit l'accent a une signification purement logique, et il porte sur toute syllable que la pensée veut mettre en évidence et faire ressortir du reste du mot, quelle que soit sa distance du commencement ou de la fin de celui-ci."

dhana-m, "the binding," we may expect in Gothic only *ndan*." With the dative बन्धनाय *bandhanâya*, should be

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lost the final *i*, and *m* like *n*, at the end of the word, has become *ṁ* (*ṁ*). With respect to the use of the 1st person singular of the rative in the sense of the future, I would draw attention to a similar n Zend (see §. 722. sub. f.). In the 2d person plural the form *mârô*, strike," or "ye may strike" (*mârô-gê*, "ye will strike"), occasions a difficulty

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h in Sanscrit and Greek is the most emphatic, viz. the farthest pos- casting back of the accent, has become, under certain known restric- universal, and therefore the accent here is no more of service in mar; and when forms like *vêhimus*, *vêhitis*, *vêhunt*, exhibit an external ment in respect to accent with the Sanscrit *váhâmas*, *váhatha*, *vá-*, the coincidence is so far fortuitous, that the reason of the accentua- s different in the two languages. So also, among other words, the ment in the accentuation of *datórem* with *dâtâram* and δοτῆρα is ac- tal, since the Latin does not accent the suffix because the accent gs to it from old time, but because the last syllable but one is long. rkable, if not resting on affinity, is the agreement of the Latin sys- f accentuation with the Arabian. The latter, in words of two and syllables, accents the first, in polysyllables the third; but so that, Latin, a length of vowel or of position in the last syllable but one s the accent to that syllable, while a long final syllable has no in- e in removing the accent; thus, *e.g.*, *kátala*, 'he slew,' *kátalû*, 'they ' contrasted with *katálta*, 'thou slewest,' *maktúlun*, 'slain,' *kâti-* "the slaying" (pl.). In Lithuanian perhaps some isolated rem- of the old accentuation occur. Much information, however, cannot ained from the grammars and lexicons, which seldom mark the ac- d syllable. I preliminarily draw attention to the agreement which djective bases in *u* present with the Sanscrit and Greek in *u*, *v*, since likewise accent this vowel; hence, *e.g.*, *saldùs*, 'sweet,' as in San- *wâdús* (see §. 20), in Greek ἡδύς; *drasùs*, 'bold,' as in Greek θρασύς. hrowing back of the accent, too, which occasionally occurs in the voca- f the dual, compared with the nominative of the same sound, is also ving of notice; *e.g.*, in *géru pónu*, compared with the nominative *ponù*, 'two good masters' (Mielcke, p. 45). The vocative of *szwiesù* ù, 'two light heavens,' is left by Mielcke unmarked (*szwiesu dangu*), bly because it is not oxytone but paroxytone. In Sanscrit, according to

contrasted, in Gothic, according to §. 356. Rem. 3., *bindana*; and we should have looked for forms of this kind after the

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difficulty on account of its final *ó*. For it the Marāṭhī exhibits in the imperative the form *mârâ*, which I think may be explained from Sanscrit forms like *bódh-a-ta*, "know ye," so that, after dropping the *t*, the two *a*-sounds have coalesced; as I also, in the 3d person singular of the present, derive इच्छे *ichchhé*, "he wishes," from the Sanscrit *ichchh-á-ti*, by casting out the *t*, and contracting the *a-i* to *é*, according to Sanscrit rules. Cf. Greek

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to a fixed rule, *sûnú*, 'two sons' (Lithuanian *sunù*), forms the vocative *súnû* (see p. 1086 G. ed., 1054 E. Tr.). At the end of the next Part I shall have much to supply regarding Sanscrit accentuation; for in the remark at §. 785. I would not go back to all the former parts of the Grammar, but only lay down the fundamental principle, on which the most remarkable agreements between the Sanscrit and Greek accentuation rest, and at the same time draw attention to the grounds which have occasioned one or other of the said languages to diverge from the original path, in which, in my opinion, the Sanscrit and Greek meet. I shall also have some supplementary remarks to offer on some points of grammar and the doctrine of sounds, as I have already, in the present Part, pointed out some alterations in former views. In addition to what has been remarked at p. 1138 Rem. ** G. ed., p. 1104 Note † E. Tr., regarding the *ch* of our pronominal accusatives *mi-ch*, *di-ch*, *si-ch*, and the Old High German *h* of the accusative plural *unsi-h*, *iwi-h*, I have since found a very interesting analogy in the Afghān, where, however, the *h* referred to, which I think I recognise in *hagha*, 'the, this,' as sister-form of the Sanscrit *sáha*, Vêdic *sáha* or *sághâ*, Greek ὅγε, has become declinable; hence, in the plural, *haghú*, and in the feminine singular nominative, *haghé*, the latter like *dé*, 'she,' contrasted with the masculine *da*, 'he,' being a softening of the Sanscrit base *ta*. In the syllable *ga*, too, of *mûnga*,[a] 'we,' I think I recognise the said particle, and in the remaining part of the word the Sanscrit accusative *asmân*, *ýmâs*, with the loss of the first syllable, which is also dropped in the New Persian *mâ*, 'we,' which, just like *shumá*, 'ye,' is based on the theme of the Sanscrit oblique plural cases (*yushmân*, *ýmâs*)."

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[a] J. Ewald, in the "Journal of Eastern Intelligence," IV. 300. Klaproth "Asia Polygl." p. 56, writes *mongha*.

reposition *du*, "to," which governs the dative; but we ıd in this position also only the form in *an*, *e.g.*, *du sairan*, to sow," *du bairan*, "to give birth to;" whether it be that .e preposition *du* originally governed the accusative, like .e Latin *ad* of cognate meaning, and the infinitive, at this ore ancient epoch, remained unchanged, or that it had st its capability of declension in Gothic earlier than in .e other German dialects.

879. In the Old and Middle High German, as also in e Old Anglo-Saxon dative of the infinitive, the doubling the *n* is surprising;* yet I cannot thereby see cause to rive the datives, and the analogous [G. Ed. p. 1279.] nitives of the Old and Middle High German,† from ıother base than that of the nominative accusative the infinitive, and to see in it a different suffix from the

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eek forms like *φέρει* from *φερ-ε-τι*=Sanscrit *bhár-a-ti* (see §. 456.). the 2d person the form इच्छेस् *ichchhês*=*ichchhais*, compared with the nscrit *ichchh-á-si*, is formed, in my opinion, by transposition, just as, in eek, *φέρεις* from *φερ-ε-σι*=Sanscrit *bhár-a-si* (see §. 448.). So also, in e 3d person plural, *ichchhêt* from *ichchh-ánti*, with, at the same time, jection of the *n*. If the Marāṭhī can be held to throw light on the ndūstānī, which closely resembles it, we might regard the *ô* of Hindū- nī forms like *mârô*, "beat ye," as the corruption of *â*, just as, in Sanscrit, षोडशन् *ṣhôḍaśan* 16 for *ṣhâḍaśan*, *sôḍhum*, "to carry," for *sâḍhum* (see Abridged Sanscrit Grammar," §§. 102. 228. Rem. 1.).

* See the examples mentioned above (§. 875.). Old Saxon examples e, *faranne*, *blidzeanne*, *thôlonne*; Anglo-Saxon, *faranne*, *rêcenne*, *gefrem-* *mne*, see Grimm, I. 1021. In Gothic the form *viganna* (*du viganna*, πόλεμον, Luke xiv. 31), even though not an infinitive, would be re- arkable on account of the doubled *n*, if the reading were correct. It is ıst highly probable, however, that we ought to read *vigana* (see Gabel. d Löbe on l. c.). The word belongs, however, in respect of its suffix of mation, to the Sanscrit class of words in *ana*, and is probably a neuter, erefore nominative accusative *vigan*.

† *E.g.*, Old High German *topônnes*, "of raging;" Middle High German *inennes*, "of weeping."

Sanscrit *ana*, of which we have just treated. I hold the doubling of the *n* to be simply euphonic, *i.e.* a consequence of the inclination for doubling *n* between two vowels; hence also, *e.g.*, in Old High German *kunni* (or *chunni*), in Old Sclavonic *kunni*, in Middle High German *künne*, corresponds to the Gothic *kuni*, "sex." The word is radically akin to the Greek γένος, Latin *genus*, and Vêdic *jánus* (gen. *jánush-as*), "birth;" and its formative suffix is *ya* (dat. pl. *ya-mi*), which is contracted in the nominative accusative singular to *i* (see §. 153.). It is impossible, however, that the doubling of the *n* in this *kunni*, *künne*, &c., should give occasion to those forms to assume a different formative suffix from *ya*, of which more hereafter.*

880. The original destination of the preposition *zu*, "to" before the infinitive, is to express the causal relation, which is done in the Vêda dialect by the simple dative termination of the infinitive base in *tu*, or of some other abstract substantive supplying the place of the infinitive; and for which in classical Sanscrit, the locative of the form in *ana* is also frequently employed, as, in general, the locative in Sanscrit is very often used for the dative. The Gothic, in its use of the infinitive with *du*, keeps almost entirely to the stated fundamental destination of this kind of construction, in sen-

[G. Ed. p. 1280.] tences like "he went out to sow" (*du saian*) = "he that hath ears to hear" (*du hausyan*); "who made ready to betray him" *du galêvyan ina*). It is, however, surprising that Ulfilas too at times expresses the nominative relation by the prepositional infinitive; *e.g.*, 2 Cor. ix. 1., τὸ γράφειν

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* That the Gothic, also, is not free from the inclination to double the *n* between two vowels is shewn by forms like *uf-munnan*, "to think;" *ufar-munnôn*, "to forget" (Sanscrit *man*, "to think"); *kinnu-s*, "jaw-bones"=Greek γένυ-ς, Sanscrit *hanú-s*. In Sanscrit the final *n* after a short vowel, in case the word following begins with any vowel whatever, is regularly doubled; *e.g.*, *âsann iha*, "they were here."

du mêlyan;* Philip. i. 24, τὸ μένειν by *du visan*. It is pos-
ble even for the nominative neuter of the article to precede
e infinitive with *du*; thus, Mark xii. 33, *thata du friyôn ina*
ἀγαπᾷν αὐτόν); *thata du friyôn nêhvundyan* (τὸ ἀγαπᾷν
πλησίον). Usually, however, Ulfilas translates the Greek
minative of the infinitive by the simple infinitive, and, in-
ed, without the article, even where the Greek text has the
icle; as, *e.g.*, Gal. iv. 18, *aththan gôth ist alyanôn in gôdam-*
sinteinô (καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε);
ilip. i. 21, *aththan mis liban Christus ist yah gasviltan ga-*
ırki (ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος.

881. Where the infinitive is the object of a verb govern-
; the accusative the Gothic translation of the Bible ex-
ıits almost universally the simple infinitive; so that con-
uctions like "he began," or "he commenced to go," to
ıich, to a certain extent, analogous forms occur so early as
Sanscrit (see pp. 1211, 1212 G. ed.), are still tolerably remote
ım Gothic. Where, however, Ulfilas, in Luke iv. 10,
nders ἐντελεῖται τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε by *anabiudith du gafas-*
ı thuk, he wished here probably to approximate more
ısely to the Greek text, and to paraphrase the genitive
the infinitive, which is wanting in Gothic, by the prepo-
ion *du*, or to fill out with that preposition the place
ıich is occupied in the original text by the genitive of the
ticle; since he elsewhere expresses the object of the verbs
ıich signify "to command, to order," by [G. Ed. p. 1281.]
e simple accusative of the infinitive; *e. g.*, Luke viii. 31,
ubudi galeithan, ἐπιτάξῃ ἀπελθεῖν.

882. In the use of the Gothic infinitive, those construc-
ns merit especial attention in which an accusative ac-
mpanies the infinitive, which is governed, as the case of

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* *Ufyô mis ist du mêlyan izvis*, "it is superfluous for me to write to
" (=the writing).

the object, neither by the verb nor by the infinitive, but which, as in the Greek text, expresses the relation "in respect of," which relation is very frequently denoted by the Greek accusative (*πόδας ὠκύς, ὄμματα καλός*), but is strange to the Gothic, except in the construction with the infinitive. I regard the infinitive in such sentences in both languages as the subject, and therefore as nominative; and the verb, not as Gabelentz and Löbe do (Gram. p. 249, 5.), as impersonal, though we might translate it by "it happened, it befel, it became," &c., but just as much personal as when we, *e.g.*, say, "to sit is more pleasant than to stand;" "the rising up is seasonable, is now becoming;" "to enter is easy." That which is peculiar in the Greek and Gothic constructions referred to is only that the infinitive cannot, like an ordinary abstract, govern the genitive; that therefore, in Greek, *e.g.*, it cannot be said, *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς παρελθεῖν*, nor in Gothic *himins yah airthôs hindarleithan*, but that in both languages the person or thing to which the action which is expressed by the infinitive refers, must be placed in the accusative, since the infinitive admits not of the nearer destination either by an adjective or by a genitive, not even there where the Greek infinitive, by prefixing the article, is made more of a substantive than of itself it is. Of the examples collected by Gabel. and Löbe, l. c., the first, *varth afslauthann allans* (Luke iv. 36), must appear the most surprising, since the

[G. Ed. p. 1282.] Greek text (*ἐγένετο θάμβος ἐπὶ πάντας*) furnishes no motive for a construction unusual in Gothic. In fact, the Gothic translation would appear very forced if *varth* here correspond in sense to our *ward*, so that it would be requisite to translate literally, "there was amazement (with reference to) all," or "amazement was (with reference to) all." As, however, the Gothic *vairthan*, as the said learned men have shewn in their Glossary, also

es "to come,"* I here take *allans* as the accusative, ıed by a verb of motion (which, too, the Greek ἐγένετο s passage is), and I translate literally, "there came ment (over) all," or "amazement fell upon all." ıver, in another quite similar passage, Ulfilas finds it le to translate the Greek ἐπὶ πάντας by *ana allaim*, viz. . 65, *yah varth ana allaim agis* (καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πάντας , "and there came fear upon all." It would therefore ɔng in this passage to translate *varth* by "*factus est.*" Gothic examples, therefore, collected by Gabelentz ɔbe,† of the infinitive with the accusative, let us dis- with the 1st, which has just been discussed, and also he 5th (John xviii. 15), because in it the Gothic con- on differs from the Greek, in that, as I doubt not, cusative *ainana mannan* is governed as the objective y the transitive infinitive *fraqvistyan*, "to destroy, to so that we have only four examples left which be- ıere. These are, Col. i. 19, *in imma galeikaida alla bauan* (ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησε πᾶν τὸ πλή- [G. Ed. p. 1283.]

"it pleased the dwelling in him (in respect of) all s (of all fulness);" Luke xvi. 17, *ith azêtizô ist himin rtha hindarleithan thau vitôdis ainana vrit gadriusan*, ὥτερον δέ ἐστι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τοῦ μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν), "but it is easier to pass away (the g away) with respect to heaven and earth (=of hea- nd earth) than to fall (the falling) with reference to ttle of the law;" Rom. xiii. 11, *mêl ist uns yu us slêpa ın§* (ὥρα ἡμᾶς ἤδη ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι), "It is time (in

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mark the connection of the Gothic root *varth* with the Sanscrit rt, *vṛit*, "to go," and the Latin *verto* (see Pott, E. I., I. 241.).
amm., p. 249. 5.
t is better to put one man to death for the people."
is passage is, in Gothic, so far ambiguous, that *uns* may be both and accusative, especially as the dative more frequently occurs in constructions

reference to) for us now to rise (the rising) from sleep;" Skeir. (ed. Massmann, p. 38. 10.); *gadôh nu vas thanzuh ... gaqvissans vairthan*, "it were therefore fitting, in respect of this (the) being agreeing." It becomes a question, then, is this kind of construction as it were indigenous in the Gothic, or only an imitation of the Greek?* I believe the latter; and, indeed, because in Gothic the accusative elsewhere never expresses the relation "in respect of." Moreover, Ulfilas gladly avoids this kind of construction, as he shews, by frequently changing the infinitive construction of the original text into a verbal with the conjugation *ei*, "that," or by using, instead of the accusative of the person, the dative, whether the relation be the proper dative one or the instrumental. In the latter case he follows, indeed, the Greek text word by word, but, by the change of the accusative into a dative, the construction [G. Ed. p. 1284.] becomes essentially altered, and such that we, in New High German, also can, without much constraint, imitate it; *e.g.*, Luke xviii. 25, *rathizô allis ist ulbandau thairh thairkô nêthlôs thairhleithan thau gabigamma in thiudangardya guths galeithan* (εὐκοπώτερον γάρ ἐστι κάμηλον .... εἰσελθεῖν &c.), "for it is easier for the camel (the) passing through the eye of a needle, than for the rich (the) entering into the kingdom of God;" Luke xvi. 22, *warth than gasviltan thamma unlêdin* (ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχόν), "there was, however, dying through the poor man;" Luke vi. 1, *varth gaggan imma thairh atisk* (ἐγένετο διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων), "there was going through him through the corn-field." On the other hand, the Greek

constructions in which the Greek text exhibits the accusative with the infinitive.

* As regards the example in the Skeireins, I must recall attention to the fact, that these were hardly composed originally in Gothic, but most probably were translated from the Greek.

t, too, 1 Cor. vii. 26, has the dative: *καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως* u, *gôth ist mann sva visan*, "good is it for a man so to ' So Mark ix. 45, *καλὸν ἐστὶ σοι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν* \ὸν, *ἢ τοὺς δύο πόδας ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν, gôth* ; *ist galeithan in libain haltamma, thau tvans fôtuns habandin* airpan *in gaiainnan*, "better (good) is it for thee to go) life lame (for thee lame), than having two feet (for e having) to cast (the casting = to be cast) into hell."* las employs the periphrasis by *ei*, "that;" *e.g.*, Eph. , *ei siyaima veis veihai yah unvammai* (*εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους ἀμώμους*), "that we should be holy and without blame;" 22, *ei aflagyaith yus . . . thana fairnyan mannan* (*ἀποθέσ-ὑμᾶς . . . . τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον*).

883. When the accusative of the person, [G. Ed. p. 1285.] like manner as that of the infinitive, is governed by the b, the case is different from that of the constructions imi-ive of the Greek which have been noticed in the preceding agraph, and in which the accusative of the person ex-sses only a secondary relation, which we must paraphrase "in reference to," or "touching." At least I do not be-ve that sentences like *Ich sah ihn fallen*, "I saw him fall," *hörte ihn singen*, "I heard him sing," *Ich hiess ihn gehen*, bade him go," *lass mich gehen*, "let me go," analogous es to which occur in Sanscrit (see p. 1209 G. ed.), can be en otherwise than so that the working of the operation seeing, hearing, &c., falls directly upon the person or ng which one sees, hears, charges, &c., and then upon action expressed by the infinitive which one in like nner sees, hears, &c. The two objects of the verb are

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The Gothic syntax agrees with the Sanscrit in this, that in the above ence the adjective "lame," which is used adverbially, and the parti-e "having," appear in Gothic as epithets of *thus*, "to thee:" thus in scrit one can say, *e.g.*, *tavâ 'nucharêṇa mayâ sarvadâ bhavitavyam*, is always to be by me following of thee" (lit., "by me following").

co-ordinate, and stand in the relation of apposition to one another (I saw "him" and "falling," "*actionem cadendi*"). It appears, however, from the context, but is not formally expressed, that the action expressed by the second object is performed by the person or thing expressed by the first object ("I saw the stone fall"). To this head belong, for the most part, the examples collected by Gabelentz and Löbe, p. 249, un-

[G. Ed. p. 1286.] der 1.), 2.), 3.), 4.),* of which I annex a few: John vi. 62, *yabai nu gasaihvith sunu mans ussteigan*, "if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up" (ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα); Matt. viii. 18, *haihait galeithan sipôn-yôns hindar marein*, "he bade the disciples go over the sea;" Mark i. 17, *gatauya iqvis vairthan nutans manné*, "I will make you to become fishers of men," (ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων); John vi. 10, *vaurkeith thans mans anakumbyan*, "make the men sit down," (ποιήσατε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναπεσεῖν); Luke xix. 14, *ni vileim thana thiudanôn ufar unsis*, (οὐ θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς). In the last-quoted example, and the others l. c., n. 3.), we cannot, indeed, follow the Greek-Gothic construction; we cannot say, *wir wollen nicht diesen herschen über uns*, "we will not this to reign over us;" but I doubt not, that here

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* The following are to be excepted from No. 2.: Eph. iii. 6, where *visan*=εἶναι, stands in the nominative relation, and the accusative of the person expresses the relation "in respect of;" and 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14, where, indeed, the infinitive *fastan* (τηρῆσαι) stands in the accusative relation, but the accusative *thuk* (σε) lies beyond the direction of the verb, and likewise expresses the relation "in respect of." Although *anabiuda*, like the Greek παραγγέλλω, governs the dative, nevertheless Ulfilas skips the Greek σοι, although, in order not to express the 2d person twice, he might as well have omitted the less important σε, which accompanies the infinitive to express a secondary idea, which is of itself tolerably patent. Ulfilas, however, appears to find a truer imitation of the Greek construction in saying, "I give thee charge to keep (the keeping) in respect of thee the commandment," than in saying, "I give thee charge to keep the commandment."

re also the accusative of the person, like that of the in-
itive, stands as object of the verb signifying "to will, to
ek, to mean, to believe, to hope, to know," &c. The
ld High German still accords to this kind of construction
tolerably extensive use (see Grimm, IV. 116.); *e.g.*, Notker,
sih saget kot sîn ("*se deum esse dicit*"); Tat., *ih weiz megin
n mir ûz gangan* ("*novi virtutem de me exiisse*"); Hymn.,
nsih erstantan kelaubamês ("*nos resurgere credimus*").

884. We now turn to a nearer examination of the Greek
ıfinitive, and must therefore first of all recall to remem-
rance the point of comparison, which we have already
btained (p. 1223 G. ed.) between the Vêdic infinitives in
! and the Greek in σαι. If this comparison be based on a sure
ɔundation, we have, in the termination αι [G. Ed. p. 1287.]
f forms like λῦσαι, τύψαι, a genuine, and, as it were, Sanscrit
ative termination, while the common Greek datives are
ased on the Sanscrit locative (see §. 195.). It is the more
nportant to remark this, as all other Greek infinitives,
artly in their common form, and partly in their oldest
ɔrm, end in αι, and therefore may be regarded as old
atives which are no longer conscious of their derivation
ıd their original destination to express a definite case-
elation, and hence can be used as accusatives and
ɔminatives, and, in combination with the article, as geni-
ves also. Exactly in the sense of Sanscrit datives (which
ost usually express the causal relation), and, as it were,
representatives of the Vêdic infinitive datives like
tav-é, "in order to drink, on account of drinking," appear
e Greek infinitives in sentences like ἔδωκεν αὐτὸ δούλῳ
ῥῆσαι; ἄνθρωπος πέφυκε φιλεῖν; ἦλθε ζητῆσαι, ("on account
the searching"); ἐμοὶ θυομένῳ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα οὐκ
ἐγνετο τὰ ἱερά (Xen. Anab. II. 2. 3.). As regards the for-
al development or gradual defiguration, we must antedate
e form in ε-μεναι (*e.g.* ἀκου-έ-μεναι, εἰπ-έ-μεναι, ἀξέ-μεναι), as
ɔoint of departure for the infinitives in ειν, and that in μεναι

for the forms in *ναι* (as *διδό-ναι*, *τιθέ-ναι*). By dropping the case-termination *αι*, which had become unintelligible, there arose from *ε-μεναι*, first *ε-μεν* (*ἀκου-έ-μεν*, *εἰπ-έ-μεν*, *ἀξέ-μεν*), and hence, by casting out the *μ*, *ειν* (Æol. *ην*, *ἄγην*, Dor. *ω. ἄγεν*) for *ε-εν*. The conjugation in *μι* shews also, in the common dialect, by forms like *τιθέ-ναι*, *ἱστά-ναι*, *διδό-ναι*, *δεικνύ-ναι*, that the termination *αι* is essential to the infinitive: thus the perfect infinitives (*τετυφ-έ-ναι*), and the passive aorist infinitives, which, according to their form, belong to the active (*τυφ-θῆ-ναι*, *τυπ-ῆ-ναι*), exhibit however, in the epic language, for the most part the full form *μεναι*.

[G. Ed. p. 1288.] 885. As regards the origin of the forms in *μεναι*, I formerly thought ("Conjugations-system," p. 55) of deriving this *μεναι* from the suffix *μενο*=Sanscrit *mâna* of the participle middle and passive, so that *αι* would have taken the place of the *ο* of *μενο* like an adverbial termination. The derivation of an abstract substantive, which the infinitive is from a participle, could not be a matter of surprise; but it would be strange, in the case before us, that the infinitives in *μεναι*, &c., should be entirely excluded from the middle and passive, with the exception of the aorists with active form. If the infinitives in *μεναι*, *μεν*, *ναι*, *ν*, belonged to the middle or passive, their connection with the participles *μενο* would, in my opinion, be placed almost beyond doubt: as active infinitives, however, I now prefer to derive them from the Sanscrit suffix *man*, which forms abstracts (see §. 796.); and I place them as sister-forms over against Latin abstracts like *certa-men*, *sola-men*, *tegu-men*, *regi-men* (see p. 1083, §. 801.), the *n* of which, in the Greek formations in *ματ*, is corrupted to *τ*, which however, does not hinder a particular branch of this family of words, viz. the infinitives, from asserting its right to a more ancient place by a firm retention of the old *n*, while the vowel has undergone the favourite weakening to *ε*. In Greek, therefore, the originally identical suffixes

τ, μον (§. 797. 801.), μεν, which flow from one and the me source, have the same relation to one another, as gards their vowel, that forms like ἔτραπον, τέτροφα, τρέπω, ve to each other with reference to their radical vowel. at this class of abstract substantives has been ori- ally far more numerous in Sanscrit than in the con- ion of the language which has been bequeathed to us m the classic period, is proved by the circumstance, that, th in the Vêdic dialect and in Zend, formations of this t occur which are wanting in common Sanscrit: in the dic dialect, *e.g.*, *háv-î-man*, "the calling;"* [G. Ed. p. 1289.] *-man*, "going;" *dhár-man*, "support" (Yajurv. 9. 5.): in nd ϳαϛϕαϙαϙ *staθman*, "the praising" (Sanscrit root *stu*, "to aise"); and Burnouf, Journ. As. 1844, p. 468, translates its tive ϰϳαϛϕαϙαϙ *staθmainê*,† by "*pour célébrer.*" The Celtic nguages also testify to a very extensive use of the forms मन् *man* in the sense of pure abstracts, at a time ante- r to the separation of languages. To them correspond sh abstracts in *mhain* or *mhuin* (see Pictet p. 103); *e.g.*, *n-mhuin*, "engendering, begetting;" *gein-ea-mhuin*, irth, conception" (Sanscrit *ján-man*, *ján-i-man*, "birth"); *ll-a-mhuin*, "a promise, vow" (*geall-a-mhna*, "a promise, omising"); *gaill-ea-mhuin*, "offence;" *lean-mhain*, *lean-a-hain*, "following, pursuing;" *olla-mhain*, "instruction" *l-i-m*, "I instruct"); *scar-a-mhain*, *scar-a-mhuin*, "separa- n." The abstracts of this kind are brought nearer to e Greek infinitives in μεν, μεναι, in that some of them are ually used in Scottish-Gaelic as infinitives, at least Stewart es among the rarer infinitive forms two also in *mhuin*, *gin-mhuin*, "to beget," and *lean-mhuin*, "to follow." ere are in the Gaelic dialects also infinitives in *mh*; *e.g.*,

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* With î for *i* as conjunctive vowel, root *hu* from *hvê*, see p. 1221 G. ed.
† Another reading for the *staomaêni*, mentioned above (§. 518. p. 737, te *), which I looked upon as an erroneous reading for the locative.

886. Should the Greek infinitives in μεν
tions of μεναι, but have originally co-exi
case-relations, we must assume that the
which are formed according to Sanscrit
have been simply designed to express th
(cf. §. 854.), and that the forms in μεν, ε
bases, were appropriated to the designati
tive and nominative relation; that, howeve
ing of the termination in μεν-αι had been
language, the forms in ν and ν-αι have b
rently by the language. I here recall
displacement of personal terminations, and
in places which do not belong to them, e
passive (see §. 468.†), as also of the exaltati
tive plural to the universal plural termin
while in Italian the nominative termin
been extended to all cases, but in Umbr
the dative ablative plural, which is more
has become the termination of the accusa
in the said dialect terminates in *f* (= San
bus).§ In English the pronominal fo
"whom," which, in their origin, are dati

see p. 485) have assumed an accusative meaning, and, in order to express the dative relation, require the help of the preposition "to." As regards the infini- [G. Ed. p. 1291.] ive in particular, it must further be remarked, that the Vêdic infinitives in *dhyâi*, which usually denote the causal relation which belongs to their evidently dative termination (see §. 854.), occasionally occur also with an accusative signification. Thus we read in the Yajurv. 6. 3. *úśmasi gámadhyâi*, "we will go." In Latin the infinitives in *re*, if the explanation given above (§. 856.) be correct, have become altogether untrue to their original destination, and appear only in the accusative or nominative relation; while the Old Prussian infinitives in *twei*, which are likewise known as dative forms, express only the accusative relation (see p. 1249 G. ed.).

887. In favour of the opinion, that the difference between the Greek infinitives in *ν* and *ναι* is organic, so that both forms, which in the present condition of the language are of the same significance, originally belonged to different case-relations, we must allow weight to the circumstance, that in no other place of Greek Grammar do we meet with an entire abolition of the diphthong *αι* at the end of a word; as in general, in other languages also, the diphthongs do not admit of being discharged so easily as the simple vowels, because, before their utter absorption, the path is open to them to surrender one of the two elements of which they are composed. Universally, where the Sanscrit Grammar exhibits an *ê* (=*ai*, see §. 688. p. 917) at the end of the inflexions, the Greek preserves either *αι*, for example, in the medio-passive personal terminations (*μαι, σαι, ται, νται*=*mê, sê, tê, ntê*), or *οι*, as in the plural nominatives of masculine bases in *o* (*e.g.* Dor. *τοί*=Sanscrit *tê*, Gothic *thai*, see §. 228.), and in one single termination *α*, viz. in the personal termination *μεθα*=Sanscrit *mahê* from *madhê*, Zend *maidhê* (§. 472.). In general, the Greek per-

[G. Ed. p. 1292.] tinaciously retains the final vowels, and has not allowed the removal of any of the simple vowels but the lightest of all the primary ones, viz. *i*, and this too but very seldom, perhaps only in the 2d person singular of the principal tenses (διδω-ς = *dádâ-si*, see §. 448.); while in Latin and Gothic the *i* has disappeared from the personal terminations: the Gothic, indeed, has even dropped the entire diphthong *αι* in the dative singular, since the Gothic singular datives, with the exception of those of the feminine pronouns, as has been pointed out above (p. 500, §. 356. Remark 3.), are in fact void of termination, so that, *e.g.*, *sunau*, "*filio*," corresponds to the Sanscrit *sûnáv-ê*; *auhsin* (theme *auhsan*) "*bori*," to the Sanscrit *úkṣhaṇ-ê*.

888. It remains for me only further to explain the Greek infinitives of the middle and passive in *σθαι*, which I think I was before (p. 659, §. 474.) wrong in explaining. They share the termination *αι* with the active infinitives like λι-σαι, τύψαι, τιθέ-ναι, τιθή-μεναι, ἀκου-έ-μεναι, τετυφ-έ-ναι. I recognise the base of the passive or middle signification in the σ, which I now look upon as the reflexive, the original σ of which has, in οὗ, οἵ, ἕ, become the rough breathing (see §. 341. p. 476), but before θ it occupies such a position that it could retire into a weak aspirate. But if the sibilant of forms like λέγ-εσ-θαι, τίθε-σθαι, belongs to the reflexive, these forms are in this respect, based on the same principle as the Latin like *amari-er*, *legi-er* (see §. 477.). In general, a passive or middle infinitive, which was unknown to our great family of languages in its primæval period, would have been the easiest and most natural to acquire by affixing the reflexive, as the Lithuanian, too, transfers to the infinitive also the *s* appended to its reflexive verbs, *e.g.*, *wadin-ti-s*, "to name oneself" (see §. 476. p. 662). Similar is the procedure of the

[G. Ed. p. 1293.] Northern languages, in which the reflexive in forms like the Swedish *taga-s*, "to be taken" (from *taga*

:o take"), is quite as unmistakeable as in the indicative
ge-s (in the three persons singular, see Grimm, IV. p. 46).
Greek forms like λέγεσθαι, the reflexive lies the more
lden, because it is not appended to the termination of
e active infinitive; and, moreover, there exists no active
finitive in θαι or ται from which σθαι might have sprung, as
ove (§. 474.), *e.g.*, δίδοσθον from δίδοτον. Moreover, in the
finitive no personal termination can be looked for; and we
rst not, therefore, in respect of the θ in forms like δίδοσθαι,
arch for any analogy with such as δίδοσθον, δίδοσθε, διδόσθω.
oreover, we cannot regard the θ of the middle passive
finitives as a formative suffix; for it would be unnatural
interpose between the root and the formative suffix of
abstract substantive a pronominal element to express a
flexive or passive relation; which would be as though
om the Sanscrit infinitive and Latin supine *dâtum*, *datum*,
: should look for a reflexive *dâstum*, *dastum*. Hence,
erefore, in departure from the conjecture I before ex-
essed, I now recognise in the syllable θαι of the infini-
es under discussion an auxiliary verb, and, indeed, the
ne that we recognised above (§. 630.) in the aorists in
-ν and futures in θή-σο-μαι, with which are connected our
m and the Gothic *da*, *dêdum*, of forms like *sôkida*, "I
ght (made seek"), *sôkidêdum*, "we sought (made seek")
e §. 620.). In Old High German, an infinitive *suoh-*
an ("to make seek"), together with the actually ex-
ing *suoh-ta* (for *suoh-teta*), "I sought (made seek"),
uld not surprise us; and just as little strange would it
if the Greek ζητεῖσθαι were, according to the explana-
n which has been given, to signify literally "to make to
ek oneself" (="to be sought"). It may here remain
decided whether the reflexive be appended after the
eme of the said tense of the principal [G. Ed. p. 1294.]
rb, or inserted before the auxiliary verb; whether,
erefore, we should divide thus, *e.g.*, τύπτεσ-θαι, τύπ-σασ-θαι,

τετύφ(σ)-θαι,* τύπ-σεσ-θαι, or τύπτε-σθαι, &c. The root θη= *dhâ* of the auxiliary verb is in these compounds represented simply by its consonant; for the diphthong αι is, as in the active infinitive, a case-termination, where we must recall attention to the circumstance, that the Sanscrit root also, *dhâ*, "to set, to make," which corresponds to the Greek θη (from θᾱ), as also all other roots in *â* when they appear without a formative suffix as adjectives of common gender at the end of compounds, drop their final vowel before case-terminations beginning with a vowel; and hence, from *dhâ*, "placing, making," comes the dative *dhé* (=*dhai*, Greek θαι). The root *dhâ* appears as an abstract substantive of the feminine gender in *śrad-dhâ*, "belief," properly, "belief-placing," or "belief-making," the dative of which, according to the universal principle of feminine bases in long *â*, is *śrad-dhâyâi*. In compounds with prepositions other naked roots in *â* also occur as abstract substantives, *e.g.*, *â-jñâ* and *anu-jñâ*, "command," *prati-jñâ*, "promise," *pra-bhâ*, "lustre." *Dhâ*, in the Vêdic dialect, with the preposition *ni*, forms *nidhâ* (see Benfey Gloss.), which should properly signify "laying down," but has become an appellative with the meaning "net." As the root *dhâ* enters combinations more easily than other roots, and is suited for use as an auxiliary,† the conjecture

[G. Ed. p. 1295.] is not far fetched that it also has its share in the formation of the Vêdic infinitives in ध्यै *dhyâi* discussed above (§. 854.); whether it be that this *dhyâi* be

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* The accumulation of consonants dislodged this reflexive σ, according to the analogy of §. 543.

† Cf. Zend yaôsch-dâ, "to make purify" (§. 637.), *śnâdha*, "to make wash" (p. 993), Latin *ven-do* (§. 633.), Greek πλή-θω (Pott, E. I., p. 187), πέρ-θω. The first part of πέρ-θω answers to the Zend *pĕrĕ*, "to annihilate" (see Burnouf, Yaçn. p. 534, and Benfey, Gr. R. L. II. p. 362), whereto belong also the Latin *per-do* and *per-eo* (as *ven-do* compared with *ven-eo*).

ı abbreviation of *dhây-âi*, as dative of *dhâ*, or that the *â*
' the root in this composition has been weakened to *î*, for
hich the weight added by compounding may easily have
ven occasion.* The strictly feminine dative termination
, of infinitives like *píb-a-dhyâi* would be better established
cording to this, than if, according to an earlier attempt
explanation, *dhi* were taken as formative suffix, and the
ı as a distortion of *t;* as the feminine bases in short *i*, in
e dative, more frequently exhibit *ay-ê* than *y-âi*, while
olysyllabic feminine bases in *î*, and in general those in a
ng final vowel, never exhibit *ê*, but only *âi*, as the dative
aracter. But if in the Vêdic infinitives in *dhyâi* is in-
olved the root *dhâ*, and in the Greek in *σ-θαι* the corre-
onding root *θη*, there arises hence a remarkable affinity of
rmation between यजध्यै *yaj-a-dhyâi*, "in order to venerate,"
nd *ἄζ-ε-σθαι*, which is also radically identical with it (cf.
nd. Bibl. III. 102.), which, however, could not induce me
o recognise, with Lassen, in the Vêdic forms the infinitive
f the middle; for in the first place they want the sibi-
ant, which is so important an element [G. Ed. p. 1296.]
n the Greek medio-passive infinitives; and secondly, the
Vêda-texts which have intermediately appeared have not
urnished us with the means of perceiving any nearer re-
ation of the forms in *dhyâi* to the middle. I should pre-
er to regard the possible affinity of formation of the San-
crit and Greek infinitives in *dhyâi*, *σ-θαι*, in no other

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* Cf. the passives, as *dhî-yátê*, *pî-yátê*, for *dhâ-yátê*, *pâ-yátê*. I here
urther call attention to the Vêdic *dhî*, "work, action," which occurs,
aigh. 2. 1., under the words signifying *karman*, "action," and perhaps,
s such, is to be referred, not like *dhî*, "understanding," to the root *dhyâi*,
to think," but, as an anomaly of another kind, to *dhâ*, "to make." Al-
hough, then, this *dhî*, as a monosyllabic word, forms, in the dative, *dhiyê*
r *dhiyâi*, this does not prevent the supposition that it, in a primæval, as
were privileged composition, may follow the principle of the polysyllabic
minine bases in *î*, and may, after the analogy of *nadyâi*, form also *dhyâi*.

light than this, that the two languages, after their separation, accidentally coincided in an analogous application in the infinitive of a mutually common auxiliary verb; which can little surprise us, as this verb is well fitted in signification to enter combinations with other verbs, and to obtain the appearance of inflexions; and hence it occurs also in other members of our great family of languages in compounds more or less obscured. If, however, this auxiliary verb was once gained in Greek for the infinitive of the middle and passive, and, in its obscured nature, had once assumed the function of an inflexion, then the root ΘΗ combined itself with itself in combining with *σ-θαι*, just as in the aorist and future, with *θη-ν*, *θη-σομαι*.

889. We have one more Sanscrit gerund to speak of, which indeed, as such, stands isolated in Sanscrit, but with respect to its formation, presents many coincidences with the European sister-tongues; I mean, the gerund in *ya*.* Its signification is the same with that in *tvá*, but it occurs almost only in compound verbs; while in the present condition of the language, as it appears to me, *tvá*, on account of its heavier form, avoids verbs encumbered with

[G. Ed. p. 1297.] prepositions. The following are examples of gerunds in य *ya*: *ni-dhâya*, "after (with, through) laying down;" *anu-śrútya*, "after hearing;" *nir-gámya*, "after going out;" *ni-víśya*, "after going in;" *prati-bhídya*, "after cleaving;" *â-túdya*, "after impinging." I also consider these gerunds as instrumentals, and, indeed, according to the Zendian principle (see §. 158.); so that, therefore, e.g. *nidhâya* stands for *nidhâyâ*, from *ni-dhâya-â*. I have already expressed this opinion in the Latin edition of my Sanscrit Grammar (p. 250), and found it confirmed since then through Fr. Rosen's edition of the first book of the Rig-

* Roots with a short final vowel receive the affix of a *t*. The accent rests on the radical syllable.

vêda, in so far that there instrumentals from bases in *a* actually occur, which are distinguished from their base only by the lengthening of the final *a*;* so that, according to this principle, one would have to expect from a base *nir-gamya*, "the going out," an instrumental gerund *nirgamyâ*, while before, with regard to the non-insertion of a euphonic *n*, I could only refer to the Vêdic *svapnayâ* (for *svapnêna*), analogously to which, for *nirgamya* the form *nirgamyayâ* would be required.

890. If one assumes that the abstract substantives which are to be presupposed for the gerund under discussion were neuter, then they would have an exact counterpart in the Latin *od-iu-m*, *gaud-iu-m*, *stud-iu-m*, *diluv-iu-m*, *dissid-iu-m*, *incend-iu-m*, *excid-iu-m*, *obsid-iu-m*, *sacrific-iu-m*, *obsequ-iu-m*, *colloqu-iu-m*, *praesag-iu-m*, *contag-iu-m*, *connub-iu-m*, *conjug-iu-m*; as in Sanscrit, therefore, [G. Ed. p. 1298.] nearly all compounds. In Greek, ἐρείπ-ιο-ν, ἀμπλάκ-ιο-ν, ἁμάρτ-ιο-ν belong to this class.

891. The Sanscrit forms also, by the neuter suffix *ya*, abstracts out of nominal bases, the final vowel of which is suppressed, with the exception of *u*, which receives Guna; while the initial vowel is usually augmented by Vṛiddhi (see §. 26.), and accented; *e.g.*, *mấdhur-ya-m*, "sweetness," from *madhurá-s*, "sweet;" *nấipuṇ-ya-m*, "skill," from *nipuṇá-s*, "skilful;" *śấukl-ya-m*, "whiteness," from *śúkla-s*, "white;" *chấur-ya-m*, "theft," from *chôrá-s*, "thief." Hereto admirably correspond, with respect, also, to the suppression of the final vowel of the primitive base, the Gothic neuter

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* *E.g.*, *mahitvấ* (Rigv. I. 52. 13.), "through greatness," from *mahitvá* (Vêd. *máhi*, "great," suffix *tva*); *mahitvaná* (85. 7.), id. (*mahi*, suffix *tvana*, see p. 1216 G. ed.); *vṛiṣhatvấ* (54. 2.), "through rain" (abstr. from *vṛíṣhan*, "rainer"). This analogy is followed also by the Vêdic *tvấ*, "through thee" (see Benf. Gl. p. 155, and cf. the Marāṭhī *tvâ*, see p. 1162 G. ed.) for *tváyâ*.

bases of abstract substantives like *diub-ya*, "theft," from *diub(a)-s*, "thief" (see §. 135.); *unlêd-ya*, "poverty," from *unlêd(a)-s*, "poor;" *galeik-ya*, "resemblance," from *galeik(a)-s*, "like;" *unvit-ya*, "ignorance," from *unvit(a)-s*, "foolish;" *hauhist-ya*, "height," from *hauhist(a)-s*, "the highest." In the nominative accusative, according to §. 153., the *a* of the suffix *ya* is suppressed, and *y* vocalised to *i*; hence, *diubi*, *unlêdi*, &c. The following are Latin abstracts of this kind: *mendac-iu-m*, *artific-iu-m*, *princip-ium*, *consort-iu-m*, *jejun'-iu-m*, *convîv'-iu-m*. This class of words is more scantily represented in Greek by forms like *μονομάχ'-ιο-ν*, *θεοπρόπ'-ιο-ν*. There belong, however, also to this class, though with their meaning perverted, words like *ἐργαστήρ-ιο-ν*, *δικαστήρ-ιο-ν*, *ληστήρ-ιο-ν*, *ναυπήγ-ιο-ν*; and from bases in *ευ* such as *τροφεῖο-ν*, *κουρεῖο-ν*, with, as it appears, digamma suppressed, for *τροφέϝ-ιο-ν*, *κουρέϝ-ιο-ν*.

892. In Old Sclavonic corresponds the neuter suffix ИЄ *iye* (euphonic for *iyo*, see §. 255. n., p. 325), so that the vowel corresponding to the semi-vowel is also prefixed to it, while, however,

[G. Ed. p. 1299.] in Russian it is wanting; ВѢСЕЛИЄ *veseliye*,* "joy," (Russian весе́лie *veselie*) from ВѢСЕЛЪ *vesel'*, "joyful." Abstracts in АНИЄ *aniye*, ЕНИЄ *eniye*, ѢНИЄ *yeniye*, ТИЄ *tiye*, are formed with the suffix under discussion from the perfect passive participle in a similar manner as in Old High German are formed; *e.g. farlâzanî*, "abandonment," *erwelitî*, "choice," with the feminine form of the suffix ꙗ *ya*, out of the participle belonging to the conjugation of the verb referred to; *e.g.* ЧАѦНИЄ *chayaniye*, "expectation," from ЧАѦНЪ *chayan'*, "he expects;" ѪВЛЕНИЄ *yavleniye*, "unveiling," from ѪВЛЕНЪ *yavlen'*, "he discovers;" ПИТИЄ *pitiye*, "the drinking," from ПИТЪ *pit'*, "drunken." With this suffix are formed also collectives in the Sclavonic languages as in Sanscrit; *e.g.* in

* See Miklos., Radices, p. 8. Dobrowsky (p. 283) writes ВѢСЕЛІЄ, and similarly in the other examples given p. 282 of this class of words.

ssian Дрεвïе *drevie*, "many trees," from Дрεво *drevo*, "a e." So in Sanscrit *kâíśya-m*, "hairs," from *kêśás*, "hair."
893. In Lithuanian, which has lost the neuter gender of stantives, the class of words under discussion has be- ne masculine; and then, according to §. 135, the syllable is contracted before the nominative sign *s* to *i*, and the al vowel of primitive bases, as in the sister-languages, suppressed; and thus, with regard to the nominative, it pears as though the simple change of *a* or *u* into *i* could m an abstract from an adjective. Cf. *e.g.*,

yód'-i-s, "blackness,"	with *yóda-s*, "black;"	
ilg'-i-s, "length,"	with *ilga-s*, "long;"	
karszt'-i-s, "heat,"	with *karszta-s*, "hot;"	
szalt'-i-s, "coldness,"	with *szalta-s*, "cold;"	
aukszt'-i-s, "height,"	with *áukszta-s*, "high;"	
rúgszt'-i-s, "sourness,"	with *rúgsz-tu-s*, "sour;"	[G. Ed. P. 1800.]
daug-i-s, "multitude,"	with "*daug*," "many," indecl.	

several of the oblique cases the *a* of these abstracts, which suppressed in the nominative, is, by the euphonic influence the preceding *i*, changed to *e* (cf. §. 157. p. 174, Note*); nce, *e.g.*, *ilgie-ms*, "*longitudinibus*," compared with *ilga-ms*, *ngis*." Primitive abstracts also are formed in Lithu- ian by the suffix *ia*, euphonic *ie*, nominative *i-s*: these respond, therefore, exclusive of their vocalisation of the ni-vowel to *i*, tolerably well to the Sanscrit gerundial es in *ya*; *e.g.*, *půl-i-s*, "fall" (*půlu*, "I fall"); *musz-i-s*, low" (*muszu*, "I smite"); *kandi-s*, "bite" (*kandu*, "I e").
894. The feminine form of the suffix य *ya*, viz. या *yâ*, ms primitive abstracts with the accent on tho suffix; *e.g.* *ŕyâ*, "travelling;" *vidyâ*, "knowledge;" *śayyâ*,* "the

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From *śé-yâ*, with irregular Guna; as, *e.g.*, in *śê-tê'*=κεῖ-ται. The *y* he suffix acts like a vowel, hence *ay* for *é*=*ai*.

lying." Hereto admirably correspond Gothic abstract feminine bases in *yô* (*ô*=*â*, §. 69.), nominative *ya* or *i*;* for example, *vrakya*, "pursuit" (gen. *vrakyô-s*), corresponds also radically to the before-mentioned व्रज्या *vrajyâ*, with a tenuis for a medial, according to §. 87. The other abstracts of this formation which have been retained to our time are, *brakya*, "strife," (properly, "breach"); *hrôpi*, "clamour;" *haiti*, "command;" *usvandi*, "environs." Observe, that *vrakya*, *brakya*, and *us-vandi* (gen. *usvandyô-s*), have retained the true radical vowel, and hence correspond, not to the weakened present (*vrika*, *brika*, *vinda*), but to the

[G. Ed. p. 1301.] monosyllabic forms of the preterite. So *bandi*, "band, fetter;" *fôtu-bandi*, "leg-iron;" on the other hand, *ga-bindi*, "band," with the extremest vowel-weakening of the present, and *ga-bundi*, id., with the middle vowel-weight of the polysyllabic forms of the preterite and perfect passive participle. An inorganic extension of the base with *n* (see §. 142.), is found in *rath-yô* (gen. *yôn-s*), "reckoning, account;" *sakyô*, "strife;"† *vaih-yô*, "contest" (*vriya*, "I contend"); *ga-run-yô*, "overflowing" (*rinna*, *rann*, *runnum*).

895. In the Sclavonic languages the class of feminine abstracts, which in Sanscrit is formed direct from the root by the suffix या *yâ*, is pretty numerously represented: it ends in old Sclavonic in the nominative in ꙗ *ya*; *e.g.* ВОЛꙗ *volya*, "will;" ЖЕЛꙗ *schelya*, "mourning;" КОУПЛꙗ *kûplya* (л euphonic), "business." In Lithuanian the *a*-sound

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* The contraction of *ya* to *i* occurs, if preceded by a naturally long vowel, or one long by position, or if one simple word of more than one syllable precedes (cf. §. 135. &c., Gabel. and Löbe, p. 61). The latter case, however, does not occur in the class of words under discussion.

† Cf. the Gothic root *sak*, from *sag*, according to §. 87., with the Sanscrit सञ्ज् *sañj*, "*affigere*," with *abhi* (*abhishañj*), "*maledicere, objurgare;*" *abhishanga-s*, according to Wilson, 1. "a curse or imprecation," 2. "an oath," 3. "defeat," 4. "a false accusation," &c.

this suffix has been usually changed by the euphonic fluence of the semi-vowel to *e*, but the semi-vowel is itlf dropped (cf. p. 174, Note *, and §. 137.), except in the nitive plural in *iû* or *yû* (see Ruhig's 3d declension). ere belong, for example, feminine abstracts; as, *srowê*, lood" (*srauyu*, "I bleed," Sanscrit *sráv-â-mi*, "I flow," reek ῥέω); *źinnẽ*, "the knowing, knowledge" (*źinnau*, "I ow"); *painẽ*, "entangling" (*pinnu*, "I plait"); *naktinẽ*, "the keeping watch by night" (*ganau*, "I watch"). n the other hand, *ia* is found in *pradźia*, "beginning" *ra-de-mi*, "I begin"), for which, in Sanscrit, *pra-dhâ-yâ* ould be to be expected.*

896. The Latin formations of this class [G. Ed. p. 1302.] feminine verbal abstracts in *ia* or *iê* (see §. 137.) like e neuter in *iu-m*, and the Sanscrit gerunds in *ya* are r the most part compounded (see §. 890.); *e.g.*, *inedia*, *vidia* (if not from *invidus*), *vindemia*, *desidia*, *insidiæ*, *exbiæ*, *exsequiæ*, *diluviê-s*, *perniciê-s*,† *esuriê-s*. The following e examples of formations of this kind: *pluvia*, *scabiê-s* roperly, "the itching"), *rabiê-s*. With the inorganic affix an *n*, and the substitution of an *ô* for *â*—as, *e.g.*, in the ffix *tôr* = *târ*, τηρ, §. 647., and in *môn* = *mân*, μων, §. 797.—e Sanscrit suffix *yâ*, in some abstract feminine bases, has een modified to *iôn*; and these, therefore, correspond to

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* The Lithuanian form has suppressed the radical vowel before the ffix, otherwise it would be *pra-de-ya*, as the semi-vowel *y* between two wels in Lithuanian, as in Latin, has remained, but after consonants, cepting *p*, *b*, *w*, *m* (Mielcke, p. 4), has been changed to the vowel *i*. before *i*, with a vowel following, becomes *dź* (=*dsch*, Sanscrit ज *j*): e *i*, however, is scarcely pronounced.

† Without a base verb, for it has hardly sprung from *perneco*, as verbs the 1st conjugation have produced no abstracts of this kind. The dically-cognate Sanscrit *náśyami*, "I go to ruin," would lead us to exct a Latin verb of the 3d conjugation, as *nacio*, *necio*, or *nocio* (cf. x, *noceo*).

the above-mentioned (§. 894.) Gothic bases in *yôn*, nominative *yô*; thus *con-tagiô, -iôn-is, suspiciô, obsidiô, ambagiô, capiô*, as in Gothic *rathyô*, genitive *rathyôn-s*, &c. In Greek ιᾱ corresponds as exactly as possible to the Sanscrit ष्य *yâ*, but is, however, in the primary formation, but rather weakly represented. The following are examples: πενία, μανία, ἁμαρτία, ἁμπλακία. In verbs in ευω (see §. 777.), which especially favour this kind of formation of the abstract, the υ is lost before the suffix, but probably first passed, on account of the vowel following, into *F*; thus, *e.g.*, ἀριστεία from ἀριστεϝία. More frequent is the appearance of the suffix ιᾱ (ε-ιᾰ) as a means of formation of denominative abstracts, in forms like εὐδαιμον-ία, ἡλικ-ία, μακαρ-ία, ἀνδρ-ία, σοφ'-ία, κακ'-ία, δειλ'-ία, ἀγγελ'-ία, ἀναγωγ'-ία, στρατηγ'-ία, ἀλήθεια,*

[G. Ed. p. 1303.] ἄνοια (ἀνο'-ια). To these denominative abstracts correspond in Latin, such as *capac-ia, feroc-ia, infant-ia, præsent-ia, inert-ia, concord-ia, inop-ia, perfid'-ia, superb'-ia, barbar'-ia; pauper-iê-s, barbar'-ie-s; un'iô(n), fal'-iô(n), commun'-iô(n), rebell'-iô(n).*

897. The Old High German has in all cases, except the genitive plural (*heilô-n-ô* for *heilyô-n-ô* see §. 246.), dropped the vowel of the Sanscrit bases in *yâ*, which the Gothic has surrendered only in the nominative singular under the circumstances stated above (§. 894., Note *), and has changed

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* The bases in ες (see §. 128.) lose their final consonant, as in the oblique cases; thus, ἀλήθεια from ἀληθεσ-ια, as ἀληθέ-ος from ἀληθεσ-ος. The combination of the ι of the suffix with the preceding ε or ο of the base word is the occasion of shortening the final α. The Homeric ἀληθείη also testifies to the original length of the α of such formations. In analogy with the phenomenon that bases in *s* suppress this consonant before the suffix *ia*, is the phenomenon that bases in *n*, in Sanscrit, suppress not only this consonant, but also the preceding vowel before vowels and the *y* of a derivative suffix; hence, *e.g.*, *râj-ya-m*, "kingdom" (Gothic *reik-i*, theme *reik-ya*, "dominion," from *reik(a)-s*, "ruler, supreme one"), for *râjan-ya-m*, from *râjan*, "a king."

semi-vowel into the corresponding long vowel (see mm's 2d strong decl. fem.), to which, in the dative plural, case-sign *m* (or *n*) is attached.* To this class belong nearly the words of Grimm's 2d declension feminine of the ng form (I. p. 618), which, like the Gothic 3d weak declen- feminine, with the exception of the formations in *nissi*, ains almost only abstracts, which have been formed ı adjectives (participles included), with the suffix cor- onding to the Sanscrit आ *yâ*; as, *e.g.*, [G. Ed. p. 1304.] -*î*, "cold," *warm*-*î*, "warmth," *hôh*-*î*, "height," *huld*-*î*, ıce," *nâh*-*î*, "nearness," *scôn*-*î*, "fairness, beauty," -*î*, "sweetness," *still*-*î*, "stillness," *tiuf*-*î*, "depth," *î*, "redness," *suarz*-*î*, "blackness," from the adjective s *chalta*, "cold," *warma*, "warm,"† &c. I call especial ıtion to the abstracts arising from passive participles, esponding to the Sanscrit in *ta* and *na*, and formed the suffix under discussion, which, irrespective of er, accord with the Sclavonic abstracts mentioned e (§. 892.); as, питие *pitiye*, "the drinking;" чаяние *ıniye*, "expectation." The following are examples of High German abstracts of this kind: *er-welit*-*î*, "choice," *xehsalôt*-*î*, "alternation," *vir-terhinêt*-*î*, "pretext," *var-* -*î*, "abandoning," *ar-haban*-*î*, "elevation," *êrist-poran*-*î*, mogeniture," from the participial bases *erwelita* (nom. &c., *varlâzana* (nom. -*nêr*), &c. The formations in *nî* nm, II. 161. 62.) are much more numerous than those

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conjecture that the *i* is long also in the dative plural, thus *heilî-m*, as ng vowels maintain themselves better before a final consonant than end of a word. Compare the conjunctive forms like *âzi*, opposed s, *âzît*, *âzîn* (see §. 711. p. 944.).

lom. masc. *chaltê-r*, *warmê-r*, with the pronominal affix of the declension (see p. 368, §. 288. Rem. 5.). At the beginning of com- ls stands either the true base in *a*, or, and indeed more generally, se mutilated by the removal of *a*; *e.g.*, *mihila-mot* and *mihhil*'-*mot*, nanimous" (Graff. II. 694.). Of this more hereafter.

so interpreted as that any should found on i
of a special affinity between those languages
Sanscrit suffix य *ya*, feminine या *yâ*, as a n
tion of denominative abstracts in the Euro
[G. Ed. p. 1305.] has been universally diffu
the least surprising that the Sclavonic and
usually coincide in this point, that they
suffix also for the derivatives from passive
might be possible that the Latin abstracts
were not formed, as has been before remar
G. ed.), by an extension of the suffix *ti*, but
rived from the passive participle with th
discussed above; thus, *e.g.*, *coct'-iō(n)* from
from *motu-s*, *miss'-iō(n)* from *missus*, *orbāt'-iō(*
as above (p. 1303 G. ed.), *commun'-iō(n)* from
io(n) from *unu-s*, as in Old High German
erwelita.

898. It scarcely needs mention that the *e*
like *Kälte*, ("cold"), *Wärme*, ("warmth"), i
of the *ĕ* of the analogous High German
general nearly all vowels in the final syllable
words have, in New High German, and t
early as in Middle High German, been
Without attention however to the interm

ows" (from *gó*); *pâśyâ*, "a number of cords" (from *pâśa*);
which correspond the Greek *ἄνθρακ-ιά*, *μυρμηκ-ιά*, *σποδ'-ιά*.
n High German this class of collectives has become neu-
er, as in Sclavonic (see §. 892.); and hence the suffix *ya*
Old High German has, in the nominative and accusative,
een contracted to *i* (cf. Gothic, §. 159), while in New High
erman it is either suppressed or turned into *e*. Before the
ase word is prefixed the preposition *ge*, "with," (Old High
erman *ga*, *gi*, &c.): hence, *e.g.*, Old High German *gafugil'-i*
or *-ali*), "*complexus avium*," from *fugal*, theme *fugala*, "a
rd" (Middle High German *gevügele*, New High German
gevögel); *gabein'-i*, "bone, *ossa*;" *gabirg'-i*, "mountain,
ountains;" *gafild'-i*, "fields," (properly, "many fields,"
agri, *arva*"); *gadarm'-i*, "entrails;" [G. Ed. p. 1306.]
stein'-i, "stones;" *gistirn-i*, "stars." As regards the re-
tion of the *e* of our abstracts like *Kälte* to the Sanscrit
, this corruption answers exactly to that in the conjunc-
ve of the preterite, where, *e.g.*, *ässe* corresponds to the
ld High German *âzi* and Sanscrit *ad-yấ-m*, *ad-yấ-t* (see
711. p. 944.): on the other hand, the Old High German *î* of
altî coincides with the contraction which the Sanscrit
self experiences in the middle of the potential, where, *e.g.*
l-î-máhi (from *ad-yâ-mahi*, see §. 675.), corresponds to the
othic *êt-ei-ma*, and Old High German *âz-î-mês*. The
nglo-Saxon has, in the class of denominative abstracts
der discussion, dropped the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit
, and weakened the vowel to *o**; hence, *e.g.*, *hælo*, "health,"
ldo, "grace," *yldo*, "age," compared with the Old High
erman *heilî*, *huldî*, *altî*. The Gothic has further added
inorganic *n* to the य *yâ* contracted to *ei* (=*î*, see
70.), which, in the nominative, is laid aside, according to

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* Probably from an earlier *u*; as, *e.g.*, in the final syllable of *sĕofon*, 7,
r Gothic *sibun*, Sanscrit *saptan*; and in the plural of the preterite, *e.g.*,
ron=Gothic *fŏrum*, 3d person *fŏrun*.

§. 142.* Hence, *e.g.*, *hauh'-ei(n)*, "height;" *diup'-ei(n)*, "depth;" *lagg'-ei(n)*, "length;" *braid'-ei(n)*, "breath;" *manag'-ei(n)*, "multitude;" *magath'-ei(n)*, "virginity," *παρθεν'-ία*, from the bases *hauha* (nom. m. *hauhs*), &c., and the substantive base *magathi* (nom. *magaths*). Moreover, from weak verbal themes in *ya* (Grimm's 1st conjugation) spring abstract bases in *ein*, in which the verbal derivative in *ya* (= Sanscrit *aya*) is dropped before the abstract suffix *ein*; hence, *e.g.*, *ga-aggv-ei(n)*, "hemming in," from *ga-aggvya*, "I narrow;" *bairht'-ei(n)*, "announcement," from *bairhtya*, "I announce;" *vaia-mêr-ei(n)*, "burthening," from *vaia-mêrya*, "I burthen."† The inorganic *n* of this class of words occurs also occasionally in Old High German, but has here at the same time found its way into the nominative (see Grimm, I. 628.).

[G. Ed. p. 1307.]

899. With the suffix *ya*, feminine *yâ*, future passive participles also are formed in Sanscrit, which, for the most part, accent the radical syllable, but some the suffix, with the weaker accent (Svarita). The latter kind of accentuation occurs only in roots which terminate in a consonant (including the syllable *ar*, which is interchanged with *ri*

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* In departure from §. 142., I now think that the cases in which the Gothic *ein* corresponds to the Sanscrit feminine character *î* ought to be limited to the classes of words mentioned in §. 120., since in the *ei* of the class of words here discussed we must recognise a contraction of *ya*, after the analogy of the conjunctives; such as *ét-ei-ma*, "we ate"=Sanscrit *ad-yấ-ma*, Latin *ed-î-mus* (§. 711. p. 944).

† There are in Old High German also verbal abstracts of this kind only that the inorganic *n* is dropped; *e.g.*, *mend'-i*, "joy," from *mendôn*, "*gaudeo*" (cf. Sanscrit *mand*, "*gaudere*"); *touf'-i*, "baptism," from *toufiu*, "I baptize." Observe, that in Sanscrit also the character of the 10th class and of the causal forms is suppressed before certain formative suffixes, while properly only the final *a* of *aya* ought to be suppressed (see §. 109ª. 6.); *e.g.*, before the gerundial suffix *ya*, with which we are here most concerned, *ay* is usually suppressed; *e.g.*, *ni-véd-ya*, "after the giving up," for *ni-véd-ay-ya*.

d which are either long by nature (length by position :luded), or are in this class of words, to which also belong pellatives, which, according to their fundamental mean- ;, are future participles, augmented by Guna or Vṛiddhi.* least *â*, *i.e.* the heaviest of the simple vowels, before o consonants in this class of words admits a different id of accentuation; whence it is clear that the language re seeks to avoid the combination of the greatest vowel- ight with that of the strongest accent in one and the same lable. The following are examples: *gúhya-s*, "*celandus;*" *ya-m*, subst. "a secret;" *íḍya-s*, "*cele-* [G. Ed. p. 1308.] *ndus;*" *śáṅsya-s*, "*laudandus;*" *dṓhya-s*, "*mulgendus*" (root h); *dṛiśya-s*, "*spectandus*" (root *darś*, *dṛiś*, see §. 1.); *chḗya-s*, *lligendus*" (root *chi*); *stávya-s* and *stâvyà-s*, "*laudandus;*" *jyà-s*, "*edendus;*" *bhôjyà-m*, subst. "food" (root *bhuj*); *hyà-s*, "*coquendus*" (root *pach*); *ni-vâryà-s*, "*arcendus*" ot *var*, *vṛi*, cl. 10.); *vâkyà-m*, "discourse," as "to be spo- ı;" *kâryà-m*, "business," as "to be done" (root *kar*, *kṛi*); *ryâ*, "a spouse," as "to be supported, to be cherished" ot *bhar*, *bhṛi*); Zend [illegible] *vahmyô* (theme *-ya*), "*in- ndus.*"† To these admirably correspond some Gothic

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In the technical language of grammar this participial suffix, in case ccents the Svarita, and provided the radical vowel is augmented, is d ण्यत् *ṇyat*.

From the denominative *vahmayêmi*, with the suppression of the cha- r of the 10th class; as in Sanscrit, *e.g.*, *ni-vâryà-s*, "*arcendus*," from *âr-áyâ-mi*. No formal objection can be raised to the explanation n by Burnouf (l. c. p. 575), according to which *vahmya* would come t from the base *vahma*, "*invocatio.*" I prefer, however, that a form h evinces itself by its signification to be a future passive participle ld be also formally so explained, in which, as is shewn by the analo- forms in Sanscrit, there is no difficulty. Neriosengh, too, regards [illegible] *vahmya*, as also the *yaśnya* which accompanies it, of which after, as the future passive participles (Burn., p. 572), and translates former by *su-namaskaraṇîya* ("*bene adorandus*"), and the latter by *lhanîya* ("*venerandus*").

adjective bases in *ya*, which, as has been already elsewhere remarked, are to be sought in Grimm's 2d adjective declension of the strong form (in Gabel. and Löbe, p. 74). Here we find the bases *anda-nêm-ya*, "agreeable," properly, "*accipiendus*;"* *unqvêth-ya*, "inexpressible" (root *qvath*, *qvitha*, *qvath*, *qvêthum*); *anda-sêtya*, "contemptible, horrible" (root *sat*, "to sit," *sita*, *sat*, *sêtum*, *and-sat*, "to be bashful"); *skeir-ya*, "clear, plain, intelligible" (*gaskeir-ya*, "I explain"); [G. Ed. p. 1309.] *un-nut-ya*, "useless," properly, "unenjoyable" (root *nut*, "to obtain, to enjoy," *niuta*, *naut*, *nutum*); *brûk-ya*, "serviceable;" *un-brûk-ya*, "unserviceable;" *riur-ya*, "destructible, perishable, transitory" (*φθαρτός*); *un-riur-ya*, "imperishable, *ἄφθαρτος* (*riurya*, "I mar"); *sût-ya*, "mild," properly, "*gustandus*" is identical with the Sanscrit *svâd-yà-s* of *â-svâd-yà-s*, "*gustandus*," "*jucundi saporis*,"† and akin to *svâdú-s*, "sweet" (Greek *ἡδύ-ς*, Old High German *suozi*, "sweet," in the uninflected form), theme *suozia* = Gothic *sûlya*. Among substantives, the neuter base *basya*, "berry" (n. a. *basi*), belongs to this class, if it corresponds, as I conjecture it does, to the Sanscrit *bhákṣh-ya-m*, "food," properly, "to be eaten" (from *bhakṣh*, "to eat," Greek *φάγω*), and has lost the guttural of the root, in the same way as, *e.g.*, in Zend, the Sanscrit *akṣhi*, "eye," has been abbreviated to *ashi*. In the Old High German *beri* (theme *berya*), the *s* has become *r*, as, *e.g.*, in *wârumês*, "we were" = Gothic *vêsum*.

Remark.—The theory of the nominative singular of the adjective bases in *ya*, feminine *yô*, admits, now that we have before us the remains of the Gothic translation of the Bible in von Gabelentz and Löbe's edition, and, moreover, the Skeireins edited for the first time by Massmann, of

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* From the root *nam* (*nima*, *nam*, *nêmum*). With regard to the lengthening of the radical *a* to *ê* (=Sanscrit *â*, see §. 69.) in this and analogous forms, compare Sanscrit forms like *pâchyà-s*, "*coquendus*."

† Root *svad* (seemingly from *su*, "well," and *ad*, "to eat"), "*gustare*," middle "*jucunde sapere*."

more exact survey than was before possible; and so in the masculine, stead of the one form in *i-s*, which, following Grimm, I gave in §. 135., e possess in all four different gradations; for which Gabelentz and Löbe ramm., p. 74) give as examples, *sûtis*, *hrains*, *niuyis*, and *viltheis*. The ore perfect form *yi-s*, for the, according to §. 67., impossible *ya-s*, cur when any vowel, or a simple consonant with a short vowel preceding it, goes before; hence, *niu-yi-s*, "new;" *sak-yi-s*, "quarrelsome." ence, also, from the base *midya*, the nominative masculine, which cannot be cited, can only be *midyi-s* (=Sanscrit *mádhya-s*, Latin *mediu-s*), t *midi-s*, as was assumed above (§. 135.), as the contracted form of an rlier *midyis*. As, then, *midyi-s* corresponds to the [G. Ed. p. 1310.] nscrit *mádhya-s*, so does *niu-yi-s* to the Sanscrit *náv-ya-s* and Lithuan *nau-ya-s*, which are equivalent in signification; and thus, there- re, *niuyi-s* shews itself to be a future passive participle; for नव्यस् *v-ya-s*, according to its derivation, can only be regarded as such, as it, ke the more current *náva-s*,* on which the Latin *novu-s*, Greek *νέ(F)ο-ς*, d Sclavonic *novo* (theme and n. a. neut.), are based, springs from the ot *nu*, "to praise," and originally signifies "*laudandus*." Formally it rresponds to the above-mentioned *stávya-s*, from *stu*. If the syllable s in Gothic adjective bases be preceded by a long syllable terminating a consonant, it is contracted in the nominative masculine either to *ei*, in similarly constituted substantive bases (see §. 135.), or to *i*, or it is, is most commonly the case, entirely suppressed. Instances of the first ind are forms like *alth-ei-s*, "old," and *vilth-ei-s*, "wild;" of the second, l-i-s,† "mild," and *airkn-i-s*, "holy;" of the third, *hrain-s*, "pure," main-s, "common," *gafaur-s*, "fasting," *brûk-s*, "serviceable," *bleith-s*, kind," *andanêm-s*, "agreeable." To this class belong *alya-kun-s*, ἀλλογενής (Luke xvii. 18); for which, on account of the indubitable shortss of the *u*, *alya-kun-yi-s* might be expected: it appears, however, at the loading of the word by composition, or, generally, the circumance, that in the entire word more syllables than one precede the

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* This is the accentuation at least in the Vêda dialect: according to Wilson, however, who gives this word the suffix *ach* (*ch* denotes the accentuation of the suffix), this adjective would, in the common language, oxytone, as most of the adjectives formed with *a* (see Wilson's Grammar, 2d Edition, p. 310).

† Grimm assuredly, with correctness, deduces the length of the *u* from e Old High German *suozi*. If it were short the nominative would most obably be *sutyis*.

suffix *ya*, has occasioned the suppression of the suffix in the nominative (cf. §. 135.)*.

[G. Ed. p. 1311.] 900. The Lithuanian also has some remains of the future passive participle under discussion, but

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* V. Gabelentz and Löbe (Grammar, p. 74) assume, in the class of adjectives here spoken of, bases in *i*, though, with respect to the corresponding substantive declension, they agree with me that the same contains bases in *ya*. With regard to the adjectives, however, the cognate languages, and the oblique cases of the Gothic itself, speak just as emphatically in favour of the proposition that the bases of Grimm's 2d declension of the strong form end in the masculine and neuter in *ya*, and in the feminine in *yô* (=Sanscrit *yâ*), whence, according to §. 137., we should have *ya* in the nominative. The agreement of *niuyi-s*, "*novus*," *niuya*, "*novum*," with the Sanscrit *návya-s*, *návyâ*, and the Lithuanian *nauya-s*, *nauya*, and that of *midyi-s*, *midya*, with the Sanscrit *mádhya-s*, *mádhyâ*, and Latin *mediu-s*, *media*, speaks very decidedly against the opinion that the *y* of the Gothic forms is an insertion (l. c. p. 75, d. e.). Just so the *y* of the base *alya* (nominative, most probably, *alyi-s*) is identical with the Sanscrit *y* and Latin *i* of *anyá-s*, *aliu-s* (§. 374.). I cannot allot to this class feminine nominatives in *s*, as the feminine bases, which in Sanscrit terminate in *â*, have, from a period so early as that of the identity of languages, lost the nominative sign (see §. 137.). I regard, therefore, the forms *brûks*, "serviceable," *sêls*, "good," and *skeirs*, "clear," although in the passages where they occur they refer to feminine substantives (1 Tim. iv. 8, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, Skeir. IV. b.), as masculine nominatives, which, in consequence of a peculiarity of syntax, represent adverbially, as we use uninflected adjectives (*er ist gut*, *sie ist gut*, "he is good, she is good"), the nominative of that gender, whatever it may be, to which the substantive referred to belongs. Thus, as has been elsewhere shewn (Nalus, 2d Edit., p. 214), in Sanscrit the masculine nominative singular of the present participle may, by an abuse, refer to any gender or number, in sentences like *bhîmâ sântvayan . . . uvâcha*, "Bhaimî spake flattering" (for *sântvayantî*); and, in like manner, in Ulfilas (Rom. vii. 8.), the masculine participial base *nimands*, "taking," refers to the feminine substantive *fravaurhts*, "sin," to which, in the very same passage, also the masculine *navis*, "dead," refers: *inu vitôth fravaurhts vas navis*, "without the law sin was dead." The actual feminine nominatives of *brûks*, &c., could scarcely be aught else than *brûki*, *sêli*, *skeiri*, according to the analogy of substantive forms, with

nly in a substantive form. To this class [G. Ed. p. 1312.] elong *walg-i-s* (from *walg-ya-s*, see §. 135.), "food," as "to be aten" (*walgau*, "I eat"); *źod-i-s* "word," as "to be spoken" cf. *źad-a-s* "speech," *źadu* "I promise," Sanscrit *gad*, "to speak"). In Latin, *ex-im-iu-s*, properly = *eximendus*, is, according to its signification, the truest remnant of this class of words. Formally, *gen-i-us* also, and *in-gen-iu-m*, belong to this class. To the latter corresponds, in root and formation, the Gothic neuter base *kun-ya*, nominative *kuni*, "sea." In Greek, ἄγ-ιο-ς (originally akin to ἄζω) corresponds to the Sanscrit *yâj-yà-s*. "*venerandus*." From a Greek point of view the following are more plain: στύγ-ιο-ς, φρύγ-ιο-ς, πάγ-ιο-ς. Πάλλα, "ball" as "to be thrown," is to be derived, I conjecture, from παλγα, by assimilation,* in the same way as πάλλω from παλγω, but with this difference, that while the λ of πάλλω is based on the Sanscrit character *ya* of the 4th class,† and hence is excluded, *e.g.*, from the abstract πάλο-ς, the λ of πάλλα corresponds to the य् *y* of the participial suffix under discussion. Πάλλα, therefore, and πάλλω, with regard to the consonant which follows the root, have just as little in common as, *e.g.*, in Sanscrit, *lôbh-ya-s*, "*deside-*

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with a long penultima, as *hrópi*, "clamour" (see §. 894. Note). Such a form have we then actually existing in the, of its kind, unique adjective form *vóthi*, "*grata*" (nom. masc. probably *vôths*), where it is important to remark, that, in the single passage where it occurs (2 Cor. ii. 15), it does not stand, like the masculines *brûks*, *sêls*, *skeirs*, which represent in the before-mentioned passages the feminine, as predicate, but as epithet, "we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ" (*Christaus dauns siyum vóthi* weis). I do not believe that Ulfilas could here have written *vôths* for *vóthi*; and I consider the latter form as feminine nominative in the said passage entirely free from suspicion, provided the unciteable masculine nominative be *vóths*, or, according to the analogy of *sûtis*, *vôthis* (cf. Gabelentz and Löbe, l. c.).

* See p. 414, G. ed., §. 300.

† See §. 501.

randus," and *lúbh-ya-tĕ*, "*desiderat*." I agree with G. Curtius ("*De nominum Græcorum formatione*," p. 61) in referring to this class also *φθί-δ-ιο-ς* and *ἀμφά-δ-ιο-ς*, as also *ἐκτά-δ-ιο-ς*. The inserted *δ* may be compared with the *t* which, after short vowels, is prefixed to the Sanscrit gerundial suffix त्य *ya*, or, which is here more to the purpose, with that of some ap-

[G. Ed. p. 1313.] pellatives, which, according to their fundamental meaning, are future passive participles; as, *chí-t-ya-m*, "funeral-pile," properly "*colligendum*" (from *chi*, "to collect"); *bhṛí-t-ya-s*, "servant," as "to be supported," from *bhar*, *bṛi*, "to bear, to support, to nourish." To this class, according to its formation, belongs, although with active signification, the Greek *στά-διο-ς*, properly "standing" (cf. *στα-τός* = *sti-tá-s*).

901. The Greek *ιο* is of more common occurrence as the formative suffix of denominative adjectives (Buttmann, §. 119. 67.) than in the primary formation of words; and here, likewise, has its Sanscrit prototype in the secondary (Taddhita) suffix of words like *dív-ya-s*, "heavenly," from *div*, "heaven;" *hṛíd-ya-s*, "amiable, agreeable," from *hṛid*, "heart;" *ágr`-ya-s*, "the most excellent" ("standing on the summit"), from *ágra-m*, "summit;" *dhán`-ya-s*, "rich," from *dhána-m*, "wealth;" *śún-ya-s*, "canine," from the weakened base *śun* = Greek *κυν*; *ráth`-ya-s*, "car-horse" ("belonging to the car"); *ráth`-ya-m*, "car-road," from *rátha-s*, "car;" *yaśasyà-s*, "famous," from *yaśas*, "fame;" *rahas-yà-s*, "secret," from *ráhas*, "mystery;"* *nâv-yà-s*,

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* In the two last examples the demission and weakening of the accent is occasioned by the circumstance that the suffix is preceded by more than one syllable; with which may be compared the phenomenon, that, in Gothic, the same suffix, under the same circumstances, experiences in the nominative a contraction or suppression (see §. 135.). In *nâv-yâ-s* (Pan. VI. 1. 213.) the long *â* has the same influence in weakening the accentuation that, in Gothic, *e.g.*, the *û* of *sûti-i-s*, has in weakening the suffix.

'navigable," from *nâu-s*, "ship." The following are examples in Zend: *nmân'-ya*, "*domesticus*," from *nmâna*, "house; *ahuir'-ya*, "regarding the Ahura" with Vṛiddhi), from *ahura*; *yâir-ya*, "yearly," rom *yârĕ*, "a year;" *gaôschdâthr'-a*, "purifying, purifier," from *yaôschdâthra*, 'means of purification" (§. 817.); *gaêith'-ya*, "earthly," from *gaêthâ* (nom. *gaêtha*, see §. 137.), "earth." [G. Ed. p. 1314.]

So in Greek, *e.g.*, *ἄλ-ιο-ς*, *ἀγών-ιο-ς*, *ἡγεμόν-ιο-ς*, *πάτρ-ιο-ς* =Sanscrit *pítr-ya-s* "fatherly"), *σωτήρ-ιο-ς*, *φιλοτήσ-ιο-ς*, from *-τητ-ιο-ς*), *θαυμάσ-ιο-ς* (from *θαυμάτ-ιο-ς*), *ἑκούσ-ιο-ς* (from *ἑκόντ-ιο-ς*), *τέλειο-ς* (from *τελέσ-ιο-ς*, see §. 128.), *ἐπιτήδειο-ς* (from *ἐπιτηδέσ-ιο-ς*), *ὄρειο-ς* (from *ὀρέσ-ιο-ς*), *γέλοιο-ς* (from *γελώσ-ιο-ς* for *γελώτ-ιο-ς*), *ἐτήσ-ιο-ς* (for *ἐτέσ-ιο-ς*, from the base *ἐτες*, whence also *ἔτειο-ς*), *οὐράν'-ιο-ς*, *ποτάμ'-ιο-ς*, *θαλάσσ'-ιο-ς*, *κόν'-ιο-ς*, *λύσ'-ιο-ς*, *φύξ'-ιο-ς*, *ἀσπάσ'-ιο-ς* (from the to-be-presupposed verbal abstract *ἀσπασι-ς*), *πήχυ-ιο-ς*, *τριπήχυ-ιο-ς*, *δίκαιο-ς*, *ἀκμαῖο-ς*, *ἀμαξαῖο-ς*, *ἀμοιβαῖο-ς*. The four last examples, as most of the derivatives from words of the 1st declension, depart from the original principle in this, that they retain the final vowel of the base (always as *α*, as in the nom. pl.) before the suffix. The diphthong which grows up in this manner occasions, in most cases, the displacement of the accent, in which respect I recall attention to a similar phenomenon in Sanscrit (see §. 899.). The retention of the *υ* of *πήχυιος* and *τριπήχυιο-ς* answers to the retention of the *u* in Sanscrit (§. 891.), *e.g.* in *ritav-yà-s*, "annual," from *ṛitu-s*. Here belong also gentilia like *Σαλαμίν-ιο-ς*, *Κορίνθ'-ιο-ς*, *Μιλήσ'-ιο-ς* (from *-τ'-ιο-ς*), *Ἀθηναῖο-ς*; proper names, as *Ἀπολλών-ιο-ς*, *Διονύσ'-ιο-ς*; neuter appellations of temples and sanctuaries called after the god to whom they are dedicated, as *Ἀπολλώ-νιον*; names of feasts in the plural, as *Διονύσ'-ια*; and perhaps feminine names of countries derived from the names of their inhabitants, as *Αἰθιοπ-ία*, from *Αἰθίοπ-ς*, *Μακεδον-ία*, from the base *Μακεδον*. To the proper

[G. Ed. p. 1315.] appellatives, and also
The following are examples: *egreg-iu-s*, *
tor-iu-s, *prætor-iu-s*, *censor-iu-s*, *soror-iu-s*, *s*
(from *ludu-s*, not from *ludo*), *Mar-iu-s*, *Oct*
Non`-iu-s*, *Non`-ia. As regards the app
tries in *ā* in Greek, and their relation to *
inhabitants, attention must be recalled to *
that above (§. 119.) we have recognised th
simple extension of the Sanscrit femin
among other words, in feminines in *τρια*
pared with the Sanscrit in *trí* (*dâtrí*, "fe
§. 811.): accordingly, the names of count
also be taken as simple feminine format
words expressing the names of the inha
therefore, *e. g.*, *Μακεδονία* would appear in
as *Makadan-í*, and would properly signify
to," not to say "the spouse," of the Ma
"the mother" of all the Macedonians.
receive emphatic support from the circum
are also names of countries with feminine
d of which,=Sanscrit *í*, has the same relatio
word denoting the inhabitant, as above (

nination is only an inorganic extension of the Sanscrit eminine character *í*, we might also explain in the same nanner the Latin, as *Gallia, Germania, Italia, Græcia*, and ssume that the *n* (=Sanscrit *a*, Greek *o*) of the masculine ases *Gallu, Germanu, Italu, Græcu*, is suppressed before he feminine character *i*, extended to *ia*, according to the ame principle as that by which, in Sanscrit, the *a*, *e.g.*, of *évá*, "God" (nom. *dévá-s*), is suppressed [G. Ed. p. 1316.] efore the *í* of *dévî*, "goddess," and as, in Greek, the *o*, *e.g.*, f the base Δακο is lost before the feminine ια of Δακ'-ία. Ve can, even in the names of towns, *Florentia, Valentia, Pla-ntia*, recognise feminine participles, the special form of hich has been lost in the proper participles, as, in general, he adjective bases ending in a consonant have transferred o the feminines also the form which originally belongs nly to the masculine and neuter. Feminine participial orms like *ferentia, tundentia*, compared with the Sanscrit *bháranti, tudánti*, and Greek φέρουσα, from φεροντια, cannot urprise us in Latin. Observe, also, the affix which, in ithuanian, the feminine participle has gained in the blique cases (see §. 157., Note*, p. 174, and §. 980.).

903. To the Sanscrit denominative adjective bases in *ya*, *dív-ya*, "heavenly" (§. 901.), correspond most exactly me Gothic bases in *ya*, feminine *yô*; viz. *alêv'-ya*, "*olivifer*," om the primitive base *alêva* n., nom. *alêv*, "oil;" *alth'-ya*, old," from *althi* f., nom. *alth'-s*; *nau'-ya*, "dead" (nom. m. *nis*), from *navi* m., nom. *naus*, "dead" (m.); *ana-haim'-ya*, homely;" *af-haim'-ya*, "absent," from *haimô* f., nom. pl. *imô-s*; *reik'-ya*, "chief," from *reika* m., nom. *reiks*, "su-reme, chieftain;" *uf-aith-ya*, "sworn," from *aitha* m., nom. *th-s*, "oath;" *in-gard-ya*, "homely, domestic," from *garda*, m. *gards*, "house;" *un-kar'-ya*, "careless," from *karô* f., m. *kara*, "care." The definitions laid down above (p. 1309 ed., Rem.), hold with respect to the nominative masculine these adjective bases. To the Sanscrit denominative

appellative bases like *ráth'-ya*, m. "car-horse," n. "car-wheel," correspond in Gothic such as *leik-ya*, "doctor" (nom. *leik-eis*, see §. 135.), from *leika* n., nom. *leik*, "the body;" *haird'-ya*, "herdsman," from *hairdô* f., nom. *hairda*, "herd;" *blóstr'-ya*, "worshipper," from the unciteable primitive base *blôstra* (see §. 818.); *faurstass'-ya*, "superintendant," from

[G. Ed. p. 1317.] the unciteable *faurstassi*, "the superintendence" (from *-stas-ti*, *s* from *d*, according to §. 102.), nom. *faur-stass* (cf. *us-stass*, "resurrection"); *ragin'-ya*, "counsellor," from *ragina* n., (nom. *ragin*, "counsel"). The Gothic marks also with the favourite extension of the base by *n* masculine bases like *fisk'-yan*, "fisher" (nom. *fiskya*, according to §. 140.), *gud'-yan*, "priest," *vaurstv'-yan*, "labourer," *aurt'-yan*, "planter, gardener," *vai-dêd'-yan*, "malefactor," from the primitive bases *fiska*, m. "fish," *guda*, m. "God," *vaurstva*, n. "work," *aurti*, f. "plant," and the to-be-presupposed *vai-dêdi*, f. "misdeed" (*dêdi*, nom. *dêds*, "deed," see §. 135.). There are also some primitives, i.e. substantive bases, in *yan*, springing from verbal roots, which, according to their signification, are nouns of agency; viz. *af-êt-yan*, "eater, devourer" (root *at*: *ita*, *at*, *êtum*); *af-drugk-yan*, "drinker, tippler;" *vein-drugk-yan*, "wine-drinker" (root *dragk* = *drank*: *drigha*, *dragk*, *drugkum*); *dulga-hait-yan*, "creditor," (literally, "debt-namer"); *bi-hait-yan*, "boaster;" *arbi-num-yan*, "heir," literally, "inheritance-taker" (root *nam*: *nima*, *nam*, *nêmum*, *numans*); *faura-gagg-yan*, "intendant" (root *gagg*, "to go," see §. 92.); *ga-sinth-yan*,

[G. Ed. p. 1318.] "companion," properly, "goer with."*

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* Root *santh*, whence we should expect an unciteable verb *sintha*, *santh*, *sunthum* (see Grimm, II. p. 34); and whence, also, is formed by the suffix *an* (nom. *a*), *ga-sinthan*, of equivalent meaning, which answers to Sanscrit bases like *râjan*, "king," as "ruler." The causal *sandya*, "I send" ("make to go," see §. 740.), has the same relation, with regard to its *d*, to *santh*, that *standa*, "I stand," has to *stôth*, "I stood." Yet the *d* of *sandya* is more organic than the *th* of *santh*, at least *sand* can be more

m weak verbs, too, spring some formations of this
l, and, indeed, so that the conjugational character is re-
:d before the formative suffix (cf. p. 1308 G. ed.): hence,
-*yan*, "piper," from the verbal base *svigl*, "to pipe;"
timr`-*yan* (scarcely to be divided *timry-an*), "carpenter,"
erly, "*ædificator*," from *timrya*, "to build." To the
s in *yan* which spring from roots of strong verbs cor-
ond in Sanscrit, exclusive of the appended *n*, besides
e adjective bases, as *rúch-ya*, "pleasing, agreeable," *sádh-*
"complete," also some masculine or neuter appellative
s in *ya*, which, according to their fundamental mean-
are nouns of agency or present participles, and accent,
e the radical syllable, some the suffix. The following
examples, of which I annex the nominatives: *súr-ya-s*,
: sun," as "shining;"* *bhíd-ya-s*, [G. Ed. p. 1319.]

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easily compared with the Sanscrit than *santh*, whether we betake
lves to the root *sádh*, "to go, to attain," or to *sad*, "to go;" for
h we find, in Gothic, regularly *d*, and the pure medial, which, accord-
o §. 87., becomes *t*, might well have maintained itself in the case
s us under the protection of the annexed liquids (cf. §. 90.).

The Indian Grammarians assume a root *sur*, "to shine," which I
d as a contraction of *svar*, which is contained entire in the radical
svàr, "heaven" (as "shining"), on which is based the Zend *hvarĕ*,
." According to this, in *súrya* the syllable *va*, or its lengthened
vá, would be contracted to *ú*. If, however, *sur* were the old form
: root, its vowel would have become lengthened in *súrya*. The Greek
s (from *σϜήλιος*) favours, however, the supposition that the form
-*s* is an abbreviation of *svârya-s*. As regards form, there would be
ng to prevent the derivation of *súrya* from *svàr*, "heaven:" from
then would be formed, first *svarya* (as *dívya*, "heavenly," from *div*),
hence *súrvya-s*; I gladly, however, abandon this explanation, which
een already elsewhere proposed, as it appears to me more natural to
sent the sun as "shining," than as "heavenly." The Lithuanian
ine *sáulẽ* exhibits correctly, according to rule, *ẽ* for *ia* or *ya*: I ex-
the Gothic neuter base *sauila* (nom. *sauil*) as formed by transposi-
rom *saulia*, and this latter from *svalya*; and thus, also, the Lithua-
au of *saulẽ* may have arisen from *wa*. If any one, however, will
follow

"river," as "cleaving, breaking through;" *śal-yá-s*, "javelin, arrow," as "moving itself." To these are to be added some

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follow Weber (V. S. Sp. I. p. 57) in deriving the Sanscrit *sū́rya* from *sū́ra* of equivalent meaning, and the latter, according to Indian Grammarians, from *sû*, "to bear, to bring forth" (Uṇâd. II. 35.), then *sū́rya-s* and *sū́ra-s* would originally signify, "bringer forth, producer." I, however, prefer, as has been already elsewhere done (Glossar. Scrt. a. 1847, p. 379) to refer *sū́ra*, though there is no formal impediment to the deriving it from *sû*, to the root *svar* (*sur*), "to shine;" and I recall attention to the fact, that in Zend, too, 𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬆 *hvarĕ* (euphonic for *hvar*, see §. 30.), the syllable *va* has been contracted to *û* in perhaps all the weak cases, of which, however, only the genitive *hûr-ô* can be cited, which hereby stands in a relation to its nominative accusative and proper theme similar to that which the Greek κυν-ός holds to κύνω, and cannot possibly be derived from a different root from that to which the nominative accusative *hvarĕ* belongs. On स्वर् *svàr* is based also the Latin *sol* (from *suol* for *suar*, as *sopio* from *suopio*, from the Sanscrit root *svap*) and the Greek σείρ, from σϜερ with that favourite affix before liquids, ι, which occurs also in Σειρήν, which, with the Latin *ser-mo*, belongs to the Sanscrit root *svar*, *svṛi*, "to sound," whence comes the Vêdic *sûayā́*, "speech," as "spoken," or "to be spoken," and in which likewise occurs the contractraction of *va* or *vâ* to *û*. The opinion that *sū́ra-s*, "sun," springs from *sû* or *su*, "to bear, to produce," finds confirmation in the fact, that another appellation of the sun, viz. *sav-i-tā́r* (*-tṛî*), has decidedly arisen from the root *su* or *sû*. This word occurs frequently in the Vêdic hymns: I would not, however, from the circumstance that the Vêdic poets delight in extolling the sun-god as "producer" (of the produce of the fields), as also as "supporter" (*pûṣhan*), deduce the inference that the proper designation of the sun, which existed so early as the time of the unity of the languages, must have pointed towards this image; for it certainly approximates more to the primary view of people to designate the sun as "lighting," or "shining," than as "producing," or "nourishing." To the Sanscrit names of the sun belongs also the hitherto unciteable *súvana-s* (Uṇâd. II. 78.), which, as a derivative from the root *su* or *sû*, is perhaps only a poetical and honorific title of the sun. It may, however, be possible, that the root which lies at the base of the word *súvana-s* is not the well-known root of "to bear," but an abbreviation of *svar* or *sur*, "to shine;" as, *e.g.*, together with *hu*, "to offer," exists also a root *hu*, "to call," abbreviated from *hvê* (=*hvai*), together with *śvi*, "to grow," a form

eminine oxytone bases in *yá*; *e.g.*, *kanyá*, "a [G. Ed. p. 1320.]
naid," as "shining" ("in the lustre of youth"), from *kan*, "to
hine;" *jâyá*, "spouse," as "having children" (for *janyá*, root
n). The following are examples in Zend: 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀 *běrěz-ya*,
growing," or, with a causal signification, "making to grow;"*
𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬌𐬀 *mair-ya*, "slaying" (making to die), [G. Ed. p. 1321.]

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rm *śu*; and in Zend, together with 𐬵𐬁𐬎 *zan*, "to strike," a form *za*,
hence 𐬉𐬨𐬵𐬁𐬎𐬌𐬎 *upâ-zôiṭ*, "let him strike" (cf. §. 699.); and together
ith 𐬫𐬁𐬯 *jîv*, "to live," the forms 𐬫𐬁 *jî*, 𐬵𐬁 *zî*, and 𐬫𐬁𐬀𐬀 *jyâ*. Might
e assume, together with *svar*, *sur*, "to shine," a root *su*, of the same
eaning, I should derive from it the appellation of the moon too, *sṓ-ma-s*,
hich would therefore develope a radical in affinity with the Greek σελ-ήνη
rom σ(Ϝ)ελ-ήνη); while another *sṓ-ma* (the Sôma-plant) belongs to a
fferent root *su*, which signifies "to express." If *súvana-s* be a genuine
ppellation of the sun, it will admit of comparison with the Gothic base
unan (nom. *sunna*), by assimilation, from *suvnan*, for *suvanan*. But if
e Sanscrit *súvana-s* originally signify "producer," I would rather derive
e Gothic base *sunnan* (also *sunnôṅ*, fem.) from *svarnan* or *surnan*; and
is, in like manner, by assimilation, so that it would be based on the root
र *svar*, *sur*, "to shine, to be light," and *nan* for *na* would be the for-
ative suffix, the feminine form of which is contained in the Latin term
o for the moon (*lu-na* from *luc-na*).

* Root *bărěz*, *běrěz* (cf. *barěz-nu*, "great") =Sanscrit *varh*, *vṛih*, "to
ow" (see Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 185). I have no scruple in assigning,
th Anquetil, to this root, in the passage referred to (V. S. p. 4), a
sal signification; and I recall attention to the fact, that in Sanscrit
, especially in the Vêda dialect, the root *vardh*, *vṛidh*, with which
ṛih, *vṛih*, is originally one, is often used in its primitive form with a
sal signification. Above (p. 118, §. 129. L. 19.), the Zend root *běrěz*,
ɛz, is erroneously placed beside the Sanscrit root *bhrâj*, "to shine;"
participle *běrězant*, of which l. c. mention is made, signifies properly
rowing," and hence "great, high," like the Sanscrit *vṛihát* (strong *vṛi-*
d), which corresponds to it, and by which it is also occasionally rendered
Neriosengh, whose translation I was unable to procure, and of which,
n up to the present time, I only know the passages published by Burnouf
Burnouf's Review of the First Part of this Book in the "Journal
S.," 1833, p. 43, of the special impression, and Brockhaus, Glossary,
81. 82.).

"murder;"* кѣнѧ *kainé* from *kainyâ*, "maid," as "shining." In Lithuanian to this class belong, first, several masculine bases in *ia* (nom. *is* or *ys* for *ia-s*, see §. 135.); *e.g.*, *gaid-y-s* (gen. *gaidzio*, euphonic for *gaidio*), "cock," as "singing" (*gied-mi*, "I sing," Sanscrit root *gad*, "to speak"); *rysz-y-s*, "band" (*riszu*, "I bind"); *tek-y-s*, *tek-i-s*, "ram," ("leaper"); *żyn-y-s*, "sorcerer," ("knower," *żynnau*, "I know"): secondly, feminine bases, and, at the same time, nominatives in *ė*, from *ia*, as *żynė̃*, "enchantress, witch," as "knowing;" *saulė*, "sun, as "shining," though obscured from the point of view of the Lithuanian. From the Old Sclavonic we refer here, МЕДВѢДЬ *medv-yedy*, "bear," literally, "honey-eater" (theme *-yedyo*, see §. 258.), which, in Sanscrit form, would be *madh-vadya-s*, (*madhu*, "honey," before vowels *madhv*), and ВОЖДЬ *voschdy*, "guide" (euphonic for *vody*): оꙑ *ory*, "horse," leads to the Sanscrit root *ar*, *ṛi*, "to go, to run," whence *ára*, "fast."

904. We return to the Sanscrit future passive participle, in order to notice two other formative suffixes of the same, which likewise find their representatives in the European sister-languages, viz. *tavya* and *anîya*. They both require Guna, and the former has the accent either on the first syllable or on the second; in the latter case the *svarita*. The suffix *anîya* always accents the *î*; hence, *e.g.*, *yôktárya-s* (or *-yà-s*) and *yôjanîya-s*, "*jungendus*," from *yuj*. To the suffix *tavya* corresponds, in my opinion, in Latin, *tivu* (*sivu*), in Greek *τέο*: the former has preserved the form, the latter

[G. Ed. p. 1322.] the signification, more correctly; yet the

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* *Mairya* is, according to its formation, identical with the Sanscrit *mâryà*, "*occidendus*," from the causal of the root *mar*, *mṛi*, "to die" (*mârâyâmi*, "I slay," Russian *moryu*, see §. 741.), but has, in both the passages explained by Burnouf ("Études," pp. 188, 240, *passim*), as decidedly an active signification as the only, in signification, causal *bérézya*, "making to grow."

ssive signification at least is not entirely lost in the tin formations, and is visible, *e.g.*, in *captîvu-s*, *natîvu-s*, *usîvu-s* (from *abus-tivu-s*, see §. 101.), *adjectîvu-s*, *coctîvu-s*. e most true Latinization of *tavya* possible would be *iu*, whence, perhaps, came next *tĭviu* (by the favourite akening of *a* to *i*), and thence *tîvu*; so that either the *i* ceding the *v* would be lengthened, in compensation for pping the *i*, or the second *i* removed into the preceding lable, and united with its *ĭ* to long *î*. Compare, irrective of the direction of the meaning which the Latin fix has taken,

datîvu-s,	with	*dâ-távya-s*, "*dandus*;"
(*con*)*junc-tîvu-s*,	with	*yôk-tâvya-s*, "*jungendus*;"
coc-tîvu-s,	with	*pak-távya-s*, "*coquendus*;"
gen-i-tîvu-s,	with	*jan-i-tâvya-s*, "*gignendus*."

cording to its formation, *mor-tuu-s*, too, might be referred this class, as it answers better to the Sanscrit *mar-távya* ut. impers. *mar-távya-m*) than to *mṛi-tá-s*, from *mar-tá-s*. e Greek suffix *τέο* from *τεϝο* (for *τεϝιο*), as *νέο* from *νέϝο*= *náva*, *novu*, answers also, with respect to its accent, to Sanscrit paroxytone forms of the participle under cussion; *e.g.*, *δο-τέο-ς* to *dâ-távya-s*, "*dandus*," *θε-τέο-ς* to *i-távya-s*, "*ponendus*."

905. As, in Latin, the suffix *tîvu* has, for the most part, umed an active signification, and in Sanscrit the suffix *a*, which is contained in the suffix तव्य *tavya*, forms not y future passive participles and abstract substantives, also appellatives, which, according to their fundamental aning, are nouns of agency, and correspond to Gothic ns of agency in *yan* (§. 903. p. 1318 G. ed.), so we might, haps, recognise in the Lithuanian suffix *toya* (nom. *toyi-s*, §. 135.), which forms nouns of agency, [G. Ed. p. 1328.] ister form of the Sanscrit *tavya*, and look on *toya* as an reviation of *tauya*. To this class belong, *e.g.*, the bases

ar-tóya, "plougher" (*arù*, "I plough," Latin *aro*, Greek *ἀρόω*); *at-pirk-tóya*, "redeemer, ransomer;"* *gelb-ê-toya*, "helper" (*gelbmi*, "I help," fut. *gelb-ễ-su*); *gan-y-toya*, "protector" (*ganau*, "I protect," fut. *gan-y-su*); *gund-i-toya*, "attempter" (*gundau*, "I attempt," fut. *gund-i-su*); *mokin-toya*, "teacher" (*mokinù*, "I teach"); *pra-dễ-toya*, "beginner" (*pra-de-mi*, "I begin"); nom. *artoyis*, *atpirktoyis*, &c. In Old Sclavonic correspond nouns of agency in АТАѢ *a-taĭ* (Dobr. p. 299), theme *a-tayo* (see §. 259.); *e.g.* АОЗОѕАТАІІ *do-ʒor-a-taĭ*, "*inspector*;" ВОЗАТАѢ *vo-ʒ-a-taĭ*, "*auriga*" ("driver"; ПѕЕАЛАТАТАѢ *pre-lag-a-taĭ*, "*explorator*." These forms presuppose verbs in *ayuṅ*, infinitive *ati* (see §§. 766. 767. regarding the *ṅ*, p. 1047.).

906. I think I recognise in Gothic some interesting remains of the Sanscrit participial formation in *aníya*, as *bhêd-a-níya-s*, "*findendus*," in which remains the vowels surrounding the *n* are suppressed; thus, *nya* for Sanscrit *aníya*, in remarkable agreement with the Zend *nya*, from ⟨ydyd yéṡ-nya, or ⟨ydyd yaṡnya, "*venerandus*," "*adorandus*" (see p. 1308 G. ed., Note) = Sanscrit *yajaníya*.† To this

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* *Perku*, "I buy," pret. *pirkau*, cf. Greek *πριαμαι*, *πέρ-νη-μι*, Sanscrit *kṛî-ná-mi*, "*emo*," Irish *creanaim*, "I buy, purchase," Welsh *prynu*, "to buy," see Gloss. Sanscr., a. 1847, s. r. *kṛî*.

† The Sanscrit root *yaj* is, in Zend, either ⟨dy yaz or *yaṡ*, before *y* always *yaṡ*, as the combination *zn* was generally avoided in Zend; hence the Sanscrit *yajña*, "sacrifice," is in Zend *yaṡna*; and from this Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 575) derives the above-mentioned *yaṡnya*, which, as regards form, would suit very well. In support, however, of my view, I refer to what has been said above (p. 1308 G. ed., Note) regarding *vahmya*, and believe that if *yaṡnya* came from *yaṡna*, it would rather have the signification of the present active participle than that of the participle future passive, which Neriosengh, too, gives to it. The form *yéṡnya* rests on the common euphonic influence of the preceding and following *y* (cf. p. 963, Note *), which, however, has not penetrated throughout in this word, but the original *a* has, on the contrary, very often kept its place in it (see Brockhaus' Index, under *yaçnya*, *yaçnyanãm*, *yaçnyaêha*).

lass belong in Gothic the masculine neuter [G. Ed. p. 1324.]
ases *ana-laug-nya*, "to conceal," *ana-siu-nya*, "visible,"
nd *airk-nya*, "holy," properly, if my conjecture be rightly
ounded, "worthy of veneration"=Sanscrit *arch-aníya*,
'*venerandus*" (root *arch* from *ark*),* as above (§. 900.) the
reek ἄγ-ιο-ς=Sanscrit *yâj-yà-s*, "*venerandus*." The base
na-laugnya is arrived at through the secondary base
na-laugnyan of the weak declension, which has proceeded
rom it, whence come the plural neuter *ana-laug-nyôn-a*
1 Cor. xiv. 25), dative *ana-laug-nya-m* (2 Cor. iv. 2). On
he other hand, the strong neuter *analaugn*, which occurs
wice as nominative and once as accusative, is in so far
mbiguous, as a base *ana-laugna* would have the nearest
laim on it (see §. 153.). As, however, the suppression of
he syllable *ya* in the nominative masculine, mentioned
bove (p. 1310 G. ed.), is possible, under the same circum-
ances, also in the nominative accusative neuter (see Gab.
nd Löbe, p. 75.[a]), so the forms that have [G. Ed. p. 1325.]
een mentioned in *yôn-a*, *ya-m*, leave no room for doubt
at *ana-laug-n* stands for *ana-laug-ni*, and has *ana-laug-nya*
r its base. Just in the same way the weak neuter
nasiu-nyô, "*visibile*" (Skeir. ed. Massmann 40. 21.), proves

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* Graff, too (I. 468.), refers, with respect to the Old High German
ehan, "*egregius*," to the Sanscrit root *arch*: in Anglo-Saxon *eorcnan-stan*
gnifies "precious stone." According to the law for the mutation of
unds, we should expect in Gothic *airh-nya* for *airk-nya*, but it has re-
ined the original tenuis; as, *e.g.*, in *slêpa*=Sanscrit *svâp-i-mi*, "I
eep" (see §§. 20. 89.). Regarding the radical vowel *ai*, for *i* from *a*, see
82. The nominative *airkni-s* admits of being quoted, but the reading
not quite sure (see Gab. and Löbe on 1 Tim. iii. 3). If we ought to
ad *airkns*, this might as well come from a base *airkna* as from *airknya*
e p. 1310 G. ed.). The circumstance that the compound *un-airkn'-s*,
the plural *un-airknai* (2 Tim. iii. 2), dative *un-airknaim* (1 Tim. i. 9.),
arly refers itself to the base *un-airkna*, affords no certainty that the
me also of the simple word ends in *na*, as it often happens that words
subjected to mutilation in composition.

that the strong neuter nominative *anasiu-n** is an abbreviation of *ana-siu-ni*, and belongs to the base *ana-siu-niya*, which is also confirmed by the adverb *ana-siu-ni-ba*. At the base of all these forms lies *siu* as root, which appears to have been formed from *saihv*, by casting out the *h* and vocalising the euphonic *v* (see §. 86.) to *u*,† while the *a* of the diphthong *ai* was dropped, together with the *h*, to which it owed its existence (see §. 82.). To the abbreviated root *siu* belongs also the above-mentioned (§. 843.) abstract *siu-n(i)s*, "the looking, the regarding," which corresponds to Sanscrit formations like *lû́-ni-s*, "the cutting off." From the abstract base *siu-ni*, "the seeing," is found, by the suffix *ya* (see §. 903.), the derivative masculine base *siun'-ya*, "seer," nominative *siunei-s*, in the compound *sitba-siunei-s*, "eye witness," literally, "self-seer," *αὐτόπτης*. In Lithuanian we refer to the passive participle under discussion *kaŕs-ni-s*, "a bit," from *kaŕs-nya-s* (from the root *kand*, "to bite"); as also some words which, in the nominative, terminate in *iny-s* (from *inya-s*); *e.g.*, *raŕdiny-s*, "the found" (*randù*, "I find"); *plẽsziny-s*, "the fresh-ploughed field" (*plèszu*, "I split, plough"); *pa-suntiny-s*, "envoy" ("*mittendus*," from *sunchiu* from *suntiu*, "I send"); *kretiny-s*, "the

[G. Ed. p. 1326.] fresh manured field" (*krechiu* from *kretu*, "I manure"), *mẽ́ziny-s*, "dunghill" (properly, "cleaned out," *mẽ́žu*, *mêžiu*, "I cast out the dung"). The *i* preceding the *u*, if it does not belong to the class-syllable, so that throughout a present in *iu* would be to be presupposed, may be taken as the weakening of the *a* of the Sanscrit *aníya*.

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* See Gab. and Löbe, Grammar, p. 75. 2.) a.

† With respect to the phenomenon, that of the *hv*, for which the Gothic writing has a peculiar letter, only the unessential euphonic affix has remained, compare the relation of our interrogative *wer* ("who") to the Gothic *hva-s* (Sanscrit *ka-s*).

907. As regards the origin of the suffixes *ya*, *tavya*, and *anîya*, I hold *ya* to be identical with the relative base *ya* (see, "Influence of the Pronouns on the formation of Words," p. 26); so that, where *ya* forms the future passive participle, the passive and future relation is just as little expressed by the suffix, as the relation of passive past time or completion by *ta*, *na*. It cannot, therefore, surprise us if the suffix *ya* be also applied to the formation of nouns of agency and abstract substantives. Were it limited to the formation of passive participles, it would be more suitable to recognise therein the passive character *ya*, and to regard, *e.g.*, the syllable *ya* of भिद्यते *bhid-yá-tê*, "*finditur*," and भेद्यस् *bhéd-ya-s*, "*findendus*," as identical, though the difference of accentuation might give some cause for doubt. I agree with Pott (E. I., II. 239. and 459.) in looking upon the future passive participles formed with the suffix *tavya* as offshoots from the infinitive base in *tu;* and accordingly derive, *e.g.*, *kartávya-s*, "*faciendus*," from the base *kartu*;* as I have already before this (see p. 728) explained the suffixes *tavat*, *navat*, which are represented by Indian Grammarians to be present active participles, as arising out of the combination of the suffixes *ta*, *na*, with the possessive suffix *vat*. Pott l. c., in my opinion with justness, regards the participles in *anîya* as springing from the abstracts in *ana*, which so frequently supply the place of the infinitive. Consequently, the se- [G. Ed. p. 1327.] condary suffix *îya* would be contained therein, which, just like the shorter *ya*, sometimes has the meaning "worthy," as, therefore, *dakṣhiṇ'-îya-s* or *dâkṣhiṇ'-ya-s*, "worthy of reward," from *dakṣhinâ*, ("reward," especially of Brahmans after the performance of a sacrifice); so, *e.g.*, *bhêdan'-îya-s*, "*findendus*," from *bhêdana*, "the cleaving;" *pûjan'-îya-s*,

* Cf. *ṛitavyà-s* from *ṛitú*, p. 1314, G. ed., and §. 891.

"*honorandus, honore dignus*," from *pûjana*, "the honouring." The suffix *îya* is perhaps only an extension of *ya*, so that the long vowel which corresponds to the semi-vowel *y* is further prefixed to it. Still more certain is, in my opinion, the proposition that the secondary suffix *vya* set forth by the Indian Grammarians is to be identified with the suffix *ya*, as in the words which are apparently formed with *vya* the *v* easily admits of being explained as a portion of the primary word. Thus, for example, we may suppose a transposition of *bhrâtur, pitur*—as weakened forms of *bhrâtar, pitar*, as in the uninflected genitive of this class of words—to *bhrâtru, pitru*; and hence, by vocalization of the *r* to *ri* and change of the *u* into its semi-vowel, on account of the *y* following, deduce *bhrâtriv-yà-s*, "brothers' offspring," *pitriv-yà-s*, "father's brother;" just as, in Gothic, the plurals of the terms of relationship in *tar, thar*, spring from bases in *tru, thru* (transposed and weakened from *tar, thar*); so that, *e.g.*, *brôthriv-ê*, "*fratrum*" (cf. *suniv-ê*, "*filiorum*," from the base *sunu*), in the portion of it which belongs to the base, approaches very closely the Sanscrit *bhrâtriv-yà-s*. To *pitriv-yà-s* corresponds (with a diverted signification), as regards the form of the primary word, the Greek πατρυιός "stepfather," and, with respect to formation, also the feminine μητρυιά, for which, in Sanscrit, we should have to expect *mâtriv-yâ*. Just as, in Sanscrit, we separate the *v* from the suffix, and assign it to the primary word, so we must di-

[G. Ed. p. 1328.] vide, too, the analogous Greek words into πατρυ-ιό-ς, μητρυ-ιό-ς, and derive them by transposition from πατυρ-ιο-ς, μητυρ-ιο-ς (from πταταρ-ιο-ς, μητταρ-ιο-ς), as above (§. 253. p. 269, Note †), πατρά-σι, μητρά-σι, from πταταρ-σι, μητταρ-σι. The Zend has, in the above-mentioned (§. 137.) 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬀 *brâtur-yê*, avoided transposition. I doubt not, however, that this word, with those in Sanscrit in *triv-ya*, and the Greek in τρυ-ιο, -ια, belong to one class: moreover, the 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬀 *tûiryê*, a female relation in the 4th degree (=San-

r-íyâ, "*quarta*," see §. 323. p. 452, Note [2].),* supports the ure mentioned before, that the Sanscrit suffix *íya* is phonetic extension of the suffix *ya*, and therefore rticipial termination *aníya* also an extension of *anya* *nya*, and Gothic *nya*). I do not lay any stress for pport of this view on the, in classical Sanscrit, iso- *arêṇya*, "*eligendus*" (for *varaṇiya-s*), with which some nalogous Vêdic forms class themselves, as it scarce of any doubt that *varêṇya*, = *varainya*, is a trans- form of *varaṇíya*, just as, in Greek, *ἀμείνων* is a sition of *ἀμενιων* (see §. 300. p. 402).

After having considered the participles, infinitives, , gerunds, and some formally-connected classes of ıtives and adjectives, we now turn to the description remaining classes of words, while we treat, in the ace, of the naked radical words, then of the words with suffixes, and indeed, as regards the Sanscrit, ing to the following arrangement of the primary , some of which, however, are at the same time s secondary, *i.e.* for derivations from nominal bases.

PRIMARY SUFFIXES.† [G. Ed. p. 1329.]

â or *î*	*vya*, see *ya*, p. 1327 G. ed.
	na, fem. *nâ*, §§. 836., 838., 842.
	ni, §§. 843., 851.
	nu, *snu*

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the original a misprint occurs here which might give some trouble erman reader. We have §. 462. for p. 462. Owing to mistakes ind I have in several places been unable to verify the references.— *tor's Note.*

lmit into this catalogue the suffixes of the participles also, which en already discussed with a reference to the paragraphs adverted to. ffixes, however, as neither reappear in the European sister lan- nor are of importance as regards the Sanscrit itself, I leave un-

*ya, tavya, anîya**	*ta*, fem. *tá*, §§. 820., 8
ra, ira, ura, êra, ôra	*târ, tṛi*, §. 810.
la, ala, ila, ula	*ti*, §§. 843., 844., 849.
va	*tu* f., §. 851.; *tu*, m.
van	*tra*, fem. *trâ, a-tra, i*
vas, vâṅs, vat, uṣh, §. 788.	*tva*, §§. 834., 835.

909. Naked radical words appear in Sans

a) as feminine abstracts; *e.g.*, *anu-jñâ*, "co "fear;" *hrî*, "shame;" *tviṣh*, "lustre;" *kṣhudh*, "hunger;" *mud*, "joy;" *sam-pád*, "lustre." To this class belong the above-me

[G. Ed. p. 1330.] 859.) Vêdic infinitives or accusative termination from bases wise have left behind no case. A m some formations of this kind, lengthene *vâch*, "the speaking," "speech," from in Zend باسم *vâch*, "speech," and *fr* (Sanscrit root *prachh*).

b) At the end of compounds in the sense participles, where the substantive prec stands in the accusative relation; or pellatives, which, according to their meaning, are nouns of agency. The

nêtra-múṣh, "stealing the eyes;" *sóma-pấ*, "drinking Sôma;" *sénâ-ní*, "army-guiding" ("leading the army"); *víra-sú́*, f. "bearing heroes;" *jala-múch*, f. ("pouring out water") "cloud;" *dviṣh*, m. "foe," as "hating;" *dṛiś*, f. "eye," as "seeing." A passive signification belongs, in Sanscrit, to *-yuj*, "joined, yoked;" hence, *e.g.*, *hari-yúj*, "yoked with horses." In this class of words, too, radical *a* is sometimes lengthened; *e.g.*, in *pari-vráj*, "beggar," literally, "wandering around" (root *vraj*); *ava-yáj*, "adoring ill." So in Zend 𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎 *daêvayâj*, "adoring the Daêvas;" 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬎 *ashanâs*, "attaining purity," "vouching" (root 𐬈𐬀𐬎 *nas* = Vêdic नश् *naś*, see Benf. Gloss.). To roots with a short final vowel in compounds of this kind a *t* is added; hence, *e.g.*, *viśva-jít*, "conquering every thing;" *pari-srút*, "flowing around."

910. In Greek, the feminine radical words which for-

ally belong to *a*) appear partly with a concrete meaning appellatives, after the manner of the Sanscrit *dṛíś*, f. eye," as "seeing," which belongs to *b*). So, in Greek, id. (from *ὀκ*), *φλογ*, "flame," as "burning," *ὄπ*, "voice" om *Fοκ*), as "speaking." The abstract [G. Ed. p. 1331.] gnification has, on the contrary, remained in *στυγ*, "hate," *ἀϊκ*, iolent motion." In Latin, to this class belong the feminine ses *luc* (=Sanscrit *ruch*, "lustre," Zend 𐬭𐬎𐬌 *raôch*, ight"); *nec*, "death;"* *prec*, "request" (cf. Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬵 s, "inquiry," Sanscrit root *prachh*, "to ask," *á-prachh*, *aledicere*." To the Sanscrit and Zend *vâch*, "speech," rresponds, as regards the lengthening of the radical wel, the Latin *vôc* (opposed to *vŏco*); and the Greek hibits a similar lengthening in *ὠπ*, "eye," "face, as eeing," which corresponds radically to the Sanscrit

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* The base verb is lost, for *neco* is either a denominative or a causal.

akṣhi,* "eye," and Latin *ŏculus*. *Pâc*, "peace," from a lost root, probably means originally "joining," as a derivative of the Sanscrit root *paś* (from *pak*).

911. To the class of words (*b*) in §. 909. correspond Greek bases like χέρ-νιβ (properly, "washing hands"), ἀρχυρο-τριβ, παιδο-τριβ, πρός-φυγ, ψευσι-στυγ, κορυθ-αϊκ, βου-πλήγ, γλαγο-πήγ. In the two last examples, and other combinations with πληγ, the length of the final syllable appears to have thrust down the accent from its former position, and thus to have occasioned an accidental agreement with the Sanscrit accentuation of this class of words (*dharma-víd*, &c.), which I do not regard as original; so in -ῥωγ (διαῤῥώγ, καταῤῥώγ, περιῤῥώγ), with a passive signification, whereby, too, -ζυγ (in δίζυγ, νεοζυγ, μελανοζυγ, &c.), and the Latin base *jug* (*conjug*) answers to the Sanscrit -*yúj*, "yoked." To the simple base द्विष् *dvish*, "foe," as "hating," corresponds τρωγ, "gnawer, devourer," and the Latin *duc*, as masculine, "guide," as feminine, "she that guides;" as also *rêg*, "king," as "ruling," the Sanscrit sister form of which, *râj*, appears only in [G. Ed. p. 1332.] compounds, as *dharma-râj*, "king of righteousness." Observe the lengthening of the radical vowel in the Latin *rêg* (opposed to *rĕgo*), after the analogy of the Sanscrit *pari-vráj*, "beggar" ("wanderer around"); while the radical vowel of the Sanscrit *râj* is, from its origin, long. We mention further, as examples of Latin radical words at the end of compounds, *arti-fic*, *carni-fex*, *pel-lic*, *in-dic*, *jû-dic*, *ob-ic*, *Pol-lûc*, *for-cip*, *man-cip*, *prin-cip*, *au-cup*, *præ-sid*, *in-cûd*. The latter answers, by its passive signification ("anvil," as that which is struck upon), to *jug* in *con-jug*, Greek -ζυγ, and Sanscrit -*yuj*, "yoked." In most of the remaining examples the *i* rests on the weakening of an original *a*, and the *e*, which enters into the

* I regard the verbal root ईक्ष् *ikṣh*, "to see," as a corruption of *akṣh*.

inative in its stead, on the principle laid down in §. 6. in *præ-sid*, is identical with the Sanscrit *ṣhad* in *divi-l* (euphonic for *-sad*), "sitting in heaven," "dwelling ," "*cælicola*," a so-far anomalous compound, inasmuch e first member of it is provided with a case-termina-

Au-cup exhibits the intermediate weakening of the l, which otherwise only occurs before *l* (cf. §. 490. . 1.), and which therefore finds a more suitable place *æ-sul, consul* (from *salio*, Sanscrit *sal*, "to move oneself"). 2. With the *t*, which in Sanscrit (according to §. 909. *b*.) ded to roots with a short final vowel, the Latin *t* of going," and *stit* (as weakening of *stat*) in *super-stit, tit*, has been already (§. 111. sub. fin.) contrasted; and then Pott has also compared that in *pari-et*,† properly ng around, surrounding" (as above *pari-srút* "flowing nd"), and Curtius that in *indi-get* (cf. [G. Ed. p. 1333.] *ena*).‡ The Greek adds such a *t* to roots with a long vowel (see Curtius l. c.) in compounds like *ἀνδρο-βρώτ, βρώτ, ἀ-γνώτ, ἀ-πτώτ, λιμο-θνήτ*. The terminations , *-δμήτ, κμήτ, -τμήτ, -στρώτ* (*φυλλοστρώτ*), have only sive signification, which, in Sanscrit, does not occur in ounds of this kind, while *-βρώτ* and *-γνώτ*, are used both ly and passively. As regards the vowel of these for-ns, it rests, for the most part, on transposition, which

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he circumstance that the Latin *e*, corrupted from *a*, becomes *i* when rd is encumbered by composition, excepting when it stands under otection of two consonants, or in a final syllable, proves that in he *i* is held to be lighter than the inorganic short *e*.

uphonic for *pari-it*.

De nominum Græc. formatione," p. 10. With respect to the drop- the *n* in the root *gen*, cf. the Sanscrit *j'-a* for *jan-a*, "born;" and egard to the appended *t*, the phenomenon that, in Sanscrit, the *an* and *am*, in case they reject their *n* before the gerundial suf- then add, like roots with a short final vowel, a *t*; hence, *e.g.*, *-ya*, from *han*, "to slay."

is readily occasioned by liquids, and lengthening; where it is to be noticed that η and ω, according to their origin, = $\bar{a}$ (see §. 4.), and that in Sanscrit such transpositions occur, since, *e.g.*, together with *man*, "to think," there occurs a root *mnâ*, "to mention" (cf. $\mu\iota\mu\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\kappa\omega$, fut. $\mu\nu\acute{\eta}$-$\sigma\omega$); together with *dham* "to blow" (only in the special tenses), occurs a form *dhmâ*, which the Grammarians assume to be the original one. The roots $\pi\tau\omega$ (cf. $\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$ from $\pi\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$), $\delta\mu\eta$ (cf. $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$), $\theta\nu\eta$ (cf. $\check{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\nu\sigma\nu$, $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\sigma\varsigma$), $\kappa\mu\eta$ (cf. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\omega$), $\sigma\tau\rho\omega$ (cf. $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\rho\nu\upsilon\mu\iota$, Latin *sterno*), guide us to the Sanscrit roots *pat*, "to fall; *dam*, "to tame;" *han* (from *dhan*), "to slay;" *śram* (from *kram*), *klam*, "to be tired;" *star*, स्तृ *stṛî*, "to strew." If concrete bases then, like -$\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\tau$, -$\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\tau$, with euphonic *t*, represent the Sanscrit naked radical words like *-pâ*, "drinking," then, irrespective of gender, the abstracts $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\tau$ and $\check{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau$ may be compared with the Sanscrit abstracts like *anu-jñâ*, "com-

[G. Ed. p. 1334.] mand;"* for though the ω of the said Greek bases is not radical, it nevertheless belongs to the verbal theme, and, like αo in $\grave{\epsilon}\rho$-$\acute{\alpha}o$-$\mu\alpha\iota$, $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$-$\acute{\alpha}o$-$\mu\epsilon\nu$, represents the Sanscrit character *aya* of the 10th class (§. 109.[a.] 6.). In departure, too, from a former opinion (§. 116.), I find this latter in the form of $\bar{\alpha}$ or η in compounds like $\lambda o\gamma o$-$\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\bar{\alpha}$-$\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}\pi\pi o$-$\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\bar{\alpha}$-$\varsigma$, $\acute{o}\pi\lambda o$-$\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$-$\varsigma$, $\pi o\lambda\upsilon$-$\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$-$\varsigma$, $\grave{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota o$-$\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta$-$\varsigma$. Compare the base -$\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\bar{\alpha}$ with $\theta\eta\rho\bar{\alpha}$-$\sigma\omega$, $\theta\eta\rho\bar{\alpha}$-$\tau\omega\rho$.; -$\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\bar{\alpha}$ with $\nu\omega\mu\acute{\eta}$-$\sigma\omega$ from $\nu\omega\mu\bar{\alpha}$-$\sigma\omega$; -$\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ with $\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$-$\sigma\omega$, $\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$-$\tau\omega\rho$; -$\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$ with $\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$-$\sigma o\mu\alpha\iota$, $\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$-$\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$-$\mu\omega\nu$. $T\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\varsigma$ in $\pi\alpha\iota\delta o$-$\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\varsigma$, $\phi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa o$-$\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\varsigma$, can hardly spring from the root $\tau\rho\iota\beta$ with a

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* Here belongs the Latin *quiêt* (also *quiê*), which has remained true to the feminine gender, and the root of which, *qui* = Sanscrit *śî* (from (*kî*), has united itself with the character *ê* of the 2d conjugation (=Sanscrit *aya*, *ay*, see §. 109.[a.] 6.), for which I hold the *ê* of *qui-ê-vi*, *qui-ê-tus*. Cf. *im-pl-ê-vi*, *im-pl-ê-tus*, *im-pl-ê-s*, *im-pl-ê-mus*, *im-pl-ê-tis*. The three last forms, irrespective of the preposition, correspond to the Sanscrit *pâr-áya-si*, *pâr-áyâ-mas*, *pâr-áya-tha*, of the causal of the root *par* (पॄ *pṛî*), "to fill," the vowel of which is passed over in Latin.

η, but is rather a naked verbal base, and presupposes ivative verb *τριβέω*, future *τριβήσω*. In the formations -ς I think I recognise the Sanscrit root *yâ*, "to go,"* h actually occurs in the Vêda dialect in compounds of ind described above (p. 1330 G. ed.); *e.g.*, in *dêva-yấ*, native *dêva-yấ-s*, "going to the gods;" *ṛiṇa-yấ-s*, ng into debt" = "taking guilt on oneself," "atoning," ing from guilt" (see Benfey's Glossary). In Greek, fore, *e.g.*, *ἀλωπεκ-ίᾱ-ς*, "foxy," literally signifies, "ap- ching the nature of the fox," and *λαμπαδ-ίᾱ-ς*, "torch car- properly "going with the torch."

3. If we now proceed to consider [G. Ed. p. 1335.] words formed with suffixes, we must, with reference e secondary suffixes, which, by the Indian Gramma- , are called Taddhita, bring to remembrance the al- y frequently-mentioned circumstance, that the final ls of primitive bases are, in all the Indo-European uages, under certain restrictions,† suppressed before kes beginning with vowels or the semi-vowel *y*. With ence to Sanscrit and Zend, it is to be remarked that in secondary classes of words require the Vṛiddhi in- ent (see §. 26.) for the first vowel of the primary l; hence, *e.g.*, *dấśarath'-i-s* (from *daśarat'ha*),‡ "descen-

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Cf. *ἴημι*, with causal signification ("making to go"), probably a reduplicated form from *yí-γημι*, as *ἵ-στημι* from *σί-στημι*; so that the semivowel in the syllable of reduplication has become the rough breathing (*ἵ-ς=yâ-s*, §. 382.), and in the root itself is suppressed, as, *e.g.*, in verbs in *αω* = Sanscrit *ayâmi*.

See §. 891.

â is held to be the Vṛiddhi of *a*, to which latter the Indian Grammaassign no Guna. Moreover, *a*, as it is the heaviest vowel (see §. 6.), less occasion for increment, and remains, in most cases, unchanged, e other vowels are gunised: sometimes, also, *â* is found for *a* in s where other vowels experience the Guna increment. As both i and *â* + *a* are contracted to *â*, it might be said that *â* is both the Guna

principles of Sanscrit, we must assume tha
base *dôga*, which occurs only in the comp
"of four days" (nom. *fidurdôg`-s*), is formed
[G. Ed. p. 1336.] stantive base *daga*, in such
final vowel of the latter is suppressed before
suffix *a* in the same way as, *e.g.*, in Sa
संवत्सर *saṇvatsara*, "year," is suppressed befor
suffix *a* contained in सांवत्सर *sâṅivatsar`-á*, "
apparently *sâṅivatsara*, "yearly," seems to b
saṅivatsara, "year" by simply lengthening
of the primary word. The Lithuanian,
which is always long, and frequently repre
scrit *á*, exhibits, in some derivative words, *o*
the *a* of the primitive base; thus, *plót`-*
(theme *plotya*), comes from *platú-s*, "broad
"riches" (theme *lobya*), from *laba-s*, "rich;"
way as, in Sanscrit, *e.g.*, *mádhur-ya-m*, "sw
madhurá, "sweet."* As in Latin, also, *ô* fre
for original *á*, *e.g.*, *sorôrem* = Sanscrit *svásr*
recognise in *ôv`-u-m* a remnant of the Vṛid

Guna and the Vriddhi increment of *a*, that, however,

hich the Sanscrit Grammar requires, when, with the ıffix *a*, to which the *u* of the Latin 2d declension corre-ponds, a derivative is formed with the secondary idea of springing from;" *e. g.*, *sâmudr'-á-m*, "sea-salt," as that hich springs from the sea (*samudrá*, nom. *-rá-s*). There-ore, as the neuter *sâmudr'-á-m* may be explained as com-ıg from the masculine base *samudrá*, with the suppression f the final vowel before the derivative suffix *a*, so I think may venture to explain *ôv'-u-m* as "offspring of the bird," rom *avi-s*. In Sanscrit it would be quite regular, if *avi*, nstead of *vi*, signified "a bird," to find an *âv'-á-m* coming rom it as a term for "an egg." The Greek *ὠόν* from *ὀF'-όν*, which as respects its accentuation [G. Ed. p. 1337.] lso answers to the Sanscrit class of words here spoken of, as lost its primitive:* on the other hand, exclusive of gen-er and accent, *ὤα* (from *ὤFα*), "sheep-skin fur," stands in a elation to its primitive base *ὄϊ* from *ὄFι* (Sanscrit *ávi* sheep") similar to that which the Latin *ôv'-um* for *âv'-um* olds to *avi*.†

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* In the form *ὤϊο-ν* for *ὤFιον* I do not regard the *ι* as the retained final owel of the primary word, but recognise in *ιο* the Sanscrit suffix *ya*, hich, just like *a*, forms personal and neuter patronymics.

† In *ἠνεμόεις* I cannot recognise an accord to the Sanscrit Vṛiddhi in-ement of the secondary formation of words, as I do not derive it from μος, but from *ἤνεμος* (in Hesych.), the base of which is also found in me compounds (*ἠνεμόφωνος*, *ἠνεμόφοιτο-ς*). Moreover, the Sanscrit suf-; which corresponds to the Greek *εντ* requires no Vṛiddhi increment. st as little in Sanscrit, in compounded words, does a vowel lengthening this kind occur, like that which the Greek exhibits in some compounds, ecially in those with prepositions and monosyllabic prefixes and bases of rds, or those which become monosyllabic by the suppression of their al vowel, and which takes place in order, perhaps, to bring forward more phatically, after such weak preceding syllables, the principal part of word in case it begins with a vowel; hence, *e. g.*, *δυσήκεστος* (*ἀκεστός*), ηκής (*ἄκος*), *δυσήνυτος*, *δυσήνυστος* (*ἀνυστός*), *δύσηρις* (for *δύσερις*), *δυσώ-ρος* (*ἄλεθρος*), *δυσώνυμος* (*ὄνομα*), *εὐήρετμος* (*ἐρετμός*), *εὐήκης* (*ἀκή*), *εὐήνυστος*

[G. Ed. p. 1338.] 914. The Sanscrit primary suffix *a*, which, as also the secondary, I hold to be identical with the demonstrative base *a* (see §. 366.), has, together with its sister-forms in the cognate languages, been already considered (see p. 1235 G. ed.) as the formative suffix of masculine abstracts. In Gothic, most of the abstracts which, in respect of their suffix, belong to this class, have become neuter, and terminate, therefore, in the nominative singular, with the final consonant of the root (see §. 135.). The following are nearly all of them: *anda-beit*, "blame"*; *anda-hait*, "avowal;" *bi-hait*, "strife;" *ga-hait*, "promise" (formally our "*Geheiss* "behest"); *af-lêt*, "forgiveness;" *bi-mait*, "clipping;" *bi-faih*, "delusion;" *fra-veit*, "revenge;" *ana-filh*, "delivery," from the bases *anda-beita*, *ga-heita*, &c. As regards the radical vowel of these abstracts, what has been observed above (p. 1237, Note) holds good. We must not, therefore, derive the base *anda-nêma*, "acceptance," the gender of

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εὐήνυστος (ἀνυστός), εὐήνωρ (ἀνήρ), εὐώδης (root ὀδ), εὐώνυμος, ἀνήκεστος ἀνηκής (ἄκος), ἀνήκουστος (ἀκουστός), ἀνώδυνος (ὀδύνη), ἐνήκοος (ἀκοή), ἐνήλατον (ἐνελαύνω), ἐνώμοτος (ὄμνυμι), προσήγορος (ἀγορεύω), περιώδυνος, τριήρης, μονήρης, ποδήρης, ποδώνυχος, πανήγορις, πανώλεθρος. I moreover recall attention to the fact, that in Sanscrit the Vṛiddhi increment of the secondary formation of words supplies the place of the Guna increment of the primary; thus as, *e.g.*, *bódh-a-s*, "the knowing," and *bódh-á-mi*, "I know," come from the root *budh*, so *bâuddh-á-s*, "Buddhist," comes from *buddhá*, "Buddha," as adjective, "knowing, wise." That the secondary formation of words, in as far as the class of words referred to in general requires an augment, calls for Vṛiddhi instead of Guna, may well arise from this, that the base words to which the secondary suffixes are attached are of themselves more heavily constructed than the naked roots, whence arise the primitive nouns or verbs. Hence, in the secondary formation of words, long vowels, and even Guna diphthongs and short vowels before two consonants, are augmented; for which the primary formation of words, except when the root ends in a vowel, feels no occasion.

* The base *anda-beita* is, after removing the preposition, identical with the above-mentioned (p. 1235 G. ed.) Sanscrit *bhéda*, "cleaving."

vever, is not discoverable from the solitary genitive
e quoted, *anda-nêmi-s* (see §. 191.), from the plural of
ite (*nêmum*), but we must view it as coming, like the
heme *anda-nêm-ya* (see p. 1308 G. ed., Note), which
ls to the Sanscrit future passive participle, from the
the radical vowel being lengthened, in accordance
rit abstracts like *hásа-s*, "the laughing," from *has*.
Sanscrit but one single neuter abstract of this class
viz. *bhay-á-m*, "fear," from *bhî*, "to fear," which,
analogous masculine abstracts [G. Ed. p. 1339.]
s in *i* or *î*, as, *e.g.*, *jay-á-s*, "victory," from *ji*,
"ruin," from *kṣhi*, *kray-á-s*, "purchase," from *krî*,
d the accent to sink down on the suffix.
xytone, too, are for the most part the adjectives
th अ *a* with the signification of the present parti-
the appellatives in *a* which belong to this class, and
ording to their fundamental meaning, are for the
; nouns of agency; *e.g.*, *nad-á-s*, "river," as
, rushing;" *plav-á-s*, "vessel," as "swimming"
daṅś-á-s, "tooth," as "biting;" *dêv-á-s*, "God," as
' (root *div*, cf. θεός); *mûṣh-á-s*, "mouse," as "steal-
r-á-s, "thief" (root *chur*, "to steal"). The fol-
e examples of adjectives: *chàl-á-s*, "rocking, tre-
char-á-s, "going;" *tras-á-s*, "trembling;" *kṣham-á-s*,
g;" *priy-á-s*, "loving," and "beloved" (root *prî*);
carrying, bringing." This oxytone class of words
eek *o*, in opposition to the abstracts which choose
powerful accentuation, is also numerously repre-
Greek, both by appellatives or nouns of agency,
, "runner" (opposed to τρόχ-ο-ς, "course"); κομπ-ό-ς,
l" (opposed to κόμπ-ο-ς, "noise"); κλοπ-ό-ς, κομπ-ό-ς,
and by adjectives, as, φαν-ό-ς, τομ-ό-ς, θο-ό-ς, ἀρωγ-ό-ς,

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esponds in its root and primary meaning, as also in formation
ation, to the Sanscrit *mégh-á-s*, "cloud," as "*mingens*" (root
ere").

[G. Ed. p. 1340.] hollow," as "being cleft
as "to be licked;" *jan-á-s*, "man," as "be
ing accent the root: *édh-a-s* (opposed to
"wood," as "to be burned" (root *indh*, pro
"house," as "place entered" (Greek *οἶκ*
Latin *víc-u-s*, Old High German *wîh*, the
borough," from an obsolete root). To
of this class of words belong, in Greek, l
which the δ is only an inorganic affix
δορκ-άδ, "gazel," as "seeing" (also δόρκη)
feminine, from μοιχό; τοκάδ, "the bearing (
πλω(ϝ)άδ, "the swimming, the wandering
τυπάδ, "hammer," as "striking."

916. In Sanscrit, as well as in Greek,
kind of formation occur principally at
pounds, and in both languages have part
retained in isolated use, or have, perhap
simply. Thus, in Sanscrit, *damá*, "tam
in the compound *arin-damá-s*,* "foe-tam
responding Greek δαμο only in *ἱππόδαμ*
-dic-u-s, *-loqu-u-s*, *-fic-u-s*, *-fug-u-s*, *-sequ-u*
(*incubus*), *-leg-u-s*, *-vor-u-s*, *-fer*, *-ger* (fo

par-u-s (*oviparus*), *-liqu-u-s* (*re-liqu-u-s* = Greek λοῖπ-ο-ς), *frag-u-s* (*naufragus*). The following, perhaps, are the sole examples which occur simply: *sci-u-s, vag-u-s, fid-u-s, parc-u-s.* These substantives belong to this class: *coqu-u-s* (= Sanscrit *pach-á-s* from *pak-á-s*, "cooking"), *merg-u-s*, *proc-u-s* (cf. *precor*), *son-u-s*, as "sounding" = Sanscrit *svan-* [G. Ed. p. 1341.] *-á-s*, "tone," *jug-u-m*, *vad-u-m* (properly, "passed through," as above दरम् *dar-á-m*, "a hollow," as "cleft"); and perhaps *tor-u-s*, from *storus*, as "spread out."* To this class also are to be referred the feminines *mola*, "mill," as "grinding," and *toga*, as "covering."† The *a* of compounds like *parricida*, *cœlicola*, *advena*, *collega*, *transfuga*, *legirupa*, *indigena*, I now, in departure from §. 116., rather prefer viewing in such a way as to recognise in it a distinct feminine form, and therefore the Sanscrit long *á* of forms like *priyaṁvadâ*, "the amiably speaking (female)", which at the same time stands for the masculine, while, conversely, the Greek, at the end of compounds, by a mis-usage, transfers the masculine neuter *o* = Sanscrit short *a*, into the feminine also, and contrasts, *e.g.*, the form πολύκομος with the Latin *multicoma*; since, as it appears to me, the burthen of composition is an obstacle in the way of the free movement and liability to change of the entire word, on which account its concluding portion relinquishes the exact discrimination of the genders.‡

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* With respect to the loss of the *s* of *ster-no*, στόρ-νυμι, cf. the relation of "*tonare*" to the Sanscrit root *stan*, "to thunder," and Greek στεν in Στέν-τωρ.

† In Latin the interchange of the sounds *e* and *o* in one and the same root occurs but seldom, and the etymology in the cases which occur is obscured, while in Greek it is self-evident that, *e.g.*, φόρος and φέρω are radically identical.

‡ The circumstance, that as well in the Greek as in the Latin 2d declension there are simple feminines, such as παρθένος, ὁδός, νῆσος, *alvus*, *humus* (Sanscrit *bhûmí-s*, fem., "earth"), *fagus* (= φηγός), does not impede the supposition that the Greek *o* and Latin inorganic *u* of the 2d declension

[G. Ed. p. 1342.] 917. The Gothic exhibits, in the class of words under discussion, (1) masculine substantive bases like *daura-vard-a*, "gatekeeper;" *vrak-a*, "persecutor;"* *vêg-a*, "wave," as "moving itself"†; *vig-a*, "way" (as "the place on which one moves"); *thiv-a*(nom. *thiu-s*), "servant"‡:

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declension do not originally belong to the feminine; as also the corresponding Sanscrit, Zend, Lithuanian, and Gothic *a*, and Sclavonic *o*, never stand at the end of a feminine base. That, however, conversely, the Latin *a* at the end of compounds like *cæli-cola* does not correspond to the Sanscrit-Zend masculine neuter *a* may here be further supported by the consideration that compounds are most subject to weakening, and that, therefore, the retention of the Sanscrit masculine neuter *a* unchanged in Latin can least be expected in compounds. But if the feminine form in compounds like *parricida* has once found its way into the masculine, or attached itself to this gender alone (*cælicola*), it cannot surprise us that, in an isolated case, a simple word appears in the feminine form as masculine, viz. *scrib-a* for *scrib-u-s*. The case is different with *nau-ta*, where *ta* stands for τη-ς, as in *poëta*=ποιητής; and as in Homer, *e.g.*, αἰχμητά, νεφεληγερέτα, ἱππότα, ἠπύτα, ἠχέτα, μητίετα, for αἰχμητής, &c. Here either the case-sign has been dropped, as in Old Persian is regularly the case with the final *s* both after short and long *a*; or, which I prefer assuming, these forms are based on the Sanscrit nominatives in *tâ*, Zend *ta* (see §. 144.), of bases in *târ*, on which rest, in Greek, not only the bases in τηρ and τορ, as has already been remarked in §. 145., but also the masculine bases in τη=τᾱ, which have lost an ρ (see also §. 810, and Curtius, "*De nominum Græc. form.*," p. 34). It is therefore no casual circumstance, that in the Homeric dialect nearly all the class of nouns of agency referred to exhibit masculine nominatives in *a*; and it is hence not improbable that εὐρύ-οπα, too, originally belongs to this class of words, and is therefore abbreviated from εὐρυοπτα, as, according to its meaning, it is a noun of agency.

* The nominative *vrak-s*, which can alone be quoted, might also belong to a base *vraki*.

† This answers, in respect of the lengthening of the radical vowel *a* to *ê* (=*â*, see §. 69.), to Sanscrit formations like *pâd-a-s*, "foot," as "going," from *pad*, "to go."

‡ In my opinion properly "boy," from a root *thav*=Sanscrit *tu*, "to grow;" as, *mag-u-s*, "boy," from *mag*=Sanscrit *mah*, *mañh*, "to grow."

From

the neuter substantive bases, as *ga-* [G. Ed. p. 1343.]
ıur-a, "tax," as "that which is borne" (cf. φόρος); *faur-hah-a*,
ırtain;" *ga-thrask-a*, "floor" (where they thresh); *ga-liug-a*,
lol," as "lying, false;" nominative *gabaur*, &c.: (3) feminine
ses like *daura-vard-ô*, "portress;" *ga-bind-ô*, "band," as
inding" (root *band*, weakened to *bind*, *bund*); *grôb-ô*, "pit,"
"dug" (root *grab*, lengthened to *grôb*); *grab-ô*, "trench;"
bruk-ô, "crumb," as "broken" (root *brak*, weakened to
k, *bruk*); *staig-ô*, "path" (root *stig*, "to mount," gunised
ig); nominative *daura-varda*, &c.: (4) adjective bases
e *and-vairth-a*, "present;" *ana-vairth-a*, "future;" *laus-a*,
ose, empty" (root *lus*); *siuk-a*, "sick" (root *suk*); *af-lêt-a*,
eft free;" nominative masculine *and-vairth'-s*, &c.

918. In Lithuanian this class of words is less numerous,
ıt is more correctly retained in the nominative singular
an in any other of the sister languages of the Sanscrit.
he following are examples: *sarg-a-s*, "warder" (*serg-mi*,
I protect,"); *prá-rak-a-s*, "seer, prophet"*; *prá-nasz-a-s*
(*pra-neszu*, "I propose," *neszu*, "I bear,"); *laid-a-s*, "bail;"
aug-a-s, "fellow, companion" (*drauga*, "I have part-
ership with another,"); *zwán-a-s*, "bell," as "sounding"

om तु *tu*, "to grow" (in Zend "to be able," see §. 520. sub. f.), comes,
the Vêda dialect, among other words, *tuv-í*, "much;" and in Gothic,
ording to my opinion, also *thiu-da*, "people," as "grown;" parallel to
ich, in Umbrian, as feminine participle of the same root, stands the
m *tuta*, afterwards *tota*, "town;" and with which, in departure from
343., I would now compare the Latin *to-tus*, "whole." To the causal
tu (*tâv-áyâ-mi*, "I make to grow, I make to thrive") belongs probably
e Latin *tu-ê-ri* (see §. 109a. 6.), and the Old Prussian *tâwa-s*, "father,"
"producer" or "bringer up," Lithuanian *tẽwa-s*, "father." Parallel to
e Umbrian *tuta*, "town," and as derivative from the same root, we find,
Prussian, *tauta* (acc. *tauta-n*), "land," as "cultivated." In Lithua-
ın, *tauta* signifies "Germany."

* The simple verb is wanting in Lithuanian; compare the Sclavonic
kѫ *rekuṅ*, "I say," see p. 626.

(*zwanú*, "I sound,"); *tâk-a-s*, "footpath" (*tekù*, "I run,"); *weid-a-s*, "face, visage," as "seeing" (*weizd-mi*, "I see," [G. Ed. p. 1344.] *waidino-s*, "I let myself see,"): *-nink-a-s*, which, at the end of compounds, has often a meaning tantamount to "maker, accomplisher," or one who is occupied with that which the first member of the compound expresses;* as, *balni-nink-a-s*, "saddler, saddle-maker" (*balna-s*, "saddle,"); *griẽki-nink-a-s*, "sinner, sin-committing" (*griẽka-s*, "sin,"); *lauki-nink-a-s*, "countryman, agriculturist, *agricola*" (*lauka-s*, "field,"); *miẽsi-nink-a-s*, "butcher, *carnifex*" (*miẽsà*, f., Sanscrit *mâṅsá*, m. n. "flesh,"); *darbi-nink-a-s*, "workman, doing work" (*darba-s*, "work,"); *remesti-nink-a-s*, "artisan, working at a craft" (*remesta-s*, "handicraft,"). Observe the weakening of the final vowel of the first member of all

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* The base verb *ninku* does not occur in its simple form, but only in combination with the prepositions *in*, *ap*, *uz*, and *su* (see Nesselmann's Lexicon, p. 422), and probably meant originally "to go," then "to do, to make." Cf. the Old Prussian *neik-aut*, "to wander," and Russian *nik-nu*, "I bow myself." To the Lithuanian *-ni-ka-s*, in the compounds spoken of, corresponds, in Russian, никъ *nik*; *e.g.*, in сѣдельникъ *syedelynik'*, "saddler," *i.e.* "saddle-maker." The Old Prussian appears to form with *nika* (nom. *nix* for *nika-s*, acc. *nika-n*) nouns of agency from verbal bases (see Nesselmann, p. 76). I regard, however, all the words classed here as compounds, similar to the Latin *opifex*, *artifex*; for although, *e.g.*, *waldnix*, "ruler," of which only the dative *waldnikui* occurs, might be derived from the verbal root *wald*, "to rule," still nothing prevents the assumption that it properly signifies "using authority," and contains a lost or unciteable substantive *wald-s* or *walda-s* (theme *walda*), "dominion." *Crixti*, the substantive base of *crixt-nix*, "baptist" ("performer of baptism"), occurs in the compound *crixti-laiska-s*, "baptismal register;" and the substantive base *dila* (acc. *dila-n*), in *dil-nik-a-ns*, "workman, performing work" (acc. pl.); and for *daina-alge-nik-a-mans* (dat. pl.), "the day labourers, those working for daily pay," occur the substantive bases *deina*, "day" (Sanscrit *dina*), and *alga*, "pay" (gen. *alga-s*), but no verb of which the word referred to could be the noun of agency; and this is the case with most of the other formations which belong to this class.

ıds to *i*, according to the principle of the Latin
cæli-cola, terri-cola, fructi-fer, [G. Ed. p. 1345.]
*lu-cola, terra-cola, fructu-fer, lana-ger.** The fol-
ımples of adjectives of this kind of formation:
g;" *át-wir-a-s*, "open" (*at-weru*, "I open,"); *át-*
cked" (*rak-inú*, "I lock," *atrak-inú*, "I unlock,");
retched out" (*tĕsiu*, "I erect"). To this class
ʒ, in old Sclavonic, bases like токо *toko*, "river,"
pro-roko, "prophet;" отроко *ot-roko*, "boy,"
ns;" *νήπιος*, (Mikl. Rad. p. 74.) водоното *vodo-*
properly "water-carrier;" nom. токъ *tok'*, &c.
are examples with a passive signification:
town," as "enclosed" (*grad-i-ti*, "to enclose,");
ar (beloved), pleasant," as in Sanscrit *pur-á-m*, n.,
vn," as "filled;" *priy-á-s*, "beloved" (root

ı the Sanscrit and Greek there exists the re-
cidence, that the adjectives formed with the
iscussion in combination with the prefixes
t," दुस् *dus*,† δυς, "heavy," most generally, if
it invariably, have a passive signification.‡
Sanscrit rests on the radical syllable; *e.g.*,
ing lightly made, light to make;" *sulábh-a-s*,
attained;" *dushkár-a-s*, [G. Ed. p. 1346.]
heavy, hard to do;" *durlábh-a-s*, "being with

"Vocalismus," pp. 139, 162, Note *. With respect to
in *rótponis*, "senator," I must, however, in departure
sion), remark, that here the *i* is not the weakening of
lord," but the contraction of the suffix *ya* or *ia*, accord-

ling to settled laws of sound, and according to the mea-
following, *dush*, *dur*, *duh*.
cannot be allowed to weigh as exceptions in which *su*
'light," but has a meaning tantamount to "fair, good,
igv. I. 112. 2., *subhára*, "bringing fair (load)."

difficulty (heavily) attained;" *duḥsáh-a-s*, "being heavy to bear;" *durmárṣh-a-s*, id.; *durdhárṣh-a-s*, "being heavily pressed;" *duṣhpûr-a-s*, "being heavily filled;" *duṣhṭár-a-s* (euphonic for *dustár-a-s*), "being with difficulty (heavily) overstepped." So in Greek, *e.g.*, *εὔφορ-ο-ς*, *εὐκάτοχ-ο-ς*, *εὐπερίγραφ-ο-ς*, *εὐέμβολ-ο-ς*, *εὐανάγωγ-ο-ς*, *δύσφορ-ο-ς*, *δύστροφ-ο-ς*, *δύστομ-ο-ς*, *δύσπλο-ο-ς*, *δυσπρόσμαχ-ο-ς*, *δυσανάπορ-ο-ς*.

920. As secondary (Taddhita) suffix *a* in Sanscrit forms, usually with the accent and Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of the primary word: (1) Masculine substantives (with feminines in *í*,) which stand to the primary word in the relation of derivatives, or in any other relationship, as, *e.g.*, *vâsiṣhṭh'-á-s*, from *vásiṣhṭha*, "descendant of Vasishtha;" *mânav-á-s*, (from *manú*) "man," as "descendant of Manu;" *drâupad'-í*, (from *drupada*) "Drâupadî, daughter of Drupada;" *dâuhitr-â-s*, (from *duhitâr*, *-tṛí*) "son of the daughter;" *nâiṣhadh'-â-s*, "Naiṣhadha," from *niṣhaḍha*, in the plural, "the country Nishadha;" *śâiv'-â-s*, (from *śíva*) "follower, worshipper of Śiva." (2) A kind of patronymics of things by which, *e.g.*, fruits are called after the trees on which they grow, and are represented, as it were, as their sons; *e.g.*, *âśvaṭṭh'-á-m*, (from *aśvaṭṭha*) "the fruit of the tree Aśvaṭṭha." To this class belongs also the already-mentioned *sâmudr'-á-m*, "sea-salt," as "that which is produced from the sea" (*samudra*). (3) Abstract neuters, as, "*yâuvan-á-m*, "youth," from *yuvan*, "young." (4) Neuter collectives, as, *kâpôt'-á-m*, "a flock of doves," from *kapôta*. (5) Adjectives and appellatives having various relationships to the primary word; *e.g.*, *râjat'-á-s*, "of silver," from *rajatá-m*, "silver;" *âyas-á-m*, "of iron," from *áyas* (theme and nom. = Latin *aes*, *aer-is*, [G. Ed. p. 1347.] from *aes-is*, Gothic *ais*, theme *aisa*); *sâukar'-á-s*, "porcine," from *sûkara*, "swine;" *sâṁvatsar'-á-s*, "yearly," from *saṁvatsara*, "year;" *dvâip'-á-s*, "a car covered with tiger-skin," as adjective, "made of tiger-skin," from *dvîpa*, m. n. (*dvîpa-s*, *-a -m*), "tiger-skin."

921. To class (1), and indeed to the feminine patronymics e *drâupad'-î*, "Drâupadî" (from *drupada*); *dâuhitr-î*, laughter of the daughter," (from *duhitár*); *pâutr'-î*, "son's ughter" (from *putra*, "son"); correspond (irrespective of e vowel-augment,) with regard to accent, also Greek ords like Τανταλ'-ίδ, Πριαμ'-ίδ, Ἰναχ'-ίδ, Νηρεΐδ, Ion. Νηρηΐδ, e δ of which is only an inorganic prolongation of the base ee p. 138, and §. 119). Νηρεΐδ, Ion. Νηρηΐδ, from Νηρεϝίδ, ηρηϝίδ, from the base Νηρεύ, corresponds to the Sanscrit rms like *mânav-î*, "woman," from *mânavá*, "man," as scendant of Manu, only that in Greek the Guna or riddhi vowel exists already in the primary word. With spect to the relation of accent, *e.g.*, of Τανταλίδ to the priitive base Τάνταλο, compare that of *vâsiṣhṭh'-á*, "Vasiṣhide," to *vásiṣhṭha*. To class (2) the Latin *óv'-u-m*, as deritive from "bird" (*avi-s*), and the Greek ὠ(ϝ)'-ό-ν, have ready been referred. To names of fruits, like *âśvatṭh-á-m*, rrespond Latin words like *pom'-u-m* from *pomu-s*, *pir'-u-m* om *piru-s*, *prun'-u-m* from *prunu-s*, *ceras'-u-m* from *ra-su-s*, and Greek words like μῆλ'-ο-ν from μηλί(δ), κάρι'-ο-ν om καρία, ἄπι-ο-ν, from ἄπιο-ς. As the Greek and Latin, st like the Sanscrit, reject the final vowels of primitive ses before the vowels of derivative suffixes (see §. 913.), e possibility of the proposition cannot be contravened, at the names of fruits in both languages may have been rmed from the names of the trees, not only by a change gender, but by the addition of a suffix; that therefore, *g.*, the formal relation of *pirum* to *pirus*, of ἄπιον to ἄπιος, ay be a different one from that of, *e.g.*, [G. Ed. p. 1348.] *mum* to *bonus*, ἀγαθόν to ἀγαθός.* We should especially otice in this respect the relation of μῆλον to the base μηλίδ,

* Though the names of trees in the said languages are feminine, yet ose in *us* and *os* are, according to their form, masculine (cf. p. 1341 ed.)

the δ of which is only an inorganic affix, which has bee added to the originally long ι of μηλί (see §. 119.); so tha the Greek word, put into Sanscrit form, would be nothin else but *mâlí*, whence, as from the name of a tree, w should have to expect, with the suffix under discussion, th name of the fruit, *mâl'-á-m*. But if in Greek and Latin w derive the names of trees from the names of fruits, afte the same fashion as those of the inhabitants of countrie as above (§. 902.) we have endeavoured to represent th names of countries as the feminines of the names of th inhabitants, then, irrespective of accent, we might a easily arrive from a formally masculine neuter base μῆλο t a feminine base μηλίδ (for μηλῑ), as in Sanscrit, *e.g.*, fron *âyas-á*, "the iron" (masc. and neut.) (nom., *âyasá-s*, *âyasá-m*) to *âyasî*. To class (5) correspond Latin adjectives which have been formed from substantive bases in *ôr* (originally *ôs*, Sanscrit, *as*), by the suffix *u* (from *a*), *e.g.*, *decôr-u-s*, *sopôr-u-s*, *honôr-u-s*, *sopôr-u-s*.

922. That in Zend, too, analogous forms to the classes of Sanscrit words discussed above (§. 915.) are not wanting, is proved by bases like 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀 *csay-a*, "king," as "ruling" (v. 𐬯𐬀𐬌 *csi*, "to rule"), 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 *gar-a*, "throat," as "swallowing," 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 *-gar-a*, "swallower," 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀 *-yâz-a*, "worshipper," 𐬖𐬥𐬀 *-ghn-a*, "slayer," 𐬌𐬀𐬊𐬙𐬀 *-yaôdh-a*, "combatant," at the end of compounds. Especial notice should be given

[G. Ed. p. 1349.] to the compound *drujĕm-vanô* (theme *-vana*), "Druj-slaying," as analogous to Sanscrit compounds like *arin-damá-s*, "foe-taming" (§. 916.). I at least am of opinion that we cannot venture to assume that in Zend, in departure from Sanscrit, the adjectives which are formed with the suffix *a* govern also, in their simple state, an accusative; and that, therefore, *drujĕm* and *vanô*, which in the manuscripts are not, in writing, joined together, can be regarded as two independent words, as in the manuscripts of the Zend-Avesta the different portions

of a compound very often appear written separately.* An example of a Zend word, formed with the secondary suffix , is to be found in 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *ayaṇha*, "iron, an iron-vessel" = Sanscrit *áyasa*), from *ayas*', "iron" (see Burnouf, l. c., p. 196).

923. The feminine of the suffix *a*, viz. *á*, forms, in Sanscrit, oxytone abstracts like *bhidá*, "cleaving;" *chhidá*, l.; *kṣhipá*, "the casting;" *bhikṣhá*, "the begging;" *ṣhudhá*, "hunger;" *mudá*, "joy."† So, in Greek, amongst ther words, *φορά*, *φθορά*, *κουρά*, *φαγή*, *τομή*, *φυγή*. In Latin, eside *fuga*, it is probable that *cura*, the base word of *curare*, elongs to this class, which it seems to me has sprung from he Sanscrit root *kar*, *kṛi*, "to make" (*karômi*, "I make," *kurmás*, "we make," see §. 490.). The Gothic furnishes for his class of words the feminine bases *vrakô*, "persecution" opposed to *vraka*, nom. *vraks*, "perse- [G. Ed. p. 1350.] utor"); *bidô*, "request;" *bôtô*, "use"‡; *dailô*, "sympathy"§; *tharbô*, "want," *id-reigô*, "repentance;"‖ *saurgô*, care;" *vulvô*, "plunder" (root *valv: vilva, valv, vulvum*).

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* Burnouf ("Études," p. 250) is of a different opinion as regards the ase before us, who, however, regards, and undoubtedly with justness, as compound the expression *ṭbaêshô-taûrvâo* which immediately precedes, he members of which are, in the original manuscript, similarly separated, and translates it by "*triomphant de la haine.*"

† Remnants of this class of words, which, however, are not placed ere by the Indian Grammarians, are the before-discussed (§. 629.) accusatives of the periphrastic preterite and the Zend infinitives in *anm*. *Ṛigayâ*, "hunting," is an isolated word from a theme of the 10th class ith a perfect declension.

‡ Root *bat* (presupposes a strong verb *bata*, *bôt*), whence *bats*, "good," nglish "better." In Sanscrit the root *bhand*, "to be fortunate," correponds; whence *bhádra*, "fortunate, admirable," see Glossarium Sanscr., . 1847, p. 243.

§ Root *dil* (=Sanscrit *dal*, "*findi*") presupposes a strong verb *deila*, *ail*, *dilum*, see Glossary, a. 1847, p. 164.

‖ From a lost root, which perhaps signified originally "to blush," then to be ashamed," and appears to be connected with the Sanscrit root *añj*, whence *raktá*, "red."

yiukô, "strife;" *hvôtô* "threatening;" nom. *vraka*, *bida* &c., §. 137.). The following exhibit inorganic *n*: *reirô* "the trembling;" *brôthra-lubôn*, "brotherly love;" *trigô* "mourning" (see Grimm, II. p. 53, n. 555.); nom. *reiri* &c. (§. 142.). The following are Lithuanian example of this class of words: *maldà*, "request" (*meldźiu*, "I request"); *deyà*, "wailing" (whence *deyoyu*, "I lament wail"); *ramszà*, "stopping" (*remszu*, "I stop"); *raudà* "complaint" (Sanscrit root *rud*, "to weep"); *gẽda*, "shame" (whence *gẽdinu*, "I shame"); *pa-galba*, "help" (*gelb-mi* *pa-gelb-mi*, "I help"); *priẽ-spauda*, "oppression" *spaudźiu*, "I press"); *pa-baiga*, "accomplishment" (*baigiu*, "I accomplish"). The following are examples in Old Sclavonic (in Dobrowsky, p. 276): МАВА *mlva*, "*tumultus*" (*mlv-i-ti*, МОЛВИТИ *molv-i-ti*, "*tumultuari*"); СЛАВА *slava*, "glory;" ГОУБА *gûba*, "*perditio*" (*gûb-i-ti*, "*perdere*"): МѢНА *myena*, "*mutatio*;" ПОБѢДА *po-byeda*, "*victoria*;" ОУТѢХА *û-tyecha*, "*consolatio*."

924. The suffix *i* is either identical with the demonstrative base *i* (see §. 360.), or, as I now prefer to assume, a weakening of the suffix *a*, which made its appearance in a period before the separation of our stem of languages; in the same way as, in Latin, the bases in *u* of the 2d declension (=Sanscrit *a*), as also those in *a* (=आ *â*), have fre-

[G. Ed. p. 1351.] quently permitted this vowel at the end of compounds to be corrupted to *i*, *e.g.*, in *imbellis*, *imberbis*, *multiformis*. This suffix forms in Sanscrit, (1) feminine abstracts accenting the root, especially in the Vêda dialect; *e.g.*, *ráṅh-i-s*, "quickness;" *kṛîṣhi-s*, "the ploughing;" *tvíṣh-i-s*, "lustre;" *sách-i-s*, "friendship," properly, "the following" (root *sach*, "to follow," cf. Latin *sequor* and *socius* with *sachiva-s*, "friend"); *líp-i-s*, "writing;" वर्धि *vĕrĕidh-i-s*, "increase, fortune"*; वर्धिन

* Dative *vĕrĕidhyé*, gen. pl. *vĕrĕidhinanm*, see Burnouf, "Etudes," pp. 316, 324.

-i-s, "creation"*; 𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬌𐬎 *raj-i-s*, "*institutio.*"† The hic supplies for this class of words the feminine base *ni*, "the suffering" (root *vann*: *vinna, vann, vunnum*), and n lost roots the bases *vrôhi*, "accusation," and *vêni*, ope;" nom., *vunn'-s*, *vrôh'-s*, *vên'-s*. In Old Sclavonic this class belong: рѣчь *ryechy*, "speech;" сѣчь *syechy*, ıe smiting, flogging" (theme *ryechi*, *syechi*, ч *ch* euphonic *k*); ꙗдь *yady*, "food," properly, "eating" (theme *yadi*): Greek, *μῆν-ι-ς* (cf. with respect to the root the Sanscrit *n-yú-s*, "wrath, dislike"), *δῆρ-ι-ς* (cf. the Sanscrit root *dar*, , "to tear asunder," *δέρω*, whence *vi-dâr-aṇá-m*, "war"), *υρ-ι-ς*, and with *δ* added (cf. §. 125. p. 138), the bases *ιδ*, *ὄπιδ*; with *τ* added, *χάριτ*. For the latter we should ve to expect in Sanscrit *hṛîṣh-i* (from *hárṣh-i*), nom., *ṣh-i-s*. In Latin to this class belong, perhaps, the bases *d-i*, *lâbi*, and *ambâ-g-i*; but in these and similar words the minative singular in *ê-s* causes a diffi- [G. Ed. p. 1352.] lty, as it would furnish occasion for a comparison with nscrit bases in *as*, nominative masculine and feminine *âs*; ', *nubês* reminds us of the Sanscrit *nábhas*, both as mas- line, meaning, among other things, "cloud," nom. *bhâs*, and as neuter, on which the Greek neuter base *ρες* (see §. 128.), and the Sclavonic *nebes* (nom. *nebo*, §. 264.), ıeaven," are based.‡ *Sedê-s* answers to the Sanscrit

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Root *dâh*=Sanscrit *dâs*, "to give," see Burnouf, "Yaçna," Notes, x. Rem. 16., whence it is clear that above (§. 180., p. 197), for 𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬎 *dâonhaôṭ* we ought to read, according to three other MSS., 𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬵𐬎 *dâonhôiṭ*, which *dâhi*, according to §§. 180. and 56ª., must ı in the ablative. The accusative *âhîm* of the same base is con- ed by the authority of V. S., p. 83.

See §. 180. I now regard the ablative 𐬭𐬀𐬚𐬎 *rajôiṭ*, which is iguous as regards its gender, as feminine.

In Lithuanian *debesi-s*, f. (from *nebesi-s*, cf. §. 317.), "cloud," regard- which it may remain undecided whether, according to its origin, it ngs to *nábhas* m., or to *nábhas* n.

सदस् *sádas*, "assembly" (perhaps originally "sitting"), and Greek ἕδος, ἕδε(σ)-ος. Consequently the *i* of *cædi*, *labi*, *nubi*, *sedi*, &c., which lies at the base of the oblique cases as theme, might have been deprived of a following *s*, or *r* for *s* (see §. 22.), and so the whole have migrated into the *i*-declension; where I recall attention to the exactly similar abbreviation which *munus*, *muner-is* (from *munis-is*), has experienced in the compounds *immuni-s*, and *opus*, *operis*, from *opis-is* (= Sanscrit *ápas*, *ápas-as*), in *opi-fex* for *operi-fex*. (2) Nouns of agency, and appellatives which, according to their primary meaning, are nouns of agency, or denote instruments. They are for the most part masculine, and accent, some of them the root, some the suffix. The following are examples: *chhíd-i-s*, "cleaver;" *yáj-i-s*, "sacrificer;" *pách-i-s*, "fire," as "cooking;" *áh-i-s*, "snake," as "moving itself" (root *aṅh*); *pḗṣh-i-s*, "thunderbolt," as "crushing;" *vas-í-s*, "garment;" *dhvan-í-s*, "sound;" *kav-í-s*, "poet," as "speaking" (root *ku*, "to sound"); *chhid-í-s*, f. "axe," as "cleaving;" *ruch-í-s*, f. "beam of light." Also some adjective bases, as *śúch-i*, "pure;" *bṓdh-i*, "knowing, wise;" *tuv-í*, "much"*; and, with reduplication, *jágm-i*, [G. Ed. p. 1353.] "quick" (root *gam*, "to go," Vêd.); *gághn-i*, "slaying" (root *han*, Vêd.), with the accusative (S. V. Benfey, p. 74); *sásn-i*, "giving," with the accusative (Vêd. l. c.); *sâsah-í*, "enduring" (Vêd.), with the accusative (l. c. p. 127). To the paroxytone nouns of agency, as *yáj-i-s*, "sacrificer," corresponds, in Greek, τρόχ-ι-ς, "runner:" with *áh-is*, "snake," in Zend [illegible] *az-i-s*, the etymologically obscure ἔχ-ι-ς is identical; and so, too, the Latin *angu-i-s*, the *u* of which (=*v*) is only a favourite affix after gutturals. To the oxytone feminine formations like *chhid-í-s*,

* In the Vêda dialect, root *tu*, "to grow." From the same root comes the Old Prusian *toû-la-n*, "much" (neut.), and the adverb *touls*, "more" (properly a comparative with *s*=Sanscrit *îyas*, *yas*, cf. §. 301.).

ıxe," as "cleaving," belong, probably, Greek feminine
ses like *ῥαφ-ίδ*, "needle," as "sewing;" *γραφ-ίδ*, "style," as
vriting;" *κοπ-ίδ*, "hanger, sword," as "smiting;" *σφαγ-ίδ*,
utcher's knife," as "slaughtering;" and, with passive signifi-
tion, *λεπ-ίδ*; with both active and passive, *λαβ-ίδ*. In Sanscrit
masculine *as-í-s* (cf. *ensi-s*), "sword," as "being whirled"
ot *as*, "to cast"), has a passive meaning. The Greek
mination *ιδ*, the *δ* of which is undoubtedly an inorganic
x, is, however, in so far ambiguous, that its *ι* is frequently
abbreviation of a Sanscrit *î*; and as the Sanscrit suffix *a*
Greek *o* (see §. 915.) frequently forms its feminine by *î*,
d, *e.g.*, parallel with the masculine *nadá-s* stands a femi-
ıe *nadî*, likewise "river," as "making a rushing noise,"
we might also regard the said Greek formations in *ιδ* as
responding to the Sanscrit formations in *î*, and therefore
rive, *e.g.*, *γραφίδ* from a to-be-presupposed masculine base
αφό or *γράφο*, in the same way as, *e.g.*, *στρατηγ'-ίδ*, "fe-
ıle leader of an army," comes from *σταρατηγό*; *κορων'-ίδ*,
m *κορωνό*. Beside the Sanscrit adjective bases like *súch-i*,
ure," *bódh-i*, "knowing," the Greek *τρόφ-ι* places itself
analogous. In Gothic, to this group of words belong
masculine substantive bases *yugga-laudi*, "young man,
ıth" (root *lud*, "to grow" = Sanscrit *ruh* from *rudh*),
ninative *lauth'-s*; *nav-i*, "slayer,"* [G. Ed. p. 1354.]
ninative *nau-s*; *muni*, "thought;" *saggvi*, "song" (with
)honic *v*, see §. 388.), and the feminine bases *daili*, "por-
ı" (Sanscrit root *dal*, "to cleave"); *qvêni*, "woman," as
earing" (Sanscrit root *jan*, "to bear"). The Lithuanian
ınants of this class of words are all feminine, and their
gin lies beyond the consciousness of the Lithuanian lin-
l intelligence. To this class belong, as ancient transmis-

* From *nahv-i*, with euphonic *v* (see §. 388.). It, with the Latin *nec*,
k *νέκυ*, *νεκρό*, belongs to the Sanscrit root *naś*, from *nak*, "to be
ed."

sions from the time of the unity of language, *ang-i-s*, "adder" = Sanscrit *áh-i-s*, Zend *az-i-s*, Greek ἔχ-ι-ς, Latin *angu-i-s*; *ak-i-s*, "eye"=Sanscrit *ákṣh-i* (neuter), Zend [illegible] *ash-i*, (see §. 52. conclusion): *ůs-i-s*, "ash," accords well with the Sanscrit root *vakṣh*, Zend [illegible] *ucs*, Gothic *vahs*, "to grow." Perhaps *kand-i-s*, "moth," has grown up on Lithuanian ground (cf. *kandu*, "I bite," Sanscrit खण्ड् *khaṇḍ*, "to bite," खद् *khad*, "to eat." In Zend the adjective bases [illegible] *darshi*, "courageous," and [illegible] *nâmi*, "flexible, tender," belong to this class of words. The following are examples of substantives: *ashi*, "eye," as "seeing" (see §. 52.): [illegible] *driwi*, "beggar" (see §. 45. p. 42, and cf. the Sanscrit root *darbh*, *dṛibh*, "to fear"); [illegible] *azi*, "snake" (=Sanscrit *áhi*) [illegible] *vairi*, probably, "harness," as "covering" (Sanscrit root *var*, *vṛi*, "to cover."* With respect to the secondary suffix *i*, in which the European languages have no share, the example quoted above (§. 913.) may suffice.

925. The suffix *u*, in which I think I recognise a demonstrative base, whence come the prepositions *ut*, *úpa*, and *upári*, forms, in Sanscrit, (1) adjectives from desiderative themes with the signification of the participle present. They, like the latter, govern the accusative, and retain also [G. Ed. p. 1355.] their energy by the accentuation of the first syllable, *i.e.* in the case before us, of the syllable of reduplication; *e.g.*, *dídṛikshuḥ pitárâu* "wishing to see the parents" (Sâv. 5. 109.). (2) Adjectives which, in agreement with the Greek in υ, and Lithuanian in *u*, for the most part accent the suffix; *e.g.*, *tanú*, "thin" (properly, "stretched out," root *tan*, "to stretch out"), Greek τανυ-, "stretched," "long;" *svâdú*, "sweet" ("savoury," root *svad*, "to taste well"), Greek ἡδύ, Lithuanian *saldù*, from *sladù* for *swadù* (see §. 20.); *laghú*, "light" ("moveable," root *langh*, "to spring

* See Burnouf, "Yaçna," p. 444.

ver"), Greek ἐ-λαχύ; *mṛidú*, "soft, tender" (properly, fine, pounded," from *mardú*, root *mard*, *mṛid*, "to crush"), reek βραδύ, from μραδύ; *âśú*, from *âkú*, "quick,"* (root , "to attain," originally, perhaps, "to be quick, to run," ence *áśva*, "steed," as "runner"), Greek ὠκύ; *purú*, from *rú*, "much" (root *par*, पॄ *pṛī*, "to fill," *píparmi* "I fill"), reek πολύ, from παλύ for παρύ, Gothic *filu*, indeclinable; *ithú*, "broad," from *prathú* (comparative *práthîyas*, root *prath*, *xtendi*, *expandi*"), Greek πλατύ, Lithuanian *platù*; *gurú*, heavy,"† Greek βαρύ (as βίβημι compared with *jágâmi*); *ú*, "great" (probably from *varú*, from *var*, *vṛi*, "to cover"), reek, εὐρύ; *bahu*, "much," probably from *badhú*,‡ Greek αθύ, "deep." To the Greek θαρσύ, θρασύ, corresponds e Lithuanian *drasù*, "bold, courageous."§ In Gothic, sides the already-mentioned indeclinable *filu*, there long to this class‖ *thaursu*, nom. m. f. *thaursu-s*, neuter *aursu* (root *thars* = Sanscrit *tarṣh*, [G. Ed. p. 1356.] *iṣh*, "dry," and *qvairru* "soft, quiet, mild" (our *kirr*). he following are examples in Zend: 𐬞𐬋𐬭𐬎𐬭𐬎 *pôuru*, "much" =Sanscrit *purú*; 𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬰𐬎 *ĕrĕzu*, "direct" = ऋजु *ṛijú* (root *ṛij*,

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* In classical Sanscrit only an adverb; in the Vêda dialect also an jective.

† From *garú*, whence compare *gárîyas*, superlative *gáriṣhṭha*, see 1058, p. 1091, G. ed.). I do not know a root suitable to this adjective regards its signification.

‡ Root *baṅh*, "to grow," from *bandh*, as *vṛih*, "to grow," from *vṛidh*, §. 23.

§ Sanscrit root *dharṣh*, "to dare," to which also belongs our *dreist*. garding other cognate affinities, see Glossarium Sanscr., a. 1847, p. 186.

That *qvairru-s* is radically identical with *qvair-nu-s*, "millstone," appear strange: I therefore recall notice to the connection of the ve-mentioned Sanscrit *mṛidú*, "tender," with the root *mard*, *mṛid*, crush." The root of the Gothic *qvairr-u-s* (with inorganic doubling he liquid) and *qvair-nu-s* is to be found in the Sanscrit *jar*, जॄ *jṛî*, triturate, to be ground."

from *arj* or *raj*); [Zend] *âsu*, "quick,"* whence the superlative [Zend] *âsista*; [Zend] *vaṇhu*, "good," = Sanscrit *vasú* (see §. 56[3].). The reason that, in Latin, adjectives corresponding to this class of words are wanting, is, as has been already elsewhere remarked,† that that language has added to all the words which, according to their origin, belong to this class, the inorganic affix of an *i*. In this way, from the Sanscrit *tanú* has been formed *tenui*, and *gurú*, for *garú*, has become *gravi* (transposed from *garui*); from *laghú* has come *levi* (for *legui*); from *svâdú*, *suavi* (for *suadui*); from *mṛidú*, for *mardú*, *molli*, as it seems by assimilation from *molvi* (cf. §. 312., pp. 428, 429), where the *l* corresponds either to the Sanscrit *r* or *d*. (3) Appellatives; *e.g.*, *dáru*, n. "wood," as "to be cleft;"‡ *íṣhu*, m. f. "arrow," as "moving itself;" *bándhu*, m. "kinsman," from *bandh*, "to bind;" *rájju*, m. "cord," as "binding" (cf. Latin "*ligare*"); *kârú*, m. "artificer," as "making;" *bhidú*, m. "thunderbolt," as "cleaving;" *tanú*, f. "body," as "stretched out;" also in Zend (see §. 180, p. 197). So, in Greek, beside the already-mentioned δόρυ, perhaps also the bases γῆρυ, f. (Sanscrit root *gar*, गॄ *gṛī*, whence *gir*, f. "voice"); νέκυ (Sanscrit root *naś*, from *nak*, "to be ruined" (= Zend [Zend] *naśu*, "a corpse" (see §. 247.), στάχυ, "ear of corn," as "raised

[G. Ed. p. 1357.]

* To the superlative *âśista*, which Neriosengh translates by *vêgavattama* (see Burnouf, "Vahista," p. 14, "Études," p. 211), corresponds admirably the Greek ὤκιστος. In Sanscrit we should have expected *áśiṣhṭha*.

† "Influence of the Pronouns on the formation of Words," p. 20.

‡ Cf. δόρυ, in the oblique cases δόρατ, as, γόνατ, together with γόνυ, Sanscrit *jánú*, n. The Gothic lengthens the two neuter bases by the affix of an *a*, which is again removed from the nominative and accusative, according to §. 153.; hence, *triva*, "tree," *kniva*, "knee," nom. acc. *triu*, *kniu* (dat. pl. *kniva-m*, *triva-m*).

"*; πῆχυ=Sanscrit *bâhú* "arm," Zend بازو *bâzu* (Sanscrit
t *bâh* or *vâh*, "to strive"); in Latin *curru*, "car," as "run-
g;" perhaps *acu*, if it belongs to the Sanscrit root अञ्च् *aś*,
n *ak*, in the signification "to penetrate"†; whence also
come the Sanscrit *aś-áni-s*, "thunderbolt," as "pene-
ing." The Gothic furnishes us with several masculine
es for this class of words, which, except *lith-u*, "limb,"
'moving itself" (root *lith* "to go"), *mag-u*, "boy" (root
, originally "to grow," then "to be able"), come from
roots; viz. *airu*, "messenger" (Sanscrit root *ar*, *ṛi*, "to
"); *fôt-u*, "foot," as "going" (Sanscrit *pad*, "to go,"
nce *pad* and *pád-a-s*, "foot"); *auhs-u*, "ox," (Sanscrit
h, "to wet," "to sow," whence *úkṣhan* "bull"); *grêd-u*,
nger."‡ In Lithuanian, *dangu-s*, [G. Ed. p. 1358.]
eaven," as "covering" (*dengiu*, "I cover") probably
ngs to this class.

926. The Sanscrit suffix *an*, in the strong cases *ân*, forms
ellatives which denote the person acting, and, like the

In so far as it is connected with στείχω (root στιχ=Sanscrit *stigh*,
mount") the *a* is only the Guna vowel, like the *o* of στόχο-ς.

In this case *acuo* is a denominative from *acu*, as in Greek, *e.g.*,
-ω from γηρυ (see §. 777.). Against a former conjecture, which I
ed with Pott in encouraging, that *acuo*, and similar words in the
pean sister languages, belonged to the Sanscrit root *śô* (from *kô*), "to
pen," with the preposition *â*, speaks the circumstance, that in San-
itself this preposition does not occur in combination with *śô*; and that
te Greek forms, which are most probably connected with the Latin
, viz. ἀκή, ἀκωκή, ἀκμή, ἀκρός, &c., as also the Lithuanian *asz-tru-s*,
aked, sharp," *asz-mů*, "sharpness," and the Sclavonic остръ *os-tr'*,
arp," in all of these the initial vowel belongs to the root. As अञ्च्
s a compound of *ak*, the Sanscrit *áṅ-ra-m*, "peak," may also be as-
ed to this root, and an anomalous mutation of the tenuis to the medial
ssumed.

The gender is uncertain: *grêdô*, "I hunger," is a denominative.
Sanscrit supplies the root *gṛidh*, from *gradh*, "to wish, to require,"
nce also the Sclavonic *glad'*, "hunger."

majority of the analogous Greek formations in *αν*, *εν*, *ον*, *ην*, *ων*, accent the radical syllable. The following are examples: *snéhan*, "friend," as "loving;" *rájan*, "king," as "ruling;" *tákṣhan*, "carpenter," as "cleaving, forming;" *úkṣhan*, "bull," as "impregnating;" *vṛíṣhan*, an appellation of Indra, originally, "causing to rain," also "bull," as "impregnating with seed." To the latter, from the root *varṣh*, *vṛiṣh*, ("to rain, to rain over, to besprinkle, to sow"), whence, also, other names of male animals, corresponds, in root, suffix, and accentuation, the Greek base *ἄρσ-εν* (from *Fάρσεν*), by assimilation, *ἄῤῥεν*, from an obsolete root. The suffix under discussion further exhibits itself in Greek in the same form in the base *εἴρ-εν*, "youth," as "speaking." This suffix, however, diverges from its original destination in the adjective base *τέρ-εν*, in which *εν* has a passive signification, like the *ον* of *πέπ-ον*, "ripe," properly, "cooked," which is originally identical with it. The suffix *ον* appears, in its original destination in *τέκτ-ον*, contrasted with the above-mentioned तक्षन् *táksh-an*, "a carpenter," and with demitted accent in *σταγ-όν*, ("drop," as "trickling"), *τρυγ-όν*, *ἀρηγ-όν*, *ἀη-δόν*, *εἰκ-όν*. The original *α*, with the genuine accentuation, has remained in *τάλαν*. As regards the bases in *ην* and *ων*,

[G. Ed. p. 1359.] it is to be observed that the Sanscrit suffix *an* forms the strong cases in *ân* (see §. 129.), with the exception of the vocative singular, and this latter is probably the older form of the suffix, which appears to me to have arisen from *ana*, so that the dropping of the final *a* has been compensated by lengthening the first. The shortening of the vowel of the suffix under discussion, and its entire suppression in the Sanscrit weakest cases (see §. 130.), have, however, probably entered into the different languages independently of one another, and probably for the first time after the separation of languages. Compare, *e.g.*, the plural nominatives *σκήπων-ες*, ("staves," as "supporting"), *κλύδων-ες*, ("billows," as "laving"), *αἴθων-ες*, *εἴρων-ες*, *τρίβων-ες*,

.e latter, contrary to the Sanscrit principle, with a ssive signification), with the plural nominatives of the ove-mentioned (p. 1358 G. ed.) Sanscrit bases, *snéhân-as*, *án-as*, *tákṣhân-as*, *vṛíṣhân-as*,* In genitives like *snéhn-* " *amicorum*," sing. *snéhn-as*, as generally in the weak- cases, the Sanscrit stands in very disadvantageous mparison with Greek forms like *σκηπών-ων*, *σκήπων-ος*; ile, on the other hand, it surpasses the Greek in this, at in the classical language it has nowhere allowed the gth of the vowel of the suffix to be lost in the strong es (with the exception of the vocative singular and the malous *púṣhan*, "the sun," as "nourisher," in all the ng cases); and hence, *e.g.*, it contrasts the forms *tákṣhân-* *tákṣhân-ân*, *tákṣhân-as*, with the Greek *τέκτον-α*, *τέκτον-ε*, *τον-ες*.† Moreover, the Sanscrit, in this class of words, never suffered the accent to sink [G. Ed. p. 1360.] n on the suffix, like, *e.g.*, in the Greek, *πευθήν*, *ἀπατεών*.

927. The Latin exhibits the suffix under discussion in form *ôn*, and therefore likewise favours the supposition t its vowel was originally pervadingly long. To this class long, *e.g.*, the bases *ed-ôn*, *ger-ôn*, *combib-ôn*, *prædic-ôn*, *err-*, the accusatives of which, *ed-ôn-em*, *ger-ôn-em*, &c., corre-

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* *ṇ* for *n* in the two last forms, through the euphonic influence of the ceding *ṣh*.

† With regard to the *τ* for Sanscrit *ṣh*, *τέκτων* has the same relation to Sanscrit *tákṣhâ* (see §. 139.) that *ἄρκτο-ς* has to *ṛikṣhá-s*, "bear" (from *ṣhá-s*), the sibilant of which is preserved by the Latin *ursu-s* as origi-

In the Vêda dialect the suffix under discussion admits after *ṣh* in the ng cases, at option either *â* or *a* (Pân. VI. 4. 9.); *e.g.*, *tákṣhân-am* *tákṣhaṇ-am*=*τέκτον-α*, *tákṣhân-as* and *tákṣhaṇ-as*=*τέκτον-ες*. I not, however, regard this agreement with the Greek, with respect to shortening of the vowel, as merely accidental, as in the Vêda dialect bound up with the condition of *ṣh* preceding, which shews itself also in above-mentioned *púṣhan*, and as the Vêda dialect admits also of several r forms, which can only have arisen in the progress of corruption.

spond well to the Sanscrit, like *snéh-ân-am*, *rág-dn-am*. A weakening of the original *â* to *i* is found in *pect-in*, nominative, *pect-en* (according to §. 6.), the *i* of which for *ô* resembles that of the base *ho-min*, the nominative of which belongs to a base *ho-môn* (see §. 797. p. 1077.). In Gothic the suffix spoken of has throughout in the singular, in the cases which, in Sanscrit, are weak, just like the suffix *man* (§. 799.), experienced the weakening of the *a*-sound to *i* (see §. 132.). To this class belong the bases (some of which have sprung from lost roots) *han-an*, "cock," as "singing" (Latin *cano*, Sanscrit *śaṅs* from *kaṅs*, "to say"); *stau-an*, "judge" (Sanscrit root *stu*, "to praise"); *faura-gagg-an*, "superintendant" (literally, "preceder"); *ar-an*, "eagle," as "flying" (Sanscrit root *ar*, *ṛi*, "to go"); *ah-an*, "sense, understanding" (cf. *ah-man*, "spirit," §. 799., *ah-ya*, "I think, I mean"); *liut-an*, "hypocrite;" *nut-an*, "catcher;" *gasinth-an*, "companion;" *skul-an*, "debtor" (root *skul*, "to owe, to be obliged"); *veih-an*, "priest," as "consecrating;"

[G. Ed. p. 1361.] *spill-an*, "announcer;"* *auhsan*, "ox" =Sanscrit *úkṣhan* (see §. 82.), nom. *auhsa*=*úkṣhá* (see §. 140.). In Old High German the Gothic *a* of this suffix and of the suffix *man* has been corrupted to *o* or *u*: in the genitive and dative plural, however, we find inorganic *ô*, while the Gothic *an-ê*, *a'-m* (for *an-m*), would lead us to expect a short *o* (see Grimm, I. p. 624). The *i* of the Gothic genitive and dative singular has remained, or been further corrupted to *e*, which latter, in the Middle and New High German, has extended itself through all the cases. The Old High German bases in *on*, *e.g.*, *bot-on*, "messenger," as "announcing"† *ox-on*, "ox," *has-on*, "hare," as

* *Spillô*, "I announce, I relate." The *s* is probably a phonetic prefix or an obsolete preposition. Compare the Old Prussian *billa*, "I say," Lithuanian *biloju* id., Irish *brí*, "word," and the Sanscrit root *bru*, "to speak."

† Properly, "offering." The root *but*, "to offer," is based on the Sanscrit

ing (Sanscrit *śaś*, "to spring," *śaśá*, "hare"), "runner," *trink-on*, "drinker," *fah-on*, "seizer," *on*, "leader of an army," correspond excellently to ases like *ἀρηγ-όν*, and the nominatives which drop the *ot-o* (our *Bote*, "messenger," from the base *Boten*), atin like *edo*, *combibo*. The English language ex- remarkable remnant of the Sanscrit suffix *an* in al "oxen," which, according to form, is nothing but ı of the Sanscrit base *úkṣhan* a little altered, which in German in the form *Ochsen*, not only in the but also in all the oblique cases of the singular. ı its limitation to the plural, the ancient formative s, in English, obtained the appearance of an expres- plurality; and just so in "brethren" (Sanscrit base *bhrâtṛí*), "chicken," and "children," where the ori- ıte of our stem of languages gives no occasion for modern Netherlandish this suffix has fixed itself in al of all regular words, and has [G. Ed. p. 1362.] ecome a distinct mark of plurality for the practi- of language. Regarding a similar abuse of ano- scrit suffix in the oldest period of High German l.).

The suffix under discussion does not form in San- ular neuter bases; but some anomalous neuters in ıeir weakest cases (see §. 130.) from bases in *an*, *e.g.*, eye" (as "seeing"), from *akṣhán*, which may, per- re originally had a perfect declension, and on which, *ákṣha*, which, at the end of compounds, takes the *ákṣhi*, is based, with the loss of an *n*, as also *rá̂j-an*, the word most in use of this class, is regularly as the final element of a compound by *râja*. Con-

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"to know," and has assumed a causal signification; so that making to know," approaches nearer to the old meaning than *utu*, "*offero*."

versely, in German, several base
simple state, terminate in a vow
compounds, the suffix *an*, *e. g.*, in
thiser" (from *ga*, "with," and *dai*
ga-hlaiban, "companion" (*hlaiba*, r
us-lithan, "palsied" (*us*, "from,
"member"). In Old High Ge
"day" (simple theme *taga*, nom.
pounds, by extending itself to
conjectural Sanscrit sister word
(see §. 253. p. 270). To return t
akṣhán, "eye," whence, in the Vê
[G. Ed. p. 1363.] cases spring—
plural *akṣhábhis*—the Gothic base
in root, suffix, and gender. As the
vocative plural of neuters in San
cases, we should here expect fron
from *akṣhân-a* (see §. 234.); and
"eyes," admirably corresponds
In Gothic, however, the nominativ
singular of neuter bases in *an* al
strong; hence, *augô* for the *akṣh*

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* I regard *áhan* as an abbreviation of *á*
"to give light"), see Gloss. Scr., a. 1847,
Sanscrit Grammar, this anomalous word,
in *áhas*, is erroneously given as masculin
forms in the nominative, accusative, and voc
áhá belongs to the base *áha*), dual *áhní*, o

† The sibilant of the Sanscrit root ma
in the Gothic, as in the Latin *oculus*, t
root *ὀπ*, from *ὀκ*. For the *g* in *augan* v
§. 87., and therefore *auhan*, which form
that case we should regard the *u* as th
explain the *a* of the diphthong *au* accordi
akṣha at the end of compounds the Got
"one-eyed," has been already compared (

With the Gothic neuter base *vatan*, "water" (for
n Lithuanian, where, in substantives, the neuter is
:ral wanting, we find the masculine base *wanden*,
andû, see §. 139. p. 151), the Sanscrit compares the
an, which, however, can only be inferred from its
ves, *udan-vat*, "ocean" (literally, "gifted with water"),
n-yâ, "thirst" (*i.e.* "craving for water"), and whose
therefore, cannot be decided. Perhaps *udan* is also
:d in the compounds which begin with *uda*, "water,"
n is regularly suppressed in such a position: a
da, however, has hitherto not been discovered. The
onding verbal root is *und* ("to be wet"), the nasal
h has remained in the Latin *unda* and Lithuanian

In Lithuanian we must further, in respect of its
:fer to this class the base *rud-en*, nom. *rudû*, "autumn,"
ically, perhaps, to the Sanscrit *ruh*, [G. Ed. p. 1364.]
dh, "to grow," to which, also, *inter alia*, belongs the
ic *rod-i-ti*, "to bear young."

I look upon the Sanscrit accented suffix *in* as a
ing of the suffix *an*. After augmenting the radical
it forms words like *vâdín*, "speaking" (root *vad*),
'making" (root *kar*, *kṛi*), *hârín*, "taking, rubbing,"
vishing," *yôdhín*, "striving" (root *yudh*), *sâvín*, "squeez-
," which occur only at the end of compounds; *e.g.*,
ín, "speaking truth," Yajurv. V. 7.; *manyu-sâvín*,
sly squeezing out" (the Sôma), S. V., I. 3. 1., 4. 1.).
l in the simple form, as substantive, कामिन् *kâmín*,
;, lover." With respect to the weakening of the *a*
ese formations correspond to the above-mentioned
Latin bases *pect-in*, and the Gothic genitives and da-
ke *stau-in-s*, "*judicis*," *stau-in*, "*judici*," in contrast to
re organic *a* of the other cases, *e.g.*, of the accusative
, "*judicem*," and of the nominative and accusative plu-
-an-s, "*judices*." The Sanscrit itself presents some
:able words in which the suffixes *an* and *in* occur to-

gether, and indeed so, that *an*, or rather *ân* (see §. 926.), occurs only in the strong cases, and *in* extends over all those weak cases which do not, as is done in the said words by the weakest cases, entirely divest themselves of the suffix, and, beyond these, also to the vocative, which especially inclines to a weakening of the vowel. Moreover, the accent in the words spoken of is so divided, that the cases with the suffix *an* (*ân*) follow the accentuation of *rájan*, "king, ruler," and similar words, and those with the suffix *in* (excepting the vocative, §. 785. Rem. p. 1054), that of *-kârín*, "making," *-vâdín*, "speaking," and similar formations in *in*. Thus, *e.g.*, from the root *manth*, "to shake," comes the base *manthan*, "a churn," as "shaker" [G. Ed. p. 1365.] (accented like *rájan*); and hence, by weakening the root, the suffix, and the accentuation, the base *mathín*, which is found also at the beginning of compounds, and is therefore viewed by the grammarians as the proper theme. The analogy of *mánthan*, *mathín*, is, moreover, followed by the already-mentioned *pánthan*, *pathín*, "way," where the suffix under discussion has a passive signification; a circumstance which has already been remarked of the Greek τριβών, which is, in formation, akin to it. The root is *path*, "to go," perhaps originally *panth*: the signification, therefore, of *pánthan*, *pathín*, is tantamount to "gone upon, trodden." In the Vêda dialect the accusative singular *pánthânam*, and the nominative plural *pánthânas*, allow the *n* to be cast out, after which the two *a*-sounds coalesce; whence *pánthâm*, *pánthâs*, a remarkable though fortuitous coincidence with the Greek εἰκώ, εἰκοῦς, εἰκούς, for εἰκόνα, εἰκόνος, εἰκόνας.

930. The suffix *in* is used in Sanscrit also for the formation of derivative words, and then denotes the person gifted with the thing which is expressed by the primitive; and has, therefore, a passive meaning like the primitive *pathín*, "way," as "trodden." This *in* has likewise the

nt; *e.g.*, *dhanín*, "rich, endowed with riches" (nom. m. *ií*, according to §. 139.), from *dhaná*, "wealth;" *kêśín*, ·ered with hair, having beautiful hair" (from *kêśá*, "hair"), as substantive masculine "a lion" ("the maned"); *ín* and *karín*, "the elephant," properly, "having a trunk," ı *hastá*, *karáh*, "hand, trunk." It appears to me to it of no doubt that the secondary *in*, too, is a weaken- of *an*, or rather *ân*, which, in Greek and Latin, has ained in the form of *ων*, *ôn*, in possessives to which the of language has imparted a partly amplified significa- , in like manner as several of the Sanscrit formations er discussion may be regarded as ampliatives; since, *kêś-ín*, as "lion" is "the shaggy;" [G. Ed. p. 1306.] -*ín*, ("gifted with teeth") as "elephant" is "the large- hed;" *dáṅshṭr'-ín* (from *dáṅshṭrâ*, "tooth"), as "boar" the tusk-endowed." So in Greek, *e.g.*, the bases, and, ıe same time, nominatives, *γνάθ-ων*, "thick-cheeked" (pro- y only "having cheeks"); *κεφάλ'-ων*, "thick-head;" *ρ-ων*, "thick-belly, having a great paunch;" *Πλούτ-ων*, ɔerly, "having great riches;" in Latin, *e.g.*, *nas-ôn*,* *t-ôn*, *front-ôn*, *ped-ôn*, *bucc'-ôn*, *labi'-on*, *gul'-ôn*. *Cæs'-ôn*, ı a lost base, is perhaps, together with *cæsaries*, con- ed with the Sanscrit *kêśá* (nom. *kêśá-s*, "hair"), although Sanscrit *ś* (from *k*) would lead us to expect in Latin *c*. if, notwithstanding the connection which Pott (E. I., 88) conjectures should be well founded, we may recog- in the name *Cæs-ôn* a cognate formation of the above- tioned Sanscrit appellation of the lion (*kêś'-ín* from *în*), and of the proper name of a Dânava, which we t with in Kâlidâsa's Urvaśî, while the feminine form ıe said word (*kêś'-íni*) in the Nalus appears as the name female attendant of Damayantî. As regards the ac-

* In Sanscrit we should have to expect from *nâsá*, "nose," a *nás'-ín*, ed with *in*.

centuation, the Greek possessives correspond to the Sanscrit nouns of agency in *an*, *ân*: compare *e.g.*, the plural γάστρων-ες with *râjân-as*. The feminine formation ῥύγχαινα (for ῥυγχανια) is remarkable: it corresponds to τάλαινα, μέλαινα (see §. 119.), and therefore presupposes a masculine neuter base ῥυγχαν, and represents the Sanscrit feminine possessives like *kêśinî*, "having (fine or much) hair," for *kêśanî*. So, according to its form, θεράπαινα is based, not on θεραποντ, but on a to-be-presupposed base θεραπαν and [G. Ed. p. 1367.] represents the Sanscrit feminines like *râjñî* ("she that rules," "queen") for *râjanî*, and this for *râjanî*.

931. It is important to observe, that where the Greek possessive suffix ων refers not to persons but to rooms, which are gifted with the thing expressed by the base name, the accentuation which has been recognised above (§. 785. commencement of Remark) as the more energetic and animated is replaced by the weaker, since the accent sinks down from the first or second syllable of the word to the suffix; thus, *e.g.*, ἱππών, properly, "gifted with horses," with the to-be-supplied secondary idea of room, and thus "stall for horses;" so ἀνδρ-ών, γυναικ-ών, πιθ'-ών, οἰν'-ών, ἀμπελ'-ών, σιτ'-ών, μελισσ'-ών, περιστερε-ών,* in opposition to the living possessors of the things denoted, as Γνάθων, Πλούτων, Χείλων, Κεφάλων, Τύχων. The accented

* I regard the ε of περιστερε-ών as the thinning of the final vowel of the base of the primary word, which in περιστερ'-ών, according to the prevailing principle (see §. 913.), is suppressed. So ἀμπελε-ών together with ἀμπελ'-ών, οἰνε-ών together with οἰν'-ών, ῥοδε-ών with ῥοδ'-ών; χαλκε-ών, λυχνε-ών. There is no source for the ε of κωνωπεών in the primitive base κωνωπ: and it is probably introduced through analogy with the forms in which the ε is founded on the final vowel of the primitive base, and the origin of which is now lost sight of by the language. With respect to the weakening of ο to ε compare vocatives like λύκε from λύκο (§. 204.).

uffix *ων*, transferred from that which possesses room to time, orms also names of months, in which the preceding *ι* everywhere belongs to the primitive, where this really admits of being traced; hence, *e.g.*, *ἐλαφηβολι'-ών*, properly, "gifted with the hunting-feast," and hence, "month of the hunting-feast." The Sanscrit forms with the feminine of the suffix *ín* (=Greek *ών*) words which express the place provided with the thing denoted. At least, from all the appellatives of the lotus-flower come words in *iní*, [G. Ed. p. 1368.] which denote "lotus-field," "lotus-pond;" as, *e.g.*, *padm-iní* from *padma*. Hereto remarkably correspond Greek feminines like *ῥοδ'-ωνιά*, properly, "gifted with roses," hence, "rose-garden," where, as in the above-mentioned (§. 119.) orms in *τρια*=Sanscrit *trí*, to the feminine character *í* here has been further added an inorganic *α*, thus *-ωνια*= *ní* from *áni*.

932. The suffix अन *ana*, fem. *aná*, and *aní*, which we ave already taken cognizance of as a means of formation f abstract substantives, as *gám-ana-m*, "the going," and on which the infinitives of various Indo-European languages re based,* I regard as identical with the demonstrative *na* (see §. 372. passim). This suffix forms in Sanscrit, *nter alia*, proparoxytone appellatives neuter or masculine, s *núy-ana-m*, "eye," as "guiding" (root *ní*, with Guna); *lóch-ana-m*, id., as "seeing" (root *lóch*); *vád-ana-m*, "mouth," s "speaking;" *láp-ana-m*, id., (root *lap*, "to speak," cf. Latin *loquor* and *labium*); *dáś-ana-m* and *dáś-ana-s*, "tooth,"

* See §§. 851. (p. 1211 G. ed.), 852., 876., 877. To the feminine abstracts in अना *aná*, like *yách-aná*, "the begging" (§. 877.), I have further to assign the Gothic base *ga-mait-anón* (nom. *-anó*), "the cutting in pieces," as an analogous form which stands alone in Gothic, which is distinguished from its Sanscrit prototypes (see §. 142.) only by the *n*, which n German is so frequently added to bases terminating originally in a owel.

as "biting" (root *dańś* from *dank* = Greek δακ); *vā́h-ana-m*, "car," as "carrying"*; *táp-ana-s*, "sun," as "burning;" *dáh-ana-s*, "fire," as "burning;" *dárp-ana-s*, "mirror," as "making proud" (root *darp*, *dṛip* in the causal); *tár-aṇa-s*, [G. Ed. p. 1369.] "boat," as "ferrying over." Hereto well correspond, with respect to accentuation also, Greek bases in *ανο*, and indeed to the neuter, such as *δρέπ-ανο-ν* ("sickle," as "cutting off"), *γλύφ-ανο-ν*, *κόπ-ανο-ν*, *ὄργ-ανο-ν*, *τήγ-ανο-ν* (for *τήκανον*), *ὄχ-ανον* (as "means of holding"), *σκέπ-ανο-ν*.† The following are examples with a passive meaning: *πλόκ-ανο-ν*, *πόπ-ανο-ν*, *τύμπ-ανο-ν*. To the masculine forms like *dáh-ana-s*, "fire," as "burning," correspond *στέφ-ανο-ς*, *χό-ανο-ς*, *χόδ-ανο-ς*. In Lithuanian, to this class belong most probably words like *tek-ûna-s*, "runner," where the first vowel of the suffix is weakened as regards quality, but lengthened as regards quantity, and has drawn to itself the accent. The following are other examples: *bĕ́g-ûna-s*, "fugitive;" *klaid-ûna-s*, "wanderer;" *pa-klaid-ûna-s*, "rover" (*klys-tu*, "I wander," pret. *klyd-au*); *lep-ûna-s*, "weakling;" *mal-ûna-s*, "mill;" *riy-ûna-s* or *ryy-ûna-s*, "devourer" (*ryy-ú*, "I swallow, I devour"). In Gothic, perhaps the base *thiud-ana*, nom. *thiudan'-s*, "king," if it originally signifies "ruling," belongs to this class‡. In Old High German the masculine

* The following have a passive signification: *e.g.*, *śáy-ana-m*, "couch, bed," and *ā́s-ana-m*, "seat." To the former corresponds the Zend [illegible] *śay-anĕ-m*. Another example in Zend is [illegible] *khar-anĕ-m*, "sustenance," as "being eaten" (Burnouf, "Yaçna," p. 550).

† As in Sanscrit the *ay* of causals and verbs of the 10th class, which has its influence in the formation of words, is dropped before the suffix *ana* (*dárp-aṇa-s*, not *darpayana-s*); so in Greek the *α* of the corresponding verbs in *άω* falls off: hence *σκέπ-ανο-ν*, the *α* of which has nothing to do with that of *σκεπ-άω*.

‡ The lost root *thud* is perhaps an extension of the Sanscrit *tu*, "to grow" (whence *táv-as*, "strength"), which we have already recognised in Gothic in the form in *tav* (see p. 1342 G. ed., §. 917., 3d Note).

ɜe *wag-ana*, "wagon," nom. acc. *wag-an*, irrespective of nder, accords admirably with the above-mentioned San-it *vā́h-ana-m*. The suffix under discussion forms in ıscrit adjectives also with the accent on the final syllable the suffix, as *śôbh-aná*, "fair" (*śôbh-aná-s*, *-aná*, *-aná-m*), ›perly, "shining" (root *śubh*, "to shine"); [G. Ed. p. 1370.] *l-aná*, "flaming;" *chal-aná*, "tottering, trembling."* So Greek, σκεπ-ανό-ς, "covering;" ἱκ-ανό-ς, "sufficient."

933. Let us now examine somewhat closer the Sanscrit fix *as*, the dative of which we have already recognised as termination of Vêdic infinitives (see §. 856.), and whose gin we have sought in the root *as* of the verb substan-ɜ (see §§. 855., 857.). The Indian grammarians, however, ognise as infinitives, *i.e.* as representatives of the form *um*, only those forms which have no other case from the ıe base accompanying them, as is the case, *e.g.*, with *s-ê*, "in order to live," the sole remnant of the base *jîvás*. the other hand, *chákṣhas-ê*, which above (at p. 1224 G. ed., 56.), in a passage there quoted from the Rig-Vêda, we e seen standing beside a dative of the common infinitive ı similar relation, is looked upon by the Scholiast Sâyana ıo infinitive, clearly because *chákṣhas*, "the seeing," is ıined with a complete declension, and for example has ominative, which is wanting in the Vêdas in the form *u* in the simple word.† The simple suffix, called *asun*

To this class of words I refer the Zend 𐬰𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬥𐬀 *zav-ana*, "living" Burnouf, "Yaçna," Notes, pp. 81 and 88, n.), from the contracted *zu*, for *ju* (cf. §. 109 b) 2. p. 119, and §. 58.).

Jîvā́tu, "*vita*," which occurs in the nominative, I should agree with fey in regarding as an infinitive, were it found in sentences like *na ôti jîvâtum*, "he cannot live," or like *jîvitañ jîvâtum*, "*vitam vivere*." he passages, however, quoted by Benfey (Glossary, p. 72), the signi-ion "*vita*" is sufficient; moreover, *jîvā́tu* is not, like the infinitives ı, a feminine, but a masculine and neuter (see Uṇâdi, I. 75.), and ifies, like the Latin word, akin to it in root and formation, *victus*, be-

 sides

Language," p. 431, says that *jivâtum* appears in
an infinitive, I am unable to perceive this distin
passages quoted in the Glossary to the S. V., j
deduce, with Benfey, the masculine nature of th
Vêdic infinitive datives in *tavé;* as, indeed, as the
self says in §. 727. V., which is adduced as proof,
tionally form the dative in *avé*, while the mascu
Now the Vêdic infinitive datives actually avail th
of using in the dative both the termination *é* w
termination *ái*, inasmuch as they employ both the
with this peculiarity, that before the heavier ar
termination *ái* they gunise the *u* of the suffix. I
port of my views, refer to the gerund in *tvá*, a
pronounces no opinion whatever on it as to its gen
cially as to the grammatical category to which it
he remarks (p. 426, §. 911.) that *alan kritvá* signi
"enough done," it might be imagined that the fo
tion with *alam*, is a perfect passive participle; wh
alan kṛitvā properly means "enough with doing,"
shews itself to be an abstract substantive in the in
G. ed., §. 851., Note). It may appear strang
this gerund, or rather the equivalent form in
weight of composition), in constructions where,
sition might be used; but even here, too, if v
as the instrumental of an abstract substantive or
ficulty; for *atikramya parvatan nadî*, according

e radical syllable, and commonly with Guna of the wels capable of receiving that augment; *e.g.*, *tḗj-as*, ustre" (root *tij*, "to sharpen"); *várch-as*, id.; *sáh-as*, night," *ráṅh-as*, "quickness;" *áñj-as*, id.; *táras*, id. (root , तॄ *tṛî*, "to step over"); *śáv-as*, "strength:" Zend 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬯 *s̀av-as̀*, "use" (root *śu*, from *śvi*, "to grow"); *v-as*, "strength" (Vêd. *tu*, "to grow"); *ráh-as*, "secret" ot *rah*, "to leave"); *máh-as*, "greatness" (root *mah*, *ṅh*, "to grow"); *nám-as*, "bending, reverence, adora-n:" Zend 𐬥𐬆𐬨𐬀𐬯 *nĕmas̀*; *táp-as*, "penitence," properly, he burning;" *dúv-as*, "transformation, reverence," Vêd., operly, "going" (root *du*, "to go").

B) Neuter appellatives, with an active, and some of them th a passive signification, and with accentuation of the ot and Guna; *e.g.*, *sár-as*, "pond," Vêd. "water," as "flow-;" (root *sar*, *sṛi*, "to move itself"); *śráv-as*, "ear," as earing;" Zend 𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬯 *s̀ravas̀*, id. (root *s̀ru*), formally the eek κλέ(F)-ος; *chákṣh-as*, "eye," as "seeing"*; *rṓdh-as*, ast," as "hemming in;" *chḗt-as*, "spirit," as "think-" (root *chint*, *chit*); *mán-as*, id.: Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬯 *man-as̀*, irit, thought" (Greek μέν-ος, root मन् *man*, "to think"); *t-as*, "stream," as "flowing"†; *páya-s*, "water, milk,"

Like the abstract चक्षस् *chákṣhas* only in the Vêda dialect, where *ṣh* means "to see."

Root *sru*, with *t* inserted (Uṇâdi, IV. 203.); so also *rḗt-a-s*, "seed," *ṛi*, "to flow." An inserted *th* is found in *pā́-th-as*, "water" (l. c.), as "being drunk." *N*, too, or *ṇ* is inserted; viz. in *áp-n-as*, "ope-n, work," together with *áp-as* and *ā́p-as* (root *āp*, "to obtain," with . *sam*, "to complete"); *ár-ṇ-as*, "water," root *ar*, *ṛi*, "to move elf." Compare *chatur-ṇ-ā́m*, τεσσάρων, from *chatur*. In Latin, *n-us* (root *pag*), *faci-n-us*, and perhaps *mû-n-us*, belong to this class, if latter, with respect to its root, is connected with the Sanscrit *mâ*, "to sure" (with prep. *nis*, *nir*—*nir-mâ*, "to make, to produce"). In Greek his class belong words like δά-ν-ος, κτῆ-ν-ος, δρᾶ-ν-ος, τέρχ-ν-ος, Dor. -ν-ος (cf. τρέχω, τρίχ, θρίκ-ς, Sanscrit *dṛih*, from *darh* or *drah*, "to "grow"),

[G. Ed. p. 1373.] as "being drunk" (root *pî*, "to drink"); *ndh'-as*, "wood," as "about to be burnt" (root *indh*, "to kindle"); *vách-as*, "speech," as "spoken;" Zend [illegible] *vach-aś*, id. Here must be ranked some masculine bases in the Vêda dialect like *vákṣhas*, "ox," as "drawing," if it springs, as the Grammarians assume (see Böhtling, Uṇâdi-suffixes IV. 220.), from the root *vah*, with the affix of a sibilant. It might, however, as I prefer supposing, come from *vakṣh*, "to grow," so that it would properly signify "the great," like the term for a buffalo, *mahiṣhá*, from another root "to grow." An isolated form is the oxytone feminine *uṣh-ás*, "aurora," as "shining;" Zend [illegible] *ush-aś*, id., likewise feminine, acc. [illegible] *ushâoṇhĕm* = Vêd. *uṣhâśam* (root उष् *uṣh*, "to burn," here "to shine"). This word deserves especial notice, because in the Vêda-dialect it exhibits a long *â*,* not only in the nominative singular, but occasionally also in other strong cases, and indeed even in the genitive plural (*uṣhá-sâm*, see Benfey's Glossary) and thus as it were prepares the Latin form [G. Ed. p. 1374.] *aurôr-a* (*ô* = *â*), which, through the appended *a*, has the same relation to the Sanscrit *uṣhâs*, that

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grow"), τέμε-ν-ος. The latter contains, like the Latin *faci-n-us*, the class-vowel of the verbal theme. In Zend to this class belongs [illegible] *khârĕ-n-aś*, "lustre" (nom. acc. *kharĕnô*, according to §. 56[b]., gen. *kharĕnaṇh-ô*, according to §. 56[a].), from the root *khar* = Sanscrit *svar*, "to shine" (see §. 35. and §. 815. last Note), the ε of which is explained by §. 30. With Sanscrit formations which insert a *t*-sound, like *srô-t-as*, *pâ-th-as*, we might compare the Greek μέγε-θ-ος, in case it does not come from μέγας, but, like the latter, from the obsolete root (which, too, has lost its verb) μεγ = Sanscrit *mah*, *maṅh*, "to grow."

* The form *uṣhâs-â*, at the beginning of copulative compounds, shews itself to be the Vêdic dual termination of the base *uṣhâs*, as the Vêda dialect, as has already been elsewhere remarked, admits also, in the first member of such compounds, the dual termination.

er-a has to *oper*, the theme of the oblique cases of *opus* = nscrit *áp-as*, "work."*

C) Adjectives with the signification of the present participle, which, in combination with the substantive preceding, nd standing in the accusative relation, appear partly as ppellatives, but in the Vêda dialect, which is here of pecial importance to us, retain in composition too their. djective natures. The following are Vêdic examples: *ri-cháksḥas*, "seeing men;" *nṛi-mánas*, "thinking of men;" *ṛi-vâhas*, "bearing man or men;" *stóma-vâhas*, "bringing ymns of praise;" *viśvá-dhâ-y-as*, "bearing all" (with euphon. , see §. 43.), *riśádas* (*riśa-adas* "consum- [G. Ed. p. 1375.] ng the foes." To this class belongs the Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬱 *sh-aŋj-aś*, "destroying purity," if Burnouf's analysis of

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* From the Vêdic instrumental *uṣhád-bhis*, for which probably the rm *uṣhád-bhyas* will occur as dative and ablative, and *uṣhátsu* as locative, should not choose to infer, with Benfey (Grammar, p. 149), that *as* has isen from *at* of the present participle, as *s* in Sanscrit, in the common nguage too, is changed, according to fixed laws, into *t*; hence, *e.g.*, om *vas*, "to dwell," the future *vat-syámi*, and aorist *ávât-sam*. More- er, the *s* of our suffix proves itself, by the cognate Greek, Latin, Ger- an, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic forms, to be a sibilant, existing there be- re the period of the separation of languages; and which, in the Vêdic nscrit in the word under discussion, at the beginning of compounds, nges over into *r* (*uṣhar-búdh*, "waking early"). I likewise recall at- ntion to the fact that the base word *ap*, "water," allows its *p* before e *bh* of the case-terminations to be changed into *d*, without its being ssible to thence infer that *ap*, on which are based the Latin *aqua* d Gothic *ahva*, "river," has proceeded from *ad* or *at*. I would rather ume, with Weber (V. S. Sp. 1. 18.), that only the forms with *d* belong a base *at* (root *at*, "to move oneself"). However suitable this root, to ich the said learned man has, l. c., assigned a numerous family, may be an appellation of "water," I nevertheless prefer assuming that the cumstance, that in forms like *ab-bhyas* the base separates itself less rply from the termination than if the termination were preceded by nute of a different organ, has given occasion for the change of the nto *d*.

this word is right ("Études," p. 167). In the Vêda dialect there are also simple adjectives of this kind with the accent on the suffix; *e.g.*, *tar-ás*, "quick," properly "hastening," contrasted with *táras*, "quickness;" *tavás*, "strong," properly, "grown," contrasted with *táv-as*, "strength;" *mahá*, "great," likewise, originally, "grown"*; *apás*, "acting" (as "warrior, sacrificer," see Benfey's Glossary to the S. V. s. v.), contrasted with *ápas*, "work;" *ayás*, "going, hastening, quick" (see Benfey l. c.). The latter lengthens the *a* of the suffix in the same way as *uṣhás*. *Yaś-ás*, "famed" (contrasted with *yáśas*, "glory"), has a passive signification, properly, "praised" (cf. Zend *â-yêŝé*, "I praise, I glorify," see §. 28.).

934. To *A*) correspond Greek abstracts in ος, ε(σ)-ος†; *e.g.* ψεῦδ-ος, μῆδ-ος, γῆθ-ος, λῆθ-ος (=Sanscrit *ráh-as*, see §. 933. *A*), κῆδ-ος, φλέγ-ος, (Vêd. *bhárg-as*, "lustre," for *bhrâj-as*, root *bhrâj*, "to shine," from *bhrâg*), ἕδ-ος ("the sitting")‡, πάθ-ος,

[G. Ed. p. 1376.] μάθ-ος, θάρσ-ος. A feminine base in ος, with a pervading *o*-sound, and lengthening of the same in the nominative, is αἰδ-ός, whence αἰδώ-ς, αἰδό(σ)-ος. As secondary suffix, also, ος, ες appears in Greek as a means of formation

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* Cf. *mahát*, "great," from the same root, properly a present participle with the signification of the perfect participle, and with the anomaly that the strong cases lengthen the *a*, and thus exhibit *mahánt* for *mahant*.

† See §. 128. The difference in vowels between ος and ε(σ)-ος, &c., probably rests on this, that in loading the base with the case-terminations, the language prefers the lighter substitute of the old *a* to the heavier, in remarkable agreement with the Old Sclavonic, where, *e.g.*, the Sanscrit *nábhas* and Greek νέφος are paralleled by the form НЕБО *nebo*, but the genitive *nábhas-as*, νέφε(σ)-ος by the form НЕБЕСЕ *nebes-e* (cf. the somewhat different view at §. 264.).

‡ The corresponding Sanscrit *sád-as* has, in common Sanscrit, assumed the signification "assembling," but occurs in the Vêdas also with that of "seat" (so Yajur-Vêda, 19. 59.). Regarding the Latin *sedí-s* (see p. 1359 G. ed. §. 924.).

neuter abstracts, and occasionally with a vowel-increent, in compensation for the abbreviation of the adjective se words (cf. p. 396); hence, *e. g.*, γλεῦκ'-ος, from γλυκύ-ς, ευθ'-ος, from ἐρυθρό-ς, μῆκ'-ος, from μακρό-ς. Perhaps, also, e Zend neuter abstracts 𐬞𐬁𐬙𐬁𐬎 *fratha*ŝ, "breadth," *baṅz-a*ŝ, "length," *maza*ŝ, "greatness," 𐬞𐬁𐬵𐬎 *bĕrĕz-a*ŝ, "height,"* re of adjective descent, and, like the said Greek forms, ave dropped the suffix of the base word before the formave of the abstract. Very remarkable is the almost literal greement between 𐬞𐬁𐬙𐬁𐬎 *fratha*ŝ and the Greek πλάτος; *ṅz-a*ŝ corresponds to βάθ-ος, and radically to the Sanscrit *hú* (probably from *badhú*), "much," and still more to the mparative बंहीयस् *báṅhîyas*, and superlative बंहिष्ठ *báṅhiṣṭha*, hich are, indeed, derived from *bahula*, but which may, th equal justness, be assigned to बहु *bahú*. The root is *ṅh*, "to grow." 𐬞𐬁𐬵𐬎 *maz-a*ŝ, "greatness," answers to κ-ος, the κ of which, as also that of μακ-ρό-ς, is probably ly a mutation of γ; and I have scarce a doubt that these o words belong to one and the same root with μέγας, which ot is, in Sanscrit, *maṅh*, and signifies "to grow." The èdic sister word to 𐬞𐬁𐬵𐬎 *maz-a*ŝ and μῆκος is *máh-as*, hich certainly signifies, not only "brightness" (see Beny's Glossary), but also, and indeed primitively, "greatss;" and I believe that this abstract proceeds not directly om the root, but, just like *mah-i-mán*, of equivalent signiation, from *mahát*, or another adjective of the same root gnifying "great." To the Zend *fratha*ŝ, [G. Ed. p. 1377.] breadth," there may still be found in the Vêdas a correonding *práṭh-as* of similar meaning, as derivative from *iṭhú*; and for *bĕrĕz-at* (strong, *bĕrĕz-ant*), "height," we tually find the corresponding Sanscrit sister word in the st member of the compound name *bṛíhas-páti* (in the mmon language, *vṛihas*), in as far as it signifies, as I be-

* See Burnouf, "Yaçna," Notes, pp. 12, 14, 99.

lieve it originally does, "lord of greatness." The Latin exhibits the Sanscrit neuter suffix *as* in four shapes, but principally in that of *us, er-is.** The other forms are *us, or-is, ur, or-is,* and *ur, ur-is.* For the class of words under discussion (§. 933. *A.*), the Latin neuter suffix furnishes but a few remnants, obscured as to their root; viz. *rôb-ur* (cf. *rôb-us-tus*, see §. 827.), which, like the Vêdic *táv-as*, "strength," comes from a root which signifies "to grow"†; as *fœd-us*,‡ and *scel-us* (*sceles-tus*).§ In Latin, in case of the suffix under discussion as a formative of abstract substantives, the neuter is replaced by the masculine, and, indeed, with a lengthening of the vowel (*ôr*, from *ôs*), which, however, in the nominative, through the influence of the final *r*, is again

[G. Ed. p. 1378.] shortened. With respect to the vowel length of the true base word, compare the strong cases and the genitive plural of the above-mentioned (pp. 1373. 1375, G. ed.) forms *uṣhás* and *ay-ás* in the Vêda dialect; *e.g.*, the accusative singular *uṣh-ás-am, ay-ás-am*, with *fu--ôr-em, langu-ôr-em, rud-ôr-em, frem-ôr-em, trem-ôr-em, ang--ôr-em, pud-ôr-em, sap-ôr-em, od-ôr-em* (Greek root ὀδ, *fulg-ôre-m, sop-ôr-em, son-ôr-em, am-ôr-em*, &c. The *s* of the old nominatives like *clamôs* is, perhaps, not the original final consonant of the base, but the nominative sign before

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* See §. 22. The *e* of the oblique cases, for *i*, which might be expected according to §. 6., owes its origin to the following *r* (cf. §. 710.).

† Sanscrit root *ruh*, "to grow," from *rudh*, and *ṛidh*, id., from *radh* or *ardh* (see §. 1.). With *ruh*, from *rudh*, compare the Irish *ruadh*, "strength, power, value," as adjective "strong, valiant;" see Glossarium Sanscr. a. 1847, and Ag. Benary, "Doctrine of Roman Sounds," p. 218. With reference to the Latin *b* for *dh* we must note the relation of *ruber* to the Sanscrit *rudhirám*, "blood," and Greek *ἐ-ρυθρός*.

‡ From *foidus*, from the root *fid*. With regard to the Guna, compare the Greek *πέποιθα*.

§ Cf. Sanscrit *chhalá-m* (see §. 14.), "guile, deceit," probably from *chhad*, "to cover," with *l* for *d* (see §. 17.).

h the base has dropped its final consonant (see §. 138.). suffix forms, in Latin, abstracts from adjective bases hence, *e.g.*, *amar'or*, *nigr'-or*, *alb'-or*.

5. The Gothic has added an *a* to the sibilant, which ecome incapable of declension, and has weakened the ding vowel to *i*. As in the uninflected nominative and ative singular neuter the final *a* of the base is dropped, btain here the forms *hat-is*, "hate;" *ag-is*, "fear"*; , "rest"†; *sig-is*, "victory;" *riqv-is*, "gloom."‡ ips the *s* of *hulistr* (theme *hulistra*), [G. Ed. p. 1379.] t, as has been conjectured above (see §. 818. p. 1113), a nic insertion, but *hulis* is a lost abstract with the suffix d the suffix *tra* appended. Moreover, some neuter in *sla* appear to me to have abstracts in *is*, with *i* essed, as primitive bases for their foundation: I mean rms *hun-s-l* (theme *hunsla*), "sacrifice," from *hun-is-l*, a lost root *han* or *hun*; *svum-s-l*, "pond," as "place

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ot *ag*, whence *ôg*, "I feared," according to form a preterite. The igh German *ekiso*, theme *êkison*, has exchanged the neuter with sculine, and further added to the base an *n*, but preserved the ilant, in which it surpasses the suffix *ira*, which, in §. 241, is com- with the Sanscrit *as*.

nscrit root *ram*, with prep. *â* (*â-ram*), "to rest," Lithuanian *rimstu*, t," Lettish *rahms* (=*râms*), "tame, quiet, sedate." The Greek ἠρεμέω, &c., answer, in their *η*, to the Sanscrit compound *âram*. t improbable, that in the adverb ἠρέμας (before vowels) the suffix liscussion is contained in its original form. Moreover, the *ες* of the ative ἠρεμέσ-τερος appears to me to belong to the suffix *as*, as *σ*, ng to regular rule, has its etymologically established place before fixes *τερο*, *τατο*, and is dislodged in some places only by a mis-use, ven where it does not belong.

has already been compared, in my Glossary, with the analogous t *râj-as*. This word, from the root *rañj* ("*adhærere, tingere*"), s, indeed, not "darkness," but "dust;" but from the same root ed, by another suffix, a term for night (*rajanî*), and *rajas* is con- in the compound *rajô-rasa*, "gloominess."

of swimming" (root, *svamm*, weakened to *svimm*, *svumm*). *Svart-is-l*, "blackness," presupposes a more simple abstract *svart-is*, which would correspond to the Greek secondary abstracts like *βάθ-ος*, and, irrespective of gender, to Latin like *nigr'-or*, *alb'-or*. More important appears to me the deduction, that most probably the Sanscrit suffix *as* has been preserved in Gothic in combination with another suffix assigned to abstracts, and, indeed, with the retention of the old *a*-sound. I believe, viz. that the Gothic masculine abstracts in *as-su-s*, as, *e.g.*, *drauhtin-as-su-s*, "military service" (*drauhtinô*, "I do military service"), *frauyin-as-su-s*, "lordship" (*frauyin-ô*, "I rule"), *leikin-as-su-s*, "healing" (*leikinô*, "I heal"), may be explained by assimilation from *as-tu-s*, as, *e.g.*, *vis-sa*, "I knew," from *vis-ta* for *vit-ta*, and, in Latin, *quas-sum*, from *quas-tum* for *quat-tum* (see §. 102.). Most of the formations of this kind are based on weak verbs in *in-ô*,* the analogy of which is followed, also, by *thiudin-as-su-s*, "government, dominion," though the base word

[G. Ed. p. 1380.] *thiu-danô* has an *a* before the *n*, which, however, without reference to the verbs in *in-ô*, might have been weakened to *i* on account of the incumbrance of the heavy double suffix (cf. §. 6.). Irrespective of the newly-appended suffix *su*, from *tu*, *leikin'-as-sus* has the same relation to *leikinô*, with reference to the suppression of the *ô* of the verbal theme, that in Latin, *e.g.*, the abstracts *am'-or*, *clam'-or*, have to the verbal themes *amâ*, *clamâ*, where the *â* corresponds to the Gothic *ô* = Sanscrit अय *aya* (see §. 109.[2] *a*). Further, from adjective bases are derived, in Gothic, some abstracts in *as-su-s*, viz. *ibn'-as-sus*, "similarity," from *ibna*, nom. m. *ibns*, "like," and *vanin-as-sus*, "want." The latter, however, springs, not from the strong adjective bases *vana*, nom. m. *vans*, "wanting," but from the weak base *vanan*, the *a* being weakened to *i*, as in the genitive and dative *vanin-s*,

* See Grimm, II. 175. 321., and Gabelentz and Löbe, Grammar, p. 118.

n. From the preposition *ufar*, "over" (Sanscrit *upari*), es *ufar-as-su-s*, "overflowing," a form remarkable as being only one in which the abstract double suffix is not pre-d by an *n* of the primitive base. In the more modern ects the *n*, which belongs in Gothic to the base word, by an abuse, completely passed over into the deriva- suffix, which hence begins universally with *n*, distin-hes the genders, and has changed the Gothic *n* of the nd part of the double suffix into *a* or *î* (Grimm, II. 323). this class belong, *e.g.*, the Old High German feminines *ic-nissa*, or *-nissî*, "*manifestatio*" (our *Ereigniss*, or, more perly, *Eräugniss*, "occurrence"); *drî-nissa*, and *dri-nissî*, *nitas*" (Anglo-Saxon, *dhre-ness*); *milt-nissa*, "*misericordia*" glish, mild-ness); *ki-hôr-nussî*, "*auditus*;" *peraht-nissî*, *ht-nessî*, "*splendor*" (English, bright-ness); the neuters *nissi* (theme *nissya*), "*divinitas*;" *fir-stant-nissi*, "*intel-us*" (our *verständniss*, "understanding"); *suaz-nissi*, "*dul-*" (English, "sweet-ness").

936. Some Old High German bases in [G. Ed. p. 1381.] *a*, *us-ti*, or *os-ta*, *os-ti*, appear to contain a combination wo suffixes,* viz. *us* or *os* (=Sanscrit *as*), and *ta* or *ti*. following are examples: *dion-us-ta*, nom. *dionust*, in r. *thionost*, our *Dienst*, "service," in Old High German ter; *ang-us-ti*, f. "anxiety," nom. *ang-us-t*; *ern-us-ta*, n. *ern-us-ti*, f. "earnest," nom. *ern-us-t* (see Graff, I. 429.). *g-us-ti* is connected in its first suffix with the first of the in adjectives *ang-us-tu*, as also with that of the abstract *-or*. The Lithuanian, too, exhibits some abstracts with suffixes combined, of which the first is connected with *as* under discussion, and the latter with the *ti* discussed ve; *e. g.*, *gyw-as-ti-s*, m. "life," and *rim-as-ti-s*, m. "rest."†

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* See Grimm, II. 368. and 371. β.

† Also the Lithuanian abstracts mentioned at p. 1192, G. ed., §. 844., masculine, and have extended the suffix by an inorganic *a*, which is suppressed

The former, after withdrawal of the second suffix, answers to the base of the Sanscrit infinitive *jîv-ás-é*, "in order to live;" the latter to the above-mentioned (§. 935.) Gothic *rim-is* (theme *rim-isa*), "rest." In *ed-esi-s*, "food" (theme *edesia*, see §. 135.), perhaps originally "the eating," and in *deg-esi-s*, "the month August," as "burning," I recognise the Sanscrit suffix *as* with the affix *ia*, which, in general, the Lithuanian loves to append to suffixes which originally terminate with a consonant. With reference to this I recall attention to the participles of the present and perfect (§. 787.).

937. To the Sanscrit appellatives mentioned in §. 933. under *B*), correspond some of their literatim analogous appellatives in Greek, as ἕλ-ος, ἕλε(σ)-ος (§. 128.)=Sanscrit *sára-s*, "pond, water," as "flowing;" μέν-ος=*mán-as*, "spirit," as "thinking;" φλέγ-ος=Vêdic abstract *bhárg-as*, "shining;"

[G. Ed. p. 1382.] ῥέ-ος=*srô-t-as*, "river" (see p. 1372, Note 2, G. ed., §. 933. *B*) Note); σκῦ-τ-ος, "skin," as "covering"*; στῆ-θ-ος, (see Curtius l. c., p. 20 and cf. εὐστα-θ-ής); ὄχ-ος (cf. Sanscrit *váh-as*, "driving, drawing"); ἔπ-ος, from Fέκ-ος=Sanscrit *vách-as*, from *vák-as*; τέκ-ος, γέν-ος. In Latin to this class belong, *e.g.*, *ol-us*, *ol-er-is*, from *ol-is-is*, "greens," as "growing;" *gen-us*, *fulg-ur*, *corp-us*, "body," as "made" (see p. 1069, Note †); *pec-us*, *pecor-is*, "beast," as "tied up" (Sanscrit *paśú-s*, root *paś*, from *pak*, "to bind"); *vell-us*, *op-us* (=Sanscrit *áp-as*, "work"). To the *u* arising from *a* of the uninflected cases corresponds accidentally the corruption which the Sanscrit suffix *as* has experienced in the form *us*, by which neuter appellatives are formed which, for the most part, accent the root (Uṇâdi, II. p. 113). The following are examples: *cháksh-us*, "an eye," as "seeing" (of

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suppressed in the nominative. In the genitive the words mentioned l. c. are *smerchio*, &c.

* Latin *cu-ti-s*, Sanscrit root *sku*, "to cover," see Benf., Gr. Root-Lex., p. 611; and cf., with respect to the inserted τ, the abstract χῦ-τ-ος.

sed to the Vêdic *cháksh-as*); *yáj-us*, "sacrifice;" *dhán-us*, lso masc.) "bow," as "slaying" (root *han*, from *dhan*, "to ay," *ni-dhána*, "death"); *tánus*, "body," as "extended;" *nus*, "birth,"* in the Vêdic dual (*jánushî*), "the two orlds," as "created" (S. V. II. 6. 2. 17. 3.), in admirable greement with the Latin *genus* (Greek γένος) of cognate rmation. The Vêdic adjective *jay-ús*, "conquering," respective of the weakening of the vowel, corresponds to ıe above-quoted (§. 933. under *C*) adjectives like *tarás*, quick." I regard, too, the suffix *is*, which forms some bstracts and appellatives, for the most part oxytone, as a eakening of *as*. Examples are, *śôch-ís*, n. "lustre" (root ıch); *arch-ís*, f. id.; *hav-ís*, n. "clarified sacrificial butter" oot *hu*, "to sacrifice"); *chhad-ís* (optionally masc.), "roof" oot *chad*, "to cover"); *jyôt-is*, n. "sheen, [G. Ed. p. 1383.] ar" (root *jyut*, "to shine"). Observe the accidental coinidence, as respects the weakening of the vowel, with the othic suffix *isa* from *agis*, "fear," &c. (§. 935.). Perhaps e Latin *cinis*, *cin-er-is*, from *cin-is-is*, belongs, in respect of s suffix, to this class, in which case its original significaon would be "the glowing ashes," and it would be radilly akin to कन् *kan*, "to shine."

938. To the Vêdic formations mentioned in §. 933. under), like *-cháksḥas*, "seeing," *-mánas*, "thinking," at the end compounds, correspond, irrespective of their accentuation, e numerous class of Greek bases like -δερκές (ἀδερκές, ὀξυρκές), -αγές (εὐαγές), -δεχές (πανδεχές), -λαβές (εὐλαβές, πολαβές), and with a passive signification, *e.g.*, -βαφές (πορβαφές, &c.), -δρυφές (ἀμφιδρυφές). In Greek, as well as in nscrit, we must distinguish from this class of words the ssessive compounds, the last member of which is, in its mple state, a neuter substantive base in अस् *as*, ες; as, *e.g.*,

* In the Vêda dialect, in this meaning, also masculine, see Weber, S., Sp. II. 74.

सुमनस् *sumánas*, "having a good spirit, well-intentioned" = Greek *εὐμενές*, nom. m. f. *sumánâs*, *εὐμενής* (see §. 146.). To the simple oxytone adjectives mentioned in §. 933. C) as *tarás*, nom. m. f. *tarâs*, "hastening, quick," corresponds in Greek *ψευδές*, *ψευδής*, which stands to the corresponding abstract *ψεῦδος*, in a similar relation as regards accent to that occupied by the *tarás* mentioned above to *táras*, "quickness."

939. The suffixes *ra* and *la*, fem. *râ*, *lâ*, I consider, on account of the very common interchange between *r* and *l* (see §. 20.), as originally one; and I regard as class-vowels, or vowels of conjunction,* the vowels which precede these liquids, as also the mutes *k*, *t*, and *th*, in several [G. Ed. p. 1384.] suffixes given by the Indian Grammarians, *ara*, *ura*, *êra*, *ôra*, *ala*, *ila*, *ula*, *aka*, *âka*, *ika*, *uka*, *atra*, *itra*,† *utra*, *athu*. With *ra*, *la*, *a-la*, *i-la*, *u-la*, *i-ra*, *u-ra*, are formed base words like *dîp-rá*, "shining," *śubh-rá*, "dazzling, white;" *bhád-ra*, "happy, good;" *chand-rá*, m. "moon," as "giving light‡; *śúk-la*, "white" (Vêd. *śuk-rá*, "giving light, shining") (root *śuch*, from *śuk*, "to shine") : *chap-a-lá*, "tremulous, shaking" (root *champ*, "to move") : *tar-a-lá*, "shaking" (root *tar*, *tṛî*, "to overstep," "to move oneself"); *mud-i-rá*, m. "voluptuary," *chhid-i-rá*, m. "axe, sword" (root *chhid*, "to cleave"); *an-i-lá*, m. "wind" (*an*, "to breathe," cf. Irish *anal*, "breath"); *path-i-lá*, m.

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* The *ê* and *ô* of a small number of rare words, *e.g.*, *pat-é-ra*, "moving itself" (as subst. masc. *pat-é-ra-s*, "bird"), *sáh-ô-ra*, "good" (root *sah*, "to endure"), are perhaps the Gunas of the vowels *i* and *u*, which are often found inserted as copulatives.

† Regarding *a-tra*, *i-tra*, see p. 1108. The *u* of *var-ú-tra*, "upper garment," as "covering," is either only a weakening of the *a* of *a-tra*, or the character of the 8th class, which is merely an abbreviation of the syllable *nu* of the 5th, to which *var*, *vṛi*, belongs. It is certain that the *ν* of the radically and formally cognate Greek *ἕλυ-τρο-ν* belongs to the verbal theme. Cf. the Sanscrit root *val*, Cl. 1., "to cover."

‡ Cf. Latin *candeo*, *candê-la*, the latter also as respects the suffix.

aveller" *panth*, "to go"); *vid-u-rá*, "knowing, wise;" *l-u-rá*, m. "thunderbolt" (*bhid*, "to cleave"); *harṣh-u-lá*, "lover, antelope" (*harṣh*, *hṛiṣh*, "to rejoice").

)40. To this class of words belong in Zend 𐬰𐬁𐬱𐬀 *-ra*, "shining,"=शुभ्र *śubh-rá* (see §. 45.); 𐬰𐬁𐬴𐬀 *śuc-ra*, ining, clear"=Vêd. *śuk-rá*; 𐬰𐬁𐬐𐬭𐬀 *jafra*, "mouth," as eaking" (cf. 𐬐𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀 *jaṅfnu*, §. 61.); 𐬰𐬁𐬵𐬀 *śû-ra*, "strong" n. *śû-rá*, "hero," root *śvi*, contracted *śu*, "to grow"). In ek this class of words is more numerous than in Sanscrit. adjectives like *dîp-rá-s*, correspond, [G. Ed. p. 1385.] regards accent also, such as λαμπ-ρό-ς, λιβ-ρό-ς, λυγ-ρό-ς, ·ρό-ς (cf. *νέκυς*, Latin *nec-s*, Sanscrit *naś*, "to be ruined"), χ-ρό-ς, ψηχ-ρό-ς, θεω-ρό-ς. In Latin to this class belong: *-rus*, *ple-ru-s*, *pu-ru-s* (Sanscrit *pû*, "to purify"); *ca-ru-s* n. *kam*, "to love"); *pig-er*, theme *pig-ru*; *in-teg-er*, theme *g-ru*. In the Gothic a remnant of this class of words ound in the masculine base *lig-ra*, nom. *lig-r*ˋ*-s*, "couch." ɛ *a* of the Old High German neuter theme *lëgar-a* is bably a later insertion (cf. p. 1112), but if not, the suffix ongs to the Sanscrit *as* (see §. 933.), whither, most pro- ly, *dem-ar* (likewise neuter), "twilight," compared with Sanscrit *támas*, "gloom," is to be referred. To San- it adjectives like *dîp-rá*, "giving light," correspond the es *bait-ra*, "bitter," properly, "biting," and *fag-ra*, itable, good" (cf. *fullafahyan*, "to satisfy, to serve"). fer the Greek suffix λο, as originally identical with ρο, ıer to the Sanscrit *ra* than to *la*, and therefore to the tones mentioned above (§. 939.), *dîp-rá-s*, *śubh-rá-s*, I refer Greek δει-λό-ς, αὐ-λό-ς, βη-λό-ς, δα-λό-ς, στρεβ-λό-ς, ἔκπαγ- ς, σιγη-λό-ς, φειδω-λό-ς.* In Latin to this class belongs *a*, from *sed-la* (=Greek ἕδ-ρα), with a passive significa- ; so Gothic *sit-la*, m., nom. *sitl*ˋ*s*, "rest," as "place

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The η and ω of σιγη-λό-ς, φειδω-λό-ς, belong to the verbal theme σιγή-σω), and for the latter we may presuppose a verb φειδόω.

where sitting takes place," *fair-veit-la*, n. (nom. acc. *fair-veit-l*) "stage." The Old High German, in order to avoid the harshness of two final consonants coming together, inserts an *a* in the nominative and accusative singular, which theme has often made its way into the oblique cases (cf. p. 1112), and often assumes the weaker form of *u*, *i*, *e*. To this class belong, *e.g.*, the masculines *sez-a-l* or *sezz-a-l*, "a chair,"

[G. Ed. p. 1386.] *sat-a-l*, "a saddle," also *sat-u-l*, *sat-i-l*, *sat-e-l*; *huot-i-l*, "warder," *mûr-huot-i-la*, "*custodes murorum*" (Graff, IV. 803.); *fôzkengel*, "foot-traveller" (Grimm, II. 109. Graff, IV. 104.); *bit-e-l*, "*procus*," *pit-al-a*, "*proci, nupliarum petitores*" (Graff, III. 56.); *stein-bruk-i-l*, "stone breaker;" *sluoz-i-l*, "key," as "locking," accusative plural *sluoz-i-la*; *stôz-i-l*, "pestle." The following are examples of Old High German adjectives of this order of formation (Grimm, II. 102.): *scad-a-l*, "*noxius*," *slâf-a-l*, "*somnulentus*, *sprunk-a-l*, "*exultans*," *suik-a-l*, "*taciturnus*."

941. To the Sanscrit formations like *chap-a-lá-s*, *tar-a-lá-s*, "trembling" (see §. 939.), correspond, in Lithuanian, *dang-a-la-s*, "covering" (*dengiu*, "I cover"); *draug-a-la-s*, "the companion," masc., *draug-a-la*, fem. (*drauga*, "I have communion with another"); and, with passive signification, *myz-a-lai*, (pl.) "urine" (*myzù*, "*mingo*"), *wẽm-a-lai*, (pl.) "the discharged;" in Greek, forms with *α* inserted, or with *ε* which has proceeded therefrom, as, *τροχ-α-λό-ς*, *τραπ-ε-λό-ς*, *στυφ-ε-λό-ς*, *αἴθ-α-λο-ς*, *διδάσκ-α-λο-ς*, *μεγ-α-λο* (Gothic *mik-la*, nom. *mik-i-l-s*, Sanscrit root, *mah*, "to grow"), *εἴκ-ε-λο-*, and the reduplicated *κεκρύφ-ε-λο-ς*, *δυσπέμφ-ε-λο-ς*, *εὐπέμπ-λο-ς*. To *vid-u-rá-s*, "knowing," correspond *φλεγ-υ-ρό-*, *ἐχ-υ-ρό-ς*; to forms like *harṣh-u-lá-s*, "lover, antelope," properly, "rejoicing," correspond, irrespective of accentuation, *εἴδ-υ-λο-ς* (cf. *vid-u-rá-s*), *καμπ-ύ-λο-ς*. The weakening, however, of the vowel of conjunction *a* to *ŭ*, appears to have been arrived at by the two languages independently of each other; so the Latin, in analogous formatives like *tren-*

, *ger-u-lu-s, strid-u-lu-s, fig-u-lu-s, cing-u-lu-m, vinc-u-lu-m,* *u-lu-m, teg-u-lu-m, teg-u-la, reg-u-la, mus-cip-u-la, am-ic-* *-m,* where the *l* may have had its influence in producing om *a.* As from *a-la* in Sanscrit we may deduce *a-ra,* nay here call attention to Greek forms like *στιβ-α-ρό-ς,* *ε-ρό-ς, λακ-ε-ρό-ς,* and to Latin like [G. Ed. p. 1387.] *-r, gen-e-r* (theme *ten-e-ru, gen-e-ru*), if the *e* of the lat- loes not, on account of the *r* following, stand for *i.* To orm इल *i-la* (*an-i-lá-s,* "wind," as "blowing") belongs, aps, the Latin *i-li,* in adjectives like *ag-i-li-s, frag-i-li-s,* *-li-s doc-i-li-s* (see §. 419. sub. f.), for which, if the con- on be justly assumed, we should have expected *ag-i-* &c. I would draw attention to forms like *imberbis,* *nis,* for the more organic *imberbu-s, inermu-s* (see §. 6.).

12. As secondary suffixes, र *ra,* ल *la* (*i-ra, i-la, îr-a, î-la*) a small number of oxytone adjectives; as, *e. g., aśma-rá,* ny," from *áśman* ," stone;" *madhu-rá,* "sweet," properly, ted with honey," from *mádhu,* "honey" (cf *μέθυ*); *śrî-lá,* tunate," Zend 𐬯𐬭𐬌𐬭𐬀 *śrî-ra,* from *śri,* "luck;" *pâṅśu-lá,* ty," from *pâṅśu,* "dust;" *phêna-lá,* "foaming," from *phêna,* m;" *mêdh'-i-rá, mêdh'-i-lá,* "intelligent," from *mḗdhâ,* derstanding."* In Greek this secondary formation also ords is more numerously represented than in San- . I refer the vowel which precedes the *ρ* in all cases ne base word, and take the *ε* of words like *φθονε-ρό-ς,* *-ρό-ς, κρυε-ρό-ς, νοε-ρό-ς, φοβε-ρό-ς, δολε-ρό-ς, σκιε-ρό-ς,* *βε-ρό-ς,* according to the measure of the termination of

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Perhaps the words would be better divided thus, *mêdhi-rá, mêdhi-lá;* re might recognise in the *i* the weakening of the *a* of the primitive in the same way as, in Latin, the final vowels of the primitive bases eakened to *i* before various derivative suffixes; *e.g., cari-tas, amari-* . The *u* of words like *danturá,* "having a projecting tooth," is pro- likewise only a weakening of the final vowel of the base word *a,* "tooth"), a weakening which the Gothic *tunthu-s* also has under- in its simple state.

the base word, as the thinning or shortening of *o*, *a*, or *η*.* [G. Ed. p. 1388.] Conversely, lengthenings of *o* to *η* (=ω, see §. 4.) also occur; hence, *e.g.*, *νοση-ρό-ς*, *μοχθη-ρό-ς* (cf. *μοχθή-εις*), *οἰνη-ρό-ς*. The old *α*, of which *o*, *ε*, are the most common corruptions, has maintained itself in *μυσα-ρό-ς* (later *μυσε-ρό-ς*), *λιπα-ρό-ς*, *σθενα-ρό-ς*—the latter from the base *σθένος*, *σθένες*, the suffix of which corresponds to the Sanscrit *as* (see §. 934.)—and in *λαμυ-ρό-ς*. *ἀργυ-ρό-ς*, has been weakened to *υ*.† A vowel of conjunction is found in *αἱματ-η-ρό-ς*, *ὑδρ-η-ρό-ς*. To *pâṅśu-lá-s*, "dusty," *phêna-lá-s*, "foamy," correspond forms like *ῥιγη-λό-ς* (scarcely from *ῥιγέω*, but from *ῥῖγος*, as above *σθενα-ρό-ς* from *σθένος*), *χαμα-λό-ς*, *στωμύ-λος* (for *στωμα-λο-ς*). I would now, too, in departure from §. 419., rather refer to this class those Latin formations in *li*, which spring from substantives. Consequently the *â* after bases ending in a consonant in forms like *corn-â-lis*, *augur-â-li-s*, &c., would be to be regarded as a vowel of conjunction equally with the Greek *η* of the *αἱματ-η-ρό-ς*, *ὑδρ-η-ρό-ς*, just mentioned. The vowel relation of *li* to ल *la*, *λο*, is the same as, *e.g.*, in the genitive singular that of *ped-is* to *pad-ás*, *ποδ-ός*.

943. To the Sanscrit primary suffix *ri*, which occurs only in a few words of rare use, *e.g.*, in *áṅh-ri-s*, and *áṅgh-ri-s*, masc, "foot," as "going" (root *aṅh* and *angh*, "to go"), corresponds the Greek *ρι* of *ἴδ-ρι-ς*, *ἴδ-ρι*, for which, in Sanscrit, *víd-ri-s*, *-ri*, would be expected. The Latin has prefixed to the suffix *ri* a vowel of conjunction in *cel-e-r*, theme *cel-e-ri*, the *i* of which, together with the case-sign, has been suppressed in the nominative masculine. The obsolete root *cel* (*ex-cello*, *præ-cello*) corresponds to the Greek *κελ* (*κέλλω*), whence *κέλης*, "runner," and to the Sanscrit *śal* (from *kal*), "to go, to run" (as yet not found as a verb).

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* Cf. p. 1367, Note, G. ed.

† Cf. *νύξ*, contrasted with the Sanscrit *naktam* (adv. "by night") and Latin *nox*, and *ὄ-νυξ* with the Sanscrit *nakhá*.

this class, moreover, belong, in Latin, [G. Ed. p. 1389.]
-e-r, theme *put-ri*, and *ac-er* *, theme *ac-ri*, which limit the
rganic *e* to the nominative masculine, where it cannot
dispensed with after the *i* of the base is dropped. The
se of the retention of the inserted *e* throughout the
d *cel-e-r* is the awkwardness of the combination *lr*.

944. Of the words in Sanscrit formed with the suffix *ru*,
ey are collectively but few) there are only two in com-
n use, viz. the adjective *bhî-rú-s*, "fearing, fearful," fem.
wise *bhî-rú-s*, or *bhî-rû́-s*, neut. *bhî-rú*, and the neuter
stantive *áś-ru*, "a tear," which I look upon as a muti-
d form of *dáś-ru*, and derive from *daṅś*, from *dank*, "to
" (Greek δακ). In Greek, δάκ-ρυ corresponds to it, and
Gothic, as far as the root is concerned, the masculine
r'-s, theme *tag-ra* = Sanscrit *áś-ra*, neut., also "a tear."
भीरु *bhî-rú*, "fearful," there exists also the form *bhî-lú*,
which answers, in respect of its suffix, the Gothic *ag-lu-s*,
avy, cumbersome." To *bhî-rú-s*, "fearing, fearful," cor-
ond the Lithuanian adjectives *byau-rù-s*, "ugly" (cf. *biyau*,
fear," *bai-mẽ*, "fear"); *bud-rù-s*, "watchful" (*bundu*, "I
ch," Sanscrit *budh*, "to know," caus. "to wake"); *ẽd-rù-s*,
luttonous;" and some others from obsolete roots.

945. The Sanscrit suffix *va*, fem. *vâ*, forms appellatives,
ich express the agent, and also a few adjectives; most of
m with the accent on the radical syllable. The most
rent word of this class is *áś-va-s*, "horse," as "runner,"†
ich has been widely diffused over the [G. Ed. p. 1390.]

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* The original meaning of *acer* appears to be "penetrating;" and, like
-s, it seems to belong to the Sanscrit root *aś*, from *ak* (see §. 925,
57, G. ed., Note †). Cf. the Sanscrit *aś-rí-s*, fem., "the sharpness
sword," which I would rather derive from *aś*, with the suffix *ri*, than,
the Indian Grammarians, from *śri*, "to go," with the prefix *â*
ened.

† Cf. the radically cognate *âś-ú*, "quick," see p. 1355 G. ed.

cognate languages too: Latin *equu-s*, Lithuanian *ász-va*, "a mare," Greek *ἵππο-ς*, from *ἵκκο-ς* (by assimilation from *ἰκ-Fο-ς*), Old Saxon *ehu*, in the compound *ehu-scalc*, "*servus equarius*."* Zend *aŝ-pa* (see §. 50.). The following are other examples in Sanscrit of extremely rare use: *kháṭ-vá*, f. "bed" (root *khaṭṭ*, "to cover"); *pád-va-s*, "car," as "going;" *prúṣh-va-s*, "sun," as "burning." We find an example of an adjective in *ríṣh-va*, "affronting," as also in the oxytone *pak-vá*, with a passive signification, "cooked," "ripe." In Gothic the adjective base *las-i-va*, nom. *las-i-r's*, "weak," from an obsolete root, appears to belong to this class of words. In Latin, *v* must, after consonants, except *r*, *l*, and *q* (*qu* = *cv*), become *u*; therefore *uu* = व *va* in adjectives like *de-cid-uu-s*, *oc-cid-uu-s*, *re-sid-uu-s*, *vac-uu-s*, *noc-uu-s*, *con-tig-uu-s*, *as-sid-uu-s*. On the other hand, *de-cli-vu-s*, *tu-vu-s*, *pro-ter-vu-s*, *al-vu-s* (properly, "the nourishing"). A *î* as vowel of conjunction is found in *cad-î-vu-s*, *recid-î-vu-s*, *vac-î-vu-s*, *noc-î-vu-s*. To पक्व *pak-vá-s*, "cooked," "ripe," correspond, in respect to their passive signification, *e.g.*, *per-spic-uu-s*, *in-gen-uu-s*, *pro-misc-uu-s*. In Greek the suffix *ευ*, in which I formerly imagined I recognised a Guna form of the suffix *υ*, may be explained by transposition from *va*, *Fa*, with the thinning of the *o* to *ε*; thus, *e.g.*, *δρομεύς*, *γραφεύς*, instead of the impossible *δρομ-Fό-ς*, *γραφ-Fό-ς*; and in the secondary formation, *e.g.*, *ἱππεύς*, properly, "gifted with horses," from *ἱππ-Fό-ς*. The Greek *ευ* might also be deduced from the Sanscrit *va*, regarding *υ* as the contraction of *va*; as, *e.g.*, in *ὕπνος* = *svápna-s*, and the *ε* as the vowel of conjunction, whether it stand for *α* or for *ι*. In the latter case, *δρομ-ε-ύς* would answer to the above-mentioned (p. 1390 G. ed.) Gothic

[G. Ed. p. 1391.] base *las-i-va*, and to the Lithuanian for-

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* See Schmeller, "*Glossarium Saxonico-Latinum.*" The genitive would be *eh-ua-s* or *eh-ue-s*; so that the suffix has been retained very correctly in this word.

ations like *stêy-i-u-s*, "thatcher;" *źindź-i-u-s*,* "who sucks uch and long" (*źindu*, "I suck"); *péch-i-u-s*, "baker's 'en"; *czisch-i-u-s*, "purgatory" (*chist-iu*, "I purify").† or this class of words, and the Greek in *ευ*, there is, how-'er, another source in Sanscrit to which we may betake urselves for their explanation. I mean the suffix *yu*, 'hich, like the Greek *ευ*, has the accent, and forms a small umber of words (see Böhtlingk's Uṇâdi Affixes, p. 32), mong which are *tas-yú-s*, "thief"‡; *jan-yú-s*, "a living reature," as "producing" or "begotten" (cf. *jan-tú-s*, id.); *undh-yú-s*, "fire," as "purifying." It also forms some bstracts, as, *bhuj-yú-s*, "the eating;" *man-yú-s*, "hate" Zend *main-yu-s*, "spirit," as "thinking"); and, with *t* in-'rted, *mṛi-t-yú*, m. f. n. "death." To this would correspond Lithuanian *skyr-iu-s*, "separation" (*skirru*, "I separate"). Gothic, perhaps *drun-yu-s*, "clang," belongs to this class.§

946. As regards the origin of the suffix व *va*, I believe recognise in it a pronominal base, which occurs in the clitic *vat*, "as" (according to form a nominative and accu-tive neuter, see §. 155.), as also in *vâ*, "or," "as," and, besides ese, only in combination with other demonstrative bases eceding, *inter alia*, in the Zend *ava*, "this" (see §. 377.). erhaps, also, the reflexive base *sva* (§. 341.), on which the d Persian *huva*, "he" (euphonic for *hva*), is based, is othing but the combination of *sa* with [G. Ed. p. 1392.] a, the final vowel of the former being suppressed, as in -*ya*, from *sa-ya*, "this" (§. 353.).

947. The suffix *van* forms, *a*) adjectives with the signifi-ation of the participle present, which occur only at the

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* *Dź* for *d*, on account of the *i* following.

† Pott, too (E. I., II. p. 487), notices a possible relationship between e Greek suffix *ευ* and the Lithuanian *iu*.

‡ The root *tas*, "to take up," which has not yet been met with as a rb, here probably signifies "to take."

§ Cf. the Sanscrit *dhvan*, "to sound," and see §. 20.

end of compounds, especially in the Vêda dialect; *e.g.*, *suta-pá-van*, "drinking the Sôma;" *vâja-dá-van*, "giving food." *b*) Nouns of agency, like *ṛík-van*, "extoller;" *yáj-van*, "sacrificer." *c*) Appellatives, *e.g.*, *rúh-van*, "tree," as "growing;" *śúk-van*, "elephant," as "powerful, strong." The Zend furnishes a remarkable word of this class, viz. 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯 *zar-van*, "time," in which I recognise a word radically akin to the Sanscrit *har-i-mán*, which signifies "time," as "carrying away, destroying" (see §. 795.). The Greek χρόνο-ς* is referable, in my opinion, with equal facility, to the Sanscrit root *har*, *hṛi*, with which, in Greek, obsolete root, χείρ, "the hand," as "taking," is also most probably connected. The omission of the radical vowel in χρόνος, if we refer the *o* to the suffix, can occasion no doubt; while the suffix *ovo* admits of ready comparison with the Sanscrit-Zend *vant*. With respect to the necessary dropping of the digamma, compare the relation of the suffix ϵντ to the Sanscrit *vant*; and with reference to the vowel added to the final consonant of the suffix, the relation of the Latin *lentu* (with *lent*) to the same suffix (see §. 20.).

948. The Sanscrit suffix *nu* (see §. 851.) forms oxytone adjectives and substantives; *e.g.*, *gṛidh-nú-s*, "wistful, eager;" *tras-nú-s*, "trembling, fearing;" *dhṛiṣh-ṇú-s*, "venturing, bold" (*ṇ*, on account of the preceding *ṣh*); *bhâ-nú-s*, "the sun, as "giving light;" *dhê-nú-s*, f. "milch-cow," as "giving

[G. Ed. p. 1393.] to drink" (root *dhê*, "to drink," with causal signification); *sû-nú-s*, "son," as "born." So, in Zend, 𐬞𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬨𐬎𐬱 *taf-nu-s*, "burning" (see §. 40.); 𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬎𐬱 *raz-nu-s*, "straightforward, true"†; 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬎𐬱 *barĕzh-nu-s*, "high, great," as substantive, "summit"‡; *janĭf-nu-s*, "mouth," as

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* Cf. Burnouf, "Études," p. 197.

† Root 𐬭𐬀𐬵 *raz*=Sanscrit *ṛij* (from *raj*), whence *ṛijú*, "direct," see Burnouf, "Yaçna," p. 195.

Bĕrĕz=San. *vṛih*, Vêd. *bṛih*, "to grow," see Burnouf, "Études," p. 194.

"speaking" (see §. 61.); in Lithuanian, mostly from obsolete roots, *drung-nù-s* (also *drung-na-s*), "lukewarm;" *gad-nù-s*, "fit;" *mac-nù-s*, "powerful" (cf. *maci-s*, "might," Gothic *mah-ts*, Sanscrit *maṅh*, *mah*, "to grow," Latin *mag-nus*); *szau-nù-s*, "able, doughty" (cf. Sanscrit *śáv-as*, "strength," *śú-ra*, "a hero" (from *śu* from *śvi*, "to grow"); *sû-nù-s*, "son" = Sanscrit *sû-nù-s* (सू *sû*, "to bear"). In Greek, compare λιγ-νύ-ς, which I have already elsewhere referred to the Sanscrit root *dah* (infin. *dág-dhum*, "to burn," to which the Latin *lig-num* also belongs (see p. 1179 G. ed.). As feminine, it answers to the Sanscrit *dhê-nù-s* and the Latin *ma-nu-s*, in so far as the latter, together with *mu-nu-s*, belongs to the Sanscrit root *mâ* (see p. 1372 G. ed., Note**). And θρῆ-νυ-ς, too, in spite of the difference of accent, belongs to this class.

949. The suffix *snu* (euphonic *ṣhṇu*) given by the Indian grammarians appears to me essentially identical with *nu*, and I regard the sibilant as an extension of the root, and, in some cases, as an affix to the vowel of conjunction *i*. Compare the relation of *bhâs*, "to shine," *dâs*, "to give," *mâs*, "to measure," to the more simple, more current, and, in the cognate languages, more diffused roots, *bhâ*, *dâ*, *mâ*, and that of *dhikṣh*, *dhukṣh*, "to kindle," to *dah*, "to burn." Similar is the relation of the adjectives *glâ-s-nú-s*, "withering," *ji-ṣh-ṇú-s*, "conquering," *bhû-ṣh-ṇu-s*, or *bhav-iṣh-ṇú-s*, "being." Hereto corresponds the Lithua- [G. Ed. p. 1394.] nian *dů̃s-nù-s*, "giving" (*dů̃-mi*, "I give").

950. There is a weakened form *mi* of the suffix म *ma* discussed in §. 805.: it forms oxytone appellatives; *e.g.*, *bhû-mí-s*, fem. "earth," as "being" (Latin *hu-mu-s*, cf. p. 1077); *ûr-mí-s*, m. f. "wave"*; *dal-mí-s*, m. "Indra's thunderbolt," as "cleaving;" *raś-mí-s*, m. "beam of light,

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* Either from *ar*, *ṛi*, "to go," with *û* for *a* (see Uṇâdi, IV. 45.), or from *var*, *vṛi*, "to cover," with the contraction of *va* to *û*.

bridle."* Under this class of words is to be reckoned the Gothic *hai-m(i)-s*, f. (theme *hai-mi*), "village," from the obsolete root *hi* with Guna = Sanscrit *śî*, from *kî*, "to lie, to sleep;" the plural, *hai-môs*, belongs to a base *haimô*.†

951. The suffix क *ka* (*a-ka*, *â-ka*, *i-ka*, *u-ka*, *û-ka*, see §. 939.) I regard as identical with the interrogative base *ka*, which, however, as suffix, must be taken in a demonstrative or relative sense, as indeed its representative also in New Persian and Latin has both a relative and interrogative meaning. In direct combination with the root, *ka* is not of frequent occurrence in Sanscrit. The most current word of this kind of formation is *śuṣh-ká-s*, "dry," the Latin sister form of which *siccu-s* has probably arisen by assimilation and weakening of the *u* to *i* from *sus-cu-s*. That the *ś* of the Sanscrit root, for which, in Latin, *c* were to be expected, has arisen from the dental स् *s*, and not from *k*, is proved [G. Ed. p. 1395.] by the Zend 𐬵𐬎𐬱𐬐𐬀 *hush-ka*, "dry." The χ *ch* of the Sclavonic сѹχъ *sûch'*, "dry," is based on the Sanscrit *ṣh* of the root (see §. 255. m.). The Lithuanian form of this adjective is *saus-a-s*. With *a-ka*, *â-ka*, *i-ka*, *u-ka*, are formed adjectives, and nouns of agency or appellatives, which accent the root; *e.g.*, *nárt-a-ka-s*, "dancer," fem. *nárt-a-kî*, "female dancer;" *nấy-a-ka-s*, "guide" (root *nî* with the Vṛiddhi); *khán-a-ka*, "digging," fem. *-kâ*; *jálp-â-ka*, "loquacious," fem. *kî* (Am. Ko., III. 36.) *khán-ika-s*, "digger;" *múṣh-i-ka-s*, "mouse," as "stealing" (root *muṣh*); *kấm-u-ka*, "longing;" *ghất-u-ka*, "destroying" (root *han*, "to slay," causal *ghâtáy*). *Ú-ka* forms paroxytone adjectives from frequentatives and *jâgar*, *-gṛi*, "to watch,"

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* Akin, in the first signification perhaps, to the roots *arch*, *ruch* (from *ark*, *ruk*, as *raś* from *rak*), "to shine," or to *las*, "to shine." There is no root *raś*.

† Regarding the European cognates of the Gothic word, see Glossarium Sanscr., a. 1847, p. 350.

ly from reduplicated roots, which, as it appears, their heavy build by a long vowel; hence, *e.g.*, *ka*, "loquacious," *jâgar-û́-ka*, "watchful." Hereto nd, irrespective of the reduplication, in Latin, *s* and *mand-û-cu-s*. *Fid-û-cu-s*, presupposes a pri- *fid-û-cu-s* or *fid-û-c-s*. As *û-ka*, *û-cu*, is only a ing of *uka*, *ucu*, so perhaps, the Latin, *î-cu* of *s*, *pud-î-cu-s*, is a lengthening of the Sanscrit *i-ka*, *ed-i-cu-s*, *vom-i-cu-s*, subs. *vom-i-ca*, *pert-i-ca* (if it om *partio*), have preserved the original shortness*. *s vert-i-c*, *vort-i-c*, *pend-i-c*, *append-i-c*, *pôd-i-c* (from ve lost the final vowel of the suffix. Under आक to be ranked the Latin *â-c*, with the final vowel ed in bases like *ed-â-c*, *vor-â-c*, *fall-â-c*, *ten-â-c*, *sequ-â-c*, *loqu-â-c* (as above *júlp-â-ka*, "loquacious"); —as *ô* = *â*, see §§. 3., 4.—in *cel-ô-c*, *vel-ô-c* (for *vol-ô-c*), In Greek, *φύλ-ακο-ς* from a lost root (*φυλάσσω* rom *φυλακ*), corresponds as exactly [G. Ed. p. 1396.] ble to the Sanscrit formations like *nárt-a-ka-s*, "a and *φέν-ᾱκ-ς*, for *φεν-ᾱκο-ς* (cf. *φενάκη*), to such as s, "loquacious, chatterer," and, in Latin, such as

The base *κήρ-ῡκ* for *κηρ-ῡκο*, likewise from an ob- ot, corresponds to the Sanscrit bases in *ûka*, and *û-cu*. To the above mentioned feminine *nárt-akî*, " (also nom.), corresponds, in point of formation, k *γυν-αικ*, in which I recognise a transposition of ee §. 119.); for which, in Sanscrit, *jánakî*, as "bear- ren," would be to be expected, as feminine to the existing *ján-aka-s*, "father," as "begetter."—The formations like *khán-i-ka-s*, "digger," are most presented in Lithuanian, of all the European mem- our family languages, by nouns of agency like s, "incendiary" (*degu* = Sanscrit *dáh-â-mi*, "I burn");

intzer, "The Doctrine of the Formation of Latin Words," p. 37.

leid-i-kha-s, "wood-floater*" (*léid-mi*, "I float wood"); *kul-i-kha-s*, "thresher" (*kullù*, "I thresh, pret. *kulau*). The Gothic places as parallel to the Sanscrit *a-ka*, of *khán-a-ka*, "digging," the suffix *a-ga*† in *grêd-a-ga*; n. m. *grêd-a-g'-s*, "hungry," properly, "desiring" (Sanscrit root *gṛidh*) from *gradh*, "to crave."

952. It is probable that the *n* of the forms in *ng* (theme *nga*) which occurs in all the German languages, with the exception of Gothic, with a vowel preceding (*i* or *u*), is an unessential insertion, just as, according to §. 56. ª, in Zend forms like *mananha*, for *manaha* = Sanscrit *manasâ*. If this be the case, we may compare Old High German forms like

[G. Ed. p. 1397.] *kun-ing*, "king" (also *kun-ig*), theme *kun-inga*, with Sanscrit formations in *a-ka* (*nárt-aka-s*, "dancer," p. 1395 G. ed.), and Greek in *α-κο-ς*, (*φύλ-α-κο-ς*, l. c.), which I prefer to do, rather than regard the *i* as existing even from the time of the unity of languages; and I therefore compare *i-nga* with the Sanscrit *i-ka*, *e.g.*, in *khán-i-ka-s*, "digger" (l. c.). The original meaning of *kun-in-g* was probably "man," *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, as the English "queen" is, properly, merely "woman" (cf. Gothic *qvein(i-)-s*, "woman" = Sanscrit जनिस् *jáni-s*, "woman," as "bearing children"), and corresponds in root and suffix to the above-mentioned (p. 1396 G. ed.) Sanscrit *ján-a-ka-s*, "father," as "begetter." Should, too, in the often-mentioned abstract substantives in *unga*‡, the guttural be the principal letter, and the last syllable, therefore, the most important part of the suffix, then *unga*, *e.g.*, in *heil-unga*, "healing" (Grimm, II. 360.), must be compared with the Sanscrit feminines in *a-kâ*, *e.g.*,

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* The doubling of the consonants very commonly serves in Lithuanian only to mark the shortness of the preceding vowel, see Kurschat, "Contributions," II. p. 32.

† Regarding the medial for the original tenuis, cf §. 91. p. 80.

‡ See §. 803. and p. 1275 G. ed.

án-a-kâ, " the digging," and we must assume that this nine adjective form has raised itself in the German ages to an abstract; as, *e. g.*, in Greek, *κάκη* comes from djective *κακό-ς*, *κακή*, and, in Latin, forms like *fractura*, *ra*, are evidently nothing but the feminines of the e participle. In English, as is also frequently the so early as the Anglo-Saxon, *ing* represents our *ung* formative of abstract substantives; and since adjectives formed in *ing*, this termination has, in New English, ly and entirely dislodged the old participle in *end*, in Middle English the forms in *end* and *ing* still co- (Grimm, I. p. 1008.). I therefore am not of opinion as Grimm, in the second part of his Grammar (p. 356), nes, the New English participles are [G. Ed. p. 1398.] ptions from *end*, as *e* does not readily become *i*, whence s often itself been, by a corruption, derived.

3. As a secondary suffix, *ka* (*i-ka*, *u-ka*) forms, in San- words of multifarious relations to their primary word. rms like *mádra-ka-s*, *síndhu-ka-s*, " native of the land a, Sindhu," *bála-ka-s*, " boy," from *bála*, of equivalent ing, *śíta-ka-s*, " cold weather," "the cold season of the " " a slothful man," from *śítá*, " cold," correspond, as ds formation, the Gothic adjective bases *staina-ha*, y," *vaurda-ha*, " literal," *un-barna-ha*, " childless," *un-a-ga*, " without offering, not distributing" (*hunsl-s*, e *hunsla*, " offering"), *aina-han*, " sole" (the latter with anic *n*)*; and, with *g* for *h* (see §. 951., conclusion), *-ga*, " ireful," *auda-ga*, " happy" (*aud*, theme *auda*, sure"), *handu-ga*, " dextrous, skilful, clever," in the native masculine, *handa-g(a)-s*. The last example ers well to the above-mentioned Sanscrit *síndhu-ka-s*, it might, therefore, be expected, that also from the

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o the substantive base, occurring only in the plural *brôthra-han* posed from *brôthar-han*), nom. *brôthra-han-s*, " brother."

bases *grêdu*, "hunger," *vulthu*, "splendour," not *grêda-g`-s*. "hungry," *vultha-g`-s*, "famed," would come, but only *grêdu-g`-s*, *vulthu-g`-s*. Perhaps, however, the preponderating number of the adjective bases in *a-ga*, nom. m. *a-gs*, which come from substantive bases in *a*, has had an influence on the formation of the adjectives derived from *grêdu*, *vulthu*, and given them, by an abuse, *a* for *u*; or the said adjectives come from lost substantive bases *grêda*, *vultha* (cf. §. 914), which, perhaps, for the first time after the production of the adjectives referred to, have been weakened to *grêdu*, *vulthu*, just as the Sanscrit bases *pâda*, "foot," *danta*, "tooth,"

[G. Ed. p. 1399] have become, in Gothic, *fôtu*, *tunthu*. The Gothic substantive bases in *i* lengthen their final vowel before the suffix *ga* to *ei*; hence, *e.g.*, *anstei-ga*, "favourable," *mahtei-ga*, "powerful," *listei-ga*, "subtle," from the feminine primitive bases *ansti*, "grace," *mahti*, "might," *listi*, "subtilty." Feminine bases in *ein*, nom. *ei*, produce in like manner, derivatives in *ei-ga*; as, *e.g.*, *gabei-ga*, from *gabein*, n. *gabei*, "riches;" and so, too, the neuter base *gavairthya*, "peace" (nom. *gavairthi*), whence *gavairthei-g* "pacific." As several abstract feminine bases in *ein* come from adjective bases in *a* (see p. 1306 G. ed.), so, perhaps, from *sina*, nom. *sin(a)-s*, "old," may have come an abstract *sinein*, "age;" and hence *sinei-ga*, "old," *i.e.* "having age," and for *thiudei-ga*, "good," I presuppose a feminine base *thiudein*, "goodness" (from *thiuda*, n., nom. *thiuth*, "good"). Of verbal origin is *lais-ei-ga*, "teaching" (from *lais-ya*, "I teach," pret. *lais-ei-da*); and so, *andanêm-ei-ga*, "accepting," may have sprung, not from the above-mentioned (§. 914.) base *andanêma*, "acceptance," but from a to-be-presupposed weak verb *anda-nêmya*. In New High German the *i* of words like *sternig*, "starry," *günstig*, "favourable," *kräftig*, "powerful," *mächtig*, "mighty," has won for itself the appearance of an important portion of the suffix, the more as it has kept its place without reference to the primary

d; and hence, *e.g.*, we equally find *steinig*, "stony," *hig*, "mettlesome," answering to the Gothic bases *staina-* *môda-ga*, and, with more exactness, *mächtig*, corre-ıding to the Gothic *mahtei-ga*.

)54. The Gothic adjective bases in *iska*, our *isch*, I should inclined to derive from the genitive singular, although case does not correspond universally with exactness to adjectives under discussion; *e.g.*, the anomalous genitive *ns*, "of the fire," does not correspond to *funisk(a)-s*, ry," in the same way as *gudis*, "of God," *barnis*, "of child," to *gudisk(a)-s*, "godlike," *barnisk(a)-s*, "childish." circumstance, however, that also in Lithuanian, Let- Old Prussian, and Sclavonic, there [G. Ed. p. 1400.] adjectives in which a sibilant precedes the *k* of the x under discussion, induces me to prefer looking on sibilant as a euphonic affix, on account of the favour which the combination *sk* is held, that we may not be pelled to assume for the said languages a suffix *ska*, , ско *sko*, which would meet with no corroboration in the atic sister languages. The following are examples in uanian: *diew'-i-szka-s*, "godlike," from *diewa-s*; *wyr'-i-a-s*, "manly," from *wyra-s*; *lětuw'-i-szka-s*, Lithuanian, n *lětuwà*; *dang'-i-skza-s*, "heavenly," from *dangu-s*: in Prussian, *deiw'-i-ska-s*, "godlike," from *deiw(a)-s*; *taw'-ka-s*, "paternal," from *taw(a)-s*; *arw'-i-ska-s*, "veracious," n *arwi-s*, "true" (Nesselmann, p. 77): in Old Sclavonic, ıскый *schen'-skyĭ* (nom. m. of the definite declension, see 4.), "*femininus*," from жена *schena*, "woman;" морьскый '-*skyĭ*, "*marinus*," from море *more*, theme *moryo* (§. 258.), a;" мїрьскый *mir'-skyĭ*, "*mundanus*," from мїрь *mir'*, ne *miro*, "world" (see Dobrowsky, p. 330). The sup-ısion of the final vowel of the primitive base points to circumstance, that in the Sclavonic formations also of kind a vowel universally preceded the suffix. It is most able, too, that the σ of the Greek diminutive formation

in *ι-σκο, ι-σκη* (*παιδ-ί-σκο-ς, παιδ-ί-σκη, στεφαν-ί-σκος*), is only a phonetic prefix. In support of this view we may refer to the euphonic *s*, which, in Sanscrit, is inserted between some roots beginning with *k* and certain prepositions*, *e.g.*, in *pariṣhkar, -kṛi*, "to adorn," properly, "to put around." Compare, also, the Latin *s* in combinations like *abscondo, abspello, abstineo, ostendo* (for *obstendo*).

[G. Ed. p. 1401]. 955. In Latin I regard the *i* of words like *belli-cu-s, cœli-cu-s, domini-cu-s, uni-cu-s, auli-cu-s*, as a weakening of the final vowel of the base word, like the *i* before the suffixes *tât* and *tûdin* and at the beginning of compounds. I compare here the said word with the Sanscrit like *mádra-ka-s, bâla-ka-s, síndhu-ka-s*, and Gothic like *staina-h(a)-s, môda-g(a)-s, handu-g(a)-s*. In words like *civi-cu-s, classi-cu-s, hosti-cu-s*, the *i* demonstrates itself to belong to the primitive base, while the *i*, which is appended to bases terminating in a consonant, *e.g.*, in *urbi-cu-s, patri-cu-s, pedi-ca*, and that, too, in the Latin ablative plural (*pedi-bus*=Sanscrit *pad-bhyás*), and in compounds like *pedi-sequus*, have been first introduced in Latin to facilitate the combination with the following consonant, on which account I am unwilling to place such words, with respect to the *i* before their suffix, on the same footing with Sanscrit words like *hâimant'-i-ká-s*, "wintry, cold," from *hémantá*, "winter;" *dhârm'-i-ká-s*, "virtuous, devoted to duty," from *dhárma*, "duty, right;" *âkṣh-i-ká-s*, "dice-player," from *akṣhá*, "dice." To these, however, correspond, with respect to accentuation also, Greek derivatives like *πολεμ'-ι-κό-ς, ἀδελφ'-ι-κό-ς, ἀμπελ'-ι-κό-ς, ὡρ'-ι-κό-ς, ἀστ'-ι-κό-ς, ῥητορ-ι-κό-ς, δαιμον-ι-κό-ς, ἀρωματ-ι-κό-ς, γεροντ-ι-κό-ς*. To Sanscrit forms in which the suffix is appended without the intervention of any vowel, as above *síndhu-ka-s*, corresponds, irrespective of the accentuation, *ἀστυ-κό-ς*. Re-

* See my "Smaller Sanscrit Grammar," 2d Edition, p. 62.

arding the Greek formations in τι-κό-ς, from to-be-presupposed abstract bases in τι, see p. 1198 G. ed., Note.

956. The Sanscrit suffix *tu*, with its cognates in the European sister languages, has already been considered as a formative of the infinitive*. The cor- [G. Ed. p. 1402.] responding Gothic abstracts, like the Latin (§. 865), have exchanged the feminine gender with the masculine, and preserved the original tenuis under the guard of a preceding *s* or *h*, but, after other letters, changed it to *d* or *th* (cf. §. 91.). The suffix is either added direct to the verbal root, or to the theme of a weak verb terminating in *â*, or to an adjective base in *a*, lengthening this vowel to *â* (see 69.). To this class belong *vahs-tu-s*, "growth;" *kus-tu-s*, "proof;" *lus-tu-s*, "desire"†; *thuh-tu-s*, "prejudice;" *vratâ-tu-s*, "journey;" *auhyâ-du-s*, "noise;" *mannishâ-du-s*, "humanity" (from *manniska*, nom. *mannish'-s*, "human"); *abauryâ-dus*, "desire, pleasure" (cf. *gabaurya-ba*, adverb, "willingly, voluntarily"). *Dau-thu-s*, "death," properly, "the dying;" is radically connected with the Greek θάνατος, and the Sanscrit *han*, from *dhan*, "to slay" (*ni-dhaná*, "death"); and has vocalised the *n* of the obsolete root to *u* (cf. §. 432.). In Sanscrit, *a-thu*, the *th* of which I regard as a mutation of *t*, forms some masculine abstracts from verbal roots; *e.g.*, *vam-a-thú-s*, "*vomitus*;" *vêp-a-thú-s*, "the trembling;" *nand-a-thú-s*, "joy;" *śvay-a-thú-s*, "the tumefying" (*śvi*, "to grow").

957. With the suffix *tu* in Sanscrit are formed also nouns of agency and appellatives, some of which accent the root, and some the suffix; *e.g.*, *gán-tu-s*, "traveller" (*gam*, "to go"); *tán-tu-s*, "thread" (*tan*, "to stretch"); *bhâ-tú-s*, "sun" (*bhâ*, "to shine"); *yâ-tú-s*, "traveller" (*yâ*, "to go");

* See §§. 852., 853., 862., 863., 865., 866., 868.

† Probably from *lus* (= Greek λυ, Sanscrit *lû*); so that it properly signifies "loosening," or "letting go."

[G. Ed. p. 1403.] *jan-tú-s*, "animal," as "producing," or "produced." So in Gothic, *hlif-tu-s*, "thief," as "stealing" (cf. *κλέπ-τω*); *skil-du-s*, "shield," as "covering"*: in Greek, *μάρπ-τυς* in Hesych., if the form is genuine, and *μάρ-τύ-ς*, which Pott, as it appears to me rightly, traces back to the Sanscrit root *smri* (*i.e. smar*), "to recall," to which the Latin *memor*, and Old High German *mâriu*, also belong.† With the above-mentioned (§. 933., Note †) Vêdic *jîv-á-tu-s*, m. "life," might be compared, as regards the inserted *á*, the abstracts from nominal bases in Latin like *princip-á-tu-s*, *consul-á-tu-s*, *patron'-á-tu-s*, *triumvir'-á-tu-s*, *tribun'-á-tu-s*, *sen'-á-tu-s*. These, however, are, as it were, only imitations of the abstracts, which spring from verbs of the first conjugation‡; as also *sen-á-tor* answers to nouns of agency like *am-á-tor;* and *jan'-i-tor* (from *janua*, with the suppression of the two final vowels), *ol'-i-tor* (for *oler-i-tor*, just like *opifex* for *oper-i-fex*), to those like *mon-i-tor*. So in Greek, *ἀκρω-τήρ* from *ἀκρο*; and as *τη-ς* and *τηρ* are originally one (see §. 810.), numerous denominative formations in *τη-ς*, like *δημό-τη-ς*, *ἱππό-τη-ς*, *πολῖ-τη-ς*, *κωμή-τη-ς*, *Σιβαρῖ-τη-ς*, *Πισᾶ-τη-ς*, *Αἰγινή-τη-ς*. I believe, too, that I may refer to this class patronymics in *ι-δη-ς* or *δη-ς*, as *Κεκροπ-ί-δη-ς*, *Μεμνον-ί-δη-ς*, *Κρον-ί-δη-ς*, *Ἱπποτά-δη-ς*, *Βορεά-δη-ς*, as I assume a change of the tenuis to the medial, as in the Latin forms like *tim-i-du-s* (see §. 822.). It may here be observed, that the Greek patronymics in *ῑ-ων* (theme *ῑ-ων* or *ῑ-ον*), too, stand, in respect to their

[G. Ed. p. 1404.] suffix, if we regard *ων*, *ον*, as the important part of it, combined with a class of words, which is originally destined for the formation of nouns of agency (see §. 926.), which is also the case with the feminine pa-

* Cf. *skal-ya*, "*tegula*," and the Sanscrit root *chhad* (see §. 14.), "to cover," *l* therefore from *d* (see §. 17.).

† See Glossarium Sanscr., a. 1847, p. 392.

‡ Cf. Pott, II. p. 554.

tronymics in ιδ, since the corresponding Sanscrit *i*, as feminine of *a*, forms both feminine nouns of agency and appellatives with the fundamental meaning of a participle present (*e.g.*, *nadí*, "river," as "purling," from *nadá*, id.), and feminine patronymics like *bhâimí* (see §. 920.).

958. Some few suffixes still remain to be discussed, which occur only in the secondary formation of words: among them is the Sanscrit *êya*, fem. *êyâ*, which is used for a purpose similar to that of *ya*, according to §. 901. In its origin, too, *êya* appears identical with *ya*, and to be only a phonetic extension of the latter. The accent in formations in *êya* rests either on the final syllable of the suffix, or on the first syllable of the entire word; *e.g.*, *átr'-êyá-s*, "descendant of Atri;" *dâs'-êyá-s*, "son of a slave," from *dâsa*; *gâir'-êyá-m*, "bitumen," from *giri*, "a mountain;" *vrâih'-êyá-m*, "rice-field," from *vríhi*, "rice;" *mâh'-êyá-s*, "earthen," from *mahí*; *pâúruṣh'-êya-s*, "referring to men," "consisting of men," from *puruṣha*; *áh'-êya-s*, "*anguinus*," from *ahi*, "*anguis*;" *grâív'-êya-m*, "belonging to the neck," from *grîvâ*, "throat, neck." To the three last examples correspond also, in throwing back the accent as far as possible, Greek words like λεόντ-ειο-ς, λεόντ-εο-ς, αἴγ-ειο-ς, τράγ'-ειο-ς, σιδήρ-ειο-ς, ἀργύρ'-ειο-ς. To this class belong, in Latin, words like *pic-eu-s*, *ciner-eu-s*, *flor-eu-s*, *aer-eu-s*, *argent'-eu-s*, *aur'-eu-s*, *ign'-eu-s* (cf. Pott Etym. Inq., II. 502.). In these formations, therefore, and in the Greek in εο-ς, the Sanscrit diphthong of *ê*, which is contracted from *ai*, has left behind only its first element in the shape of ε, ĕ (as in ἑκάτερο-ς = *êkatará-s*, see §. 293.); on the other hand, [G. Ed. p. 1405.] in *pl'eb-êju-s*, the Sanscrit suffix *êya* (*y* = Latin *j*) has been retained with the utmost exactness, and so, too, in some proper names, as *Pomp'-êju-s*, *Petr'-êju-s*, *Lucc'-êju-s* (see Düntzer, "Doctrine of the Formation of Latin Words," p. 33).

959. The secondary suffixes *vat*, *mat*, in the strong cases *vant*, *mant*, which form possessive adjectives from substan-

tives, are perhaps simply phonetic extensions of the primary suffixes *van* and *man* (cf. §. 803.); and, on the other hand, *vin* and *min*, *e.g.*, in *têjas-vín*, "gifted with light," *mêdhâ-vín*, "intelligent," *svâ-mín**, "lord, owner" ("gifted with his own (*svá*")), have been formed by weakening the vowel from *van* and *man*. It is most probable, too, that *vant* and *mant*, as also *van* and *man*, are originally one, as *v* and *m* are easily interchanged. A comparison has already been drawn between *vant*† and the Latin *lent*, extended to *lentu*. In Greek the suffix *εντ* (from *Fεντ*) corresponds, which as is usually done by its Sanscrit sister-form *vant*, allows the accent to fall on the syllable which immediately precedes: hence, *e.g.*, *δολό-εντ*, *ἀμπελό-εντ*, *ὑλή-εντ*, *τολμή-εντ*, *πυρ-ό-εντ*, *μελιτ-ό-εντ*, *δακρυ-ό-εντ*, *μητι-ό-εντ*, as in Sanscrit, *e.g.*, *dhaná-vant*, "rich," from *dhána*, "riches;" *mêdhá-vant*, "intelligent," from *mêdhâ*, "understanding;" *lakṣhmí-vant*, "fortunate," from *lakṣhmí*, "fortune."

960. The suffix तन *tana*, f. *tanî*, forms adjectives from adverbs of time. They accent optionally the first syllable of the suffix or the syllable preceding, *e.g.*, *hyas-tána-s* or *hyás-tana-s*, "*hesternus*," from *hyas*, "yesterday;" *śvas-tána-s* or *śvás-tana-s*, [G. Ed. p. 1406.] "*crastinus*," from *śvas*, "to-morrow;" *sâyan-tána-s* or *sâyán-tana-s*, "*vespertinus*," from *sâyam*, "at evening" (properly an accusative); *sanâ-tána-s* or *sanấ-tana-s*, "*sempiternus*," from *sanấ*, "always." In Latin corresponds, as needs hardly be mentioned, *tinu* in *cras-tinu-s*, *diu-tinu-s* (cf. *divâ-tana-s*, "daily," (?) from *dívâ*, "in the day"), *pris-tinu-s*; lengthened to *tînu* in *vesper-tînu-s*, *matu-tînu-s*‡.

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* The Indian Grammarians refer the *â*, which I regard as the lengthening of the *a* of the primitive base, to the suffix.

† See §. 20., and "Influence of the Pronouns on the formation of Words," p. 7.

‡ *Mâtû* (an adverbial ablative like *noctû*), which is to be presupposed as base word, is perhaps connected with the Sanscrit *bhâtu*, "sun;" so that

The forms *hesternus, sempiternus, æternus,* have either prefixed an inorganic *r* to the *n,* or they presuppose *hester, sempiter, æter* (*æviter*), as primitives (cf. §. 293.), so that only *nu* would be the derivative suffix. The former view is favoured by the forms *hodiernus, nocturnus,* and some others, which have probably first appended the suffix *nu,* and then further prefixed an *r* to the *n* (cf. *alburnus* from *albus, lucerna* from *luceo*).

961. As regards the origin of the suffix *tana,* I look upon it as a combination of the pronominal bases *ta* and *na,* a combination which occurs in Old Prussian in the independent pronoun *tan'-s* (from *tana-s*), "he;" fem. *tennâ* (for *ta-na*), "she." So the suffix *tya,* which forms paroxytone adjectives from indeclinables, as *ihá-tya-s,* "a man of this place," *tatrá-tya-s,* "a man of that place," is probably identical with the compound demonstrative base *tya* (see §. 353.), and therefore, in the said examples, denotes the person, who is here (*iha*), there (*tatra*). So, too, as has already been remarked (§. 400.), in Greek, ἐνθά-σιο-ς (in Hesych.), comes from ἔνθα (thus, -σιο-ς from τιο-ς); and in Latin, *propi-tiu-s,* from *prope;* and in [G. Ed. p. 1407.] Gothic, the base *framathya* (nom. m. *framathei-s,* "*alienus,*" "strange"), from the preposition *fram,* "from," whether it be that *frama* is the original form of the preposition, or that the *a* of the derivative is a vowel of conjunction. The base *ni-thya,* nom. *nithyi-s,* "cousin," as "*propinquus,*" I derive from the same preposition *ni* ("among"), whence, in Sanscrit, *ni-haṭá-s,* "*propinquus;*" *ní-tya-s,* "*sempiternus.*" Another Sanscrit word of this class which has sprung from a preposition is *amá-tya-s,* "counsel," properly, "*conjunctus,*" from *amâ,* "with:" I also refer here *ápa-tya-m,* "offspring, child," in spite of its different accentuation (see Nâigh.,

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that the labial mute of the root *bhâ,* "to shine," passes over into the nasal of its organ, as is also probably the case in *mâne.*

II. 2, and Benfey's Gloss. to the S. V., as I derive it, as I formerly did, from the preposition *ápa*.

962. The demonstrative base *sya*, fem. *syá* (see §. 353.), which is limited in classical Sanscrit to the nominative singular, with which, most probably, the genitive termination *sya* is connected (see §. 194.), has, in the secondary formation of words, likewise its presumptive equivalent, viz. in the now but seldom found *sya* (euphonic *shya*), through which *manu-shya-s*, "man," is formed from *manu*, "Manu," and *dhénu-shya* "a cow tied up (to be milked)," comes from *dhénu*.* If words of this kind have originally been numerous, we might then refer to this class the Latin *riu*, which is always preceded by an *á*, and assume the favourite transition of *s* into *r*, thus, *e.g.*, *tabell-á-riu-s*, *palm-á-riu-s*, *arbor-á-riu-s*, *ær-á-riu-s*, *lign-á-riu-s*, *actu-á-riu-s*, *contr-á-riu-s*, *advers-á-riu-s*, *prim-á-riu-s*, *secund-á-riu-s*, from *tabell-á-siu-s*, &c. But if the *r* of these forms is primitive, *riu* might be regarded as an extension of the suffix *ri* = Sanscrit ऋ *ri* (see §. 943.); as together with *palm'-á-riu-s* there actually exists a form [G. Ed. p. 1408.] *palm'-á-ri-s*. The *á* can in neither case be referred to the proper suffix, but is to be regarded as that of forms like *princip-á-tu-s*, *sen-á-tu-s*, *sen-á-tor* (see p. 1403 G. ed.)

963. The Latin *á-riu* guides us to the Gothic suffix *arya*, to which, however, I can concede no affinity to the former, whether it be that the Latin *r* is primitive, or has arisen from *s*. The Gothic is unacquainted with any interchange between the *s* and *r*, and we must therefore allow the *r* of the said suffix to pass as original. It forms nouns of agency, and, in the secondary formation, words which denote the person who is occupied with the matter denoted by the base word. To this class belong the mas-

* The Indian Grammarians form both these words with the suffix *ya* with *sh* prefixed.

culine bases *lais-arya*, "teacher" (*lais-ya*, "I teach"); *sôk--arya*, "examiner" (*sôk-ya*, "I seek"); *liuth-arya*, "singer" (*liuthô*, "I sing"); *bôk'-arya*, "scribe" (*bôka*, theme *bôkô*, "letter," pl. *bôkôs*, "writings"); *môt'-arya*, "toll-gatherer" (*môta*, "toll, custom"); *vull'-arya*, "fuller" (*vulla*, "wool"). The nominatives are, *lais-areis*, *sôk-areis*, &c. (see §. 135.). A neuter is *vagg'-arya*, nom. *vagg-ari*, "pillow for the head" (Old High German, *wanya*, "cheek"). It is perhaps by an accident that the sources of Gothic literature which remain to us supply no nouns of agency from roots of strong verbs: these, however, are not wanting in the other Germanic dialects. The following are examples in Old High German, of which I annex the nominatives: *scrîb-eri*, "*scriba*;" *bët-eri*, "*adorator*;" *halt-âri*, "*servator*;" *hëlf-âre*, "*adjutor*;" *aba-nëm-âri*, "*susceptor*;" *sex-ari*, "*conditor*;" *troum-sceid-ari*, "*interpres somnii*," "interpreter of dreams." The following are examples derived from nouns: *gart'-eri*, "*hortulanus*;" *hunt'-eri*, "*centurio*;" *muniz'-eri*, "*monetarius*;" *havan'-ari*, "*figulus*" ("potter"); *satal'-ari*, "*ephippiarius*" ("saddler"); *wagin'-ari*, "*rhedarius*" ("cartwright"); *vranhônô-vurt-ari*," *Francofurtensis*."* In [G. Ed. p. 1409.] New High German this class of words is very numerously represented by nouns of agency, as *Geber*, "giver;" *Seher*, "seer;" *Denker*, "thinker;" *Binder*, "binder;" *Springer*, "springer;" *Läufer*, "runner;" *Trinker*, "drinker;" *Schneider*, "cutter;" *Streiter*, "striver;" *Bäcker*, "baker;" *Fänger*, "seizer;" *Weber*, "weaver;" *Forscher*, "prover;" *Sucher*, "seeker;" *Dreher*, "turner;" *Brauer*, "brewer;" and denominatives, like *Gärtner*, "gardener;" *Schreiner*, "joiner;" *Töpfer*, "potter;" *Ziegler*, "tiler;" *Wagner*, "cartwright;" *Frankfurter*, "inhabitant of Frankfort:" *Mainzer*, "inhabitant of Mainz;" *Berliner*, "inhabitant of Berlin." The

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* Regarding the difference of the vowel before the *r*, and especially as to this class of words, see Grimm, II. p. 125.

following are examples in English: "giver, singer, killer, bringer, seller, brewer; glover, gardener, wagoner." Perhaps the Gothic *arya* is on one side an extension, and on the other a mutilation of the Sanscrit suffix *târ*, *tri* (see §. 810.); an extension by adding the suffix *ya*, as above*, in *bêr-us-yôs*, "parents," as "bearing children," we have seen the Sanscrit suffix *uṣh* (from *vas*) in combination with *ya*; and a mutilation by dropping a *t*-sound (*t*, *th*, or *d*, see §. 9.); thus, *e.g.*, *laisarya*, "teacher," from *laistarya*, just as, in French, the *t* of the Latin *frater*, *pater*, *mater*, has disappeared in the forms *frère*, *père*, *mère*, and that of the suffix *tor* in the nouns of agency in *eur*, in forms like *sauv-eur* (=*salvator*), *port-eur*, *vend-eur* (=*venditor*). If the form was once *arya*, and obtained from *târ*, which corresponds to it in the different German dialects, it might then easily have extended itself as well over roots as nominal bases, to which the perfect form with the initial *t*-sound had never been appended. A form like *Geb-ter* or *Gebder*, for *Geber*, "giver," could never have existed; perhaps, however, in Gothic, a base *gif-tarya* may have existed, the *f* of which for *b*, after dropping the *t*, became again *b* (as in [G. Ed. p. 1410.] the pret. pl., *e.g.*, *gêbum* compared with the sing. *gaf*, *gaf-t*), therefore *gibarya*, to which our *Geber* would correspond.

COMPOUNDS.

964. In the Indo-European languages the verbs are compounded with scarce aught but prepositions, which in Sanscrit are always accented, and some of which, except in the Vêda dialect, never occur in the uncompounded state. I annex some Sanscrit verbs compounded with

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* See §. 788., and, with reference to analogous extensions in Lithuanian, §. 787.

epositions in the 3d. person of the present: *ádhi-gach-hati,* "he goes thither;" *antár-gachchhati,* "he goes ıder;" *ápa-kramati,* "he goes off;" *abhí-gachchhati,* "he ɔes towards, he approaches;" *áva-skandati,* "he descends;" *írâ-vartatê,* "he returns;" *pári-gachchhati,* "he goes ɔund;" *prá-dravati,* "he runs away;" *práti-kramati,* "he ives way;" *práti-bhâṣhatê,* "he answers, he speaks gainst;" *práti-padyatê,* "he arrives;" *níṣh-kramati,* "he ɔmes forth," *sán-gachchhati* (euphon. for *sam*), "he comes gether." Compare, without reference to the verbal root, Greek, *ἀποβαίνει, ἀμφιβαίνει, περιβαίνει, προβαίνει, προς-ιίνει* (*πρός* from *προτί,* see §. 152. p. 167), *συμβαίνει*: in tin, *adit, interit, abit, ambit, obit, procedit, congreditur:* in d High German, *umbi-cât, umbe-gât,* "he goes round;" *tar-gât,* "he goes under:" in Gothic, *at-gaggith,* "he goes ;" *af-gaggith,* "he goes away;" *bi-qvimith,* "he overtakes" *vimith,* "he comes"); *bi-gairdith,* "he girds;" *fra-lêtith,* "he ɔandons:" in Lithuanian, *isz-eiti,* "he goes out" (*isz* = निस् *s*); *par-eiti,* "he goes back;" *par-nesza,* "he brings back," *a-nesza,* "he represents;" *priesz-tarauya,* "he contradicts;" *-maiszo,* "he mingles:" in Old Sclavonic (see Dobrowsky, 401), обрѣзати *obrieζati, περιτέμνειν,* "*circumcidere;*" ꙁидѫ *iζ-iduṅ,* "*exibo;*" пролити *pro-liti,* "*profundere;*" їидѫ *pri-iduṅ,* "*adveniam;*" прїимѫ *pri-imuṅ,* "*accipio;*" иведе *pri-vede,* "*adduxit;*" принести [G. Ed. p. 1411.] *i-neste,* "*afferre;*" пристоупити *pri-stûp-i-ti,* "*accidere;*" ишивати *pri-shiv-a-ii,* "*assuere;*" съристатисѧ *ṡ-ristati-ıṅ,* "*concurrere.*"

965. In the Vêda dialect the prepositions are frequently ınd separated by intermediate words from the verb to ıich they belong: notwithstanding this, with respect to ıse there continues the most intimate connection be-een the preposition and the verb; *e.g., sám agním indhatê rah,* "*ignem accendunt viri*" (see Rosen's "Specimen," 20). Here *sam* taken alone has no meaning at all, but

in combination with the root *indh* it signifies "to kindle," which *indh* also means by itself. In Zend, too, such separations of the prepositions from the verbs often occur*: and in German many old combinations are so altered, that, in the proper verb (not in the infinitive and the participles, and especially not in the formation of words), we place the preposition that had been prefixed either directly after the verb, or separate it still farther from it by several intermediate words: we say, *e.g.*, *ausgehen*, *ausgehend*, *Ausgang*, "to go out," "going out," "egress:" but not *er ausgeht*, "he goes out," as in Gothic *usgaggith*, but *er geht aus*, "he goes out," *er geht von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus*, "he goes from this point of view out:" while, however, after the relative and most of the conjunctions we prefix the prepositions, since we say, *e.g.*, *welcher ausgeht*, "who goes out;" *wenn er ausgeht*, "if he goes out:" *dass er ausgeht*, "that he goes out." Moreover, in prepositions, whose meaning is no more clearly perceived, and also in those to which there are no correlative prepositions with an opposite meaning, as in *ein*, "in," opposed to *aus*, "out," *vor*, "before," opposed to *nach*, "after," *an*.

[G. Ed. p. 1412.] "on," opposed to *ab*, "off," or where the verbal motion has a decided preponderance over the prepositional, or where the significations of the preposition and the verb have blended completely together, the separation of the preposition from the verbal root is not allowed: hence, *e.g.*, *er begreift*, *beweist*, *vergeht*, *verbleibt*, *zerstört*, *zerspringt*, *umgeht*, *umringt*, *übersetzt*, *überspringt*, "he understands, proves, vanishes, remains, destroys, shatters, goes round, surrounds, translates, crosses." The phenomenon under discussion may be so regarded, as that only those prepositions which are accented, and whose signification

* For examples see §. 518., where the translation of *frâ . . . hunvanha* is to be corrected according to p. 960.

clearly retained, have the power of separating themselves
m the verbs to which they belong, while in Vêdic San-
it and Zend those prepositons, too, the meaning of which
s quite disappeared in the verbal notion, may be de-
hed from the verb.

966. In Sanscrit there are but very few* verbs which
ter into combinations other than prepositional, and even
these only the gerund in *ya* and passive participle in
for the most part appear in multifarious combinations;
., *kuṇḍalî-kṛita*, "made into a ring," *êkî-bhûta*, "become
e;" which forms need not be regarded as derivatives
m compound verbs like *kuṇḍalî-karômi*, *êkî-bhavâmi*, but
is probable that here the participles *kṛita* and *bhûta*
ve, as already independent words, united with the first
embers of the compounds. In Greek, as is well known,
verbs which are compounded with other elements than
epositions are, with very few exceptions, not primitive
mbinations of the particular verb with the preceding
rd, but derivatives from compound nouns; as, *e.g.*,
κογλυφέω from τοκογλύφο-ς (see Buttmann, §. 121. 3.). The
me is the case with Old High German [G. Ed. p. 1413.]
mpounds, as *hantu-slagô*, "*plaudo*," from *hanta-slag*, "clap-
ng the hands;" *rât-slagô*, "*consulo*," from *rât-slag*, "ad-
ce:" and in the New High German, as, *ich wetteifere*, "I
e;" *ich hofmeistere*, "I criticise;" *ich brandschatze*, "I put
der contribution" (see Grimm, II. p. 583). In Gothic,
., *vei-vôdya*, "I testify," comes from *veit-vôd-s*, "witness,"
d *filuvaurdya*, properly, "I am loquacious," either from
e substantive base *filuvaurdein*, nom. *-ei*, "loquacity," or
ith this latter word from a to-be-presupposed adjective base
uvaurda, "loquacious." The Latin, on the other hand,
oduces verbal compounds by direct combination of a

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* See shorter Critical Grammar of the Sanscrit Language, 2d Edition, 585.

substantive, adjective, or adverb with a verb; *e.g.*, *signi-fico*, *ædi-fico*, *anim'-adverto*, *nun-cupo* (cf. *oc-cupo*, and see §. 490.), *tali-pedo*, *magni-fico*, *æqui-paro*, *bene-dico*, *male-dico*. In Greek, from the participle δακρυχέων we may infer a lost verb δακρυχέω, and from the adverb *νουνεχόντως* the participle *νουνέχων*, and hence a verb *νουνέχω*. With respect to the accusative *νουν*, we may compare *νουνεχόντως* with the above-mentioned (§. 916.) Sanscrit compounds like *arin-damú-s*, "subduing-foes," and the Zend *druǰĕm-vanú*, "Druj-slaying" (§. 922.). On the other hand, we need not, with Buttmann (§. 121., Rem. 1), regard δακρυ in δακρυχέων as an accusative, as in this word the accusative (and nominative) is not distinguishable from the theme. Compare Sanscrit compounds like *madhu-líh*, "bee," as "licking honey."

967. When Buttmann (§. 120. 6.), in Greek, assumes compounds, of which the first part must be a verb, which most usually terminates in σι, the ι of which, however, as vowel of conjunction, may also be elided, I am unable to agree with him in this. Should, however, in such compounds as δεισιδαίμων, ἐγερσίχορος, τρεψίχρως, δαμασίβροτος, φυξάνως, παυσάνεμος, [G. Ed. p. 1414.] ῥίψασπις, πλήξιππος, a verb be contained, we should have to define to what part of the verb, to what tense, to what number, and what person, these forms in σι or σ' belong. Having previously determined them to be verbs, I should explain them as obsolete presents in the third person singular, according to the analogy of the conjugation in μι, since σι or τι, as termination of the third person, originally belongs to all active present forms (see §. 456.): thus, δεισιδαίμων would properly signify "he fears the gods," and stands on the same footing with the French compounds like *tire-botte*, *tire-bouchon*, *porte-mouchettes*, *porte-manteau*, *porte-feuille*. I would rather, however, with Pott (E. I., p. 90), recognise in the first part of ἐρυσίχθων and similar compounds abstract substantive bases in σι (from τι, see §. 845.),

ε ι of which is suppressed before vowels*, and which had, rhaps, originally a far wider diffusion than in the re-ived condition of the language. It is, therefore, not cessary that the abstract of each of the compounds of ıt kind be retained in use as a simple word, or that the stract which occurs in the compounds should in all cases swer exactly to that which is preserved in use in the nple state. I see no difficulty in the circumstance to which, ., G. Curtius (*De nominum Gr. form.* p. 18) has drawn at-ıtion, that the first part of στησί-χορος does not answer to ἵστι-ς, nor that of προδωσ'-έταιρος to πρόδοσι-ς. The radical wel of δίδωμι, ἵστημι, which is shortened before the heavy rsonal terminations (see §. 480.) and most of the formative stracts is naturally long (cf. Sanscrit *dâ*, "to give," *sthâ*, "to nd"); and from the roots δω, στη, from στᾱ, the forms -σι-ς, στη-σι-ς, or στᾱ-σι-ς, might be expected as abstracts. ıe original length of the vowel may [G. Ed. p. 1415.] ɔn have been retained in the compounds under discussion, carried back in order to give more emphasis to this ıss of compounds, as above (p. 1337, Note † G. ed.) we have ɔn a lengthening accrue to the vowel of the last mem-r of another kind of compounds, which does not prevent from recognising, *e.g.*, in ἀνήκουστος, the simple ἀκουστός. recall attention, too, to the lengthening which the radical wel of some abstracts in σι experiences in roots termi-ting in a vowel before the suffix ιο (=Sanscrit *ya*, see 901.), *e.g.*, in στήσ'-ιο-ς (contrasted with ἐπιστάσ'-ιο-ς), σ'-ιο-ς, and λῡσί-πονο-ς, λῡσί-ποθο-ς, &c., compared with -σι-ς (Sanscrit root *lû*, "to cut off"). If, then, in the first part the compounds referred to we recognise abstract bases σι, the whole must then be referred to the class of the

* In φερέσβιος, φερεσσάκης, also before a consonant. The to-be-pre-posed abstract φέρ-ε-σι-ς answers to forms like γέν-ε-σι-ς, νέμ-ε-σι-ς e §. 850. conclusion).

Sanscrit possessive compounds, and a transposition of th individual members of the compound must be assume as, *e.g.*, in the Vêdic compounds like *mandayát-sakha* "friends-gladdening," *kshayád-vîra-s*, "ruling men," *tará -dvêṣha-s*, "foes-conquering"*, where the first member the compound, a present participle in the weak them should properly stand at the end, as the person express by the participle is subjected, in construction, to the alt

[G. Ed. p. 1416.] ration of the case-relations, while t word it governs, according to the sense, abides ever in t accusative relation; as, *e.g.*, in Greek, λυσί-πονος, "havi the relaxation of toil"="relaxing toil," πόνος is not su jected to any alteration of the case-relation, and hence t order πονο-λυσις would be the more natural. In compoun like φυγόμαχος, φυγόπολις, λιπομήτωρ, λιπόναυς, λειπόγαμ φιλόβοτρυς, φιλόγαμος, the prefixed adjectives answer, in r spect to their formative suffix, to those which we ha seen above (§. 916.) at the end of compounds; and as the for the most part, have the meaning of the participle pr sent, they may be compared with the above-mention Vêdic forms like *taráḍ-dvêṣha-s*, "*superans inimicos.*" T ε of forms like ἀρχέπολις, δακέθυμος, φερέπονος, is probab only the thinning of an *s*, as in the vocative†; and therefo ἀρχε in ἀρχέπολις is the same word which forms the co cluding portion of πολίαρχο-ς, and in the inflectionless voc

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* See Fr. Rosen, "Rigvêda-Sanhita," at H. VI. 6. In Zend, t there are compounds of this kind; *e.g.*, 𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎 *frâdhat-vi* "creating men." The compound 𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬎 *frâd vîspaṅm-hujâiti*, "creating prosperity," where *vîspaṅm* stands in the ca governed by the participle, while the substantive is ruled by the positi of the whole in the sentence, and therefore stands in the case governed b the verb; and in the case before us, according to three MSS. to the rea ing of which Burnouf ("Yaçna," p. 262) justly gives the preference, the dative, while only the lithographed Codex gives *hujâitîm* for *hujâite*

† See §. 204.

tive appears likewise in the form *ἀρχε*. The prefixed adjectives make choice in the root, too, of the lighter vowel; hence *φερε*, in opposition to *φορο*, *e.g.*, *φερεστάφυλο-ς* opposed to *σταφυλόφορος*. The *ι*, too, of *τερπι* and *ἀρχι*, in *τερπι-κέραυνος*, *ἀρχι-κέραυνος*, *ἀρχι-θάλασσος*, *ἀρχί-ζωος*, &c., cannot, perhaps, be regarded as aught else than the weakening of an *o* = Sanscrit *a*, Latin *u*, of the second declension, and therefore must rest on the same principle on which, in Latin, *e.g.*, the relation of *cœli-cola* to *cœlu-cola* or *cœlo-cola* is based, as might be expected if the Latin did not love the most extreme weakening of the final vowel in the first member of compounds (see "Vocalismus," p. 132).

968. While the Latin, in its nominal compounds, regularly changes the final vowel of the base of the first member of the compound into the lightest [G. Ed. p. 1417.] vowel *i**, the Sanscrit, exclusive of a few anomalies, exhibits the first member of the compound (which, however, as also the second, may itself, too, be compounded) universally in its true theme, only that its final letter is subject to the euphonic laws, which, without the compounding too, obtain with respect to the initial and final consonants of two contiguous words. I annex a few examples of dependent compounds, of a class to be more closely examined hereafter: *lôka-pâlá-s*, "world-

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* Hence, *e.g.*, *cœli-cola* for *cœlu-cola* or *cœlŏ-cola*, *lani-ger* for *lanager*, *fructi-fer* for *fructu-fer*, *mani-pulus* for *manu-pulus*, cf. §. 6. and §§. 244. 829. In *albŏ-galerus*, *albŏ-gilvus*, *merŏ-bibus*, the final vowel of the base has been retained in the form which lies at the base of the dative and ablative singular and genitive and accusative plural; while *locu-ples*, lengthened *locū-ples*, is based on the form which has assumed the original *a* in the nominative and accusative singular. Before vowels the final vowel of the first member is suppressed; hence, *e.g.*, *un'-animis*, *flex'-animus*; occasionally also before consonants, for example in *nau-fragus* for *navi-fragus*, *au-spex* for *avi-spex*, *vin'-demia* for *vini-demia* or *vinŏ-demia*, *puer'-pera* for *pueri-pera* or *puerŏ-pera*, *mal-luviæ* (with assimilation) for *mani-luviæ* from *manu-luviæ*.

protector;" *dharâ-dharâ-s*, "earth-bearer;" *mati-bhramá-s*, "error of the mind;" *vîriṇî-tîrá-s*, "shore of Vîriṇî;" *madhu-pá-s*, "bee," as "honey-drinker;" *bhû-dharâ-s*, "earth-bearer" ("mountain"); *pitṛi-bhrâtâ*, "father's brother" (see §. 214.); *gô-dhúk* (theme *gô-dúh*), "cowherd," literally, "milking-cows;" *nâu-sthá-s*, "standing, being in a ship" (Diluv. Śl. 32.); *marud-gaṇá-s*, "troop of winds" (euphonic for *marut-*); *râja-putrá-s**, "king's son;" *nabhas-talá-m*, "atmosphere."

[G. Ed. p. 1418.] 969. The Sanscrit does not use a vowel of conjunction to lighten the two members of the compound, and it must be regarded as a consequence of the effeminacy which has in this respect entered into Greek and Latin, that these two languages, in the composition of nouns, with the exception of some isolated cases, do not understand how to combine a consonantal termination with an initial consonant, but insert a vowel of conjunction, or, which is the same thing, extend the first member with a vowel affix; for which purpose the Greek regularly makes choice of *o*, occasionally of *ι*, while the Latin invariably chooses the weakest vowel *i*. The σ alone, in Greek, has left itself pretty often free from the inorganic affix; hence, *e.g.*, σακεσ-φόρος (see §. 128.), τελεσ-φόρος, σακέσ-παλος, ὀρεσ-κῷος, ἐπεσ-βόλος, μυσ-κέλενδρον †, φωσ-φόρος (for φωτ-φόρος, cf. §. 152.). And *ν*, too, in the bases μελαν and παντ, the

* For *râjan-*; *n* is dropped at the beginning of compounds (see §. 139.).

† That the σ in this compound is not a euphonic affix, but belongs to the base, and that hence, in the genitive, μυ-ός stands for μυσ-ός, as, *e.g.*, μένεος for μένεσος, is plain, as well from the Latin *mus*, *mûr-is*, from *mûr-is*, as from the etymology of the Sanscrit *mûṣh-â-s*, "mouse," from *mûṣh*, "to steal," see Glossar. Scr., a. 1847, p. 268. In Latin the compounds *mus-cipula* and *mus-cerda* are deserving notice, as they have in like manner retained the original *s* without the addition of a vowel of conjunction. I must dissent from Buttmann (§. 120. Rem. 11.), as I can by no means recognise a euphonic or formative σ in Greek compounds.

latter with the loss of the τ, appears in some compounds before consonants without the copulative *o*, in which case the *ν* adapts itself to the organ of the following letter, as final *m* does in Sanscrit; hence, *e.g.*, *μελάγγχολος*, *μελάμπεπλος*, *μελάνδετος*, contrasted with *μελανόφρων*, &c.; *πάγκακος*, *παγχάλκεος*, *παμβασιλεύς*, *παμμῆτις*, *πανδαμάτωρ*, *παντελής*, opposed to *παντογόνος*, &c. Among bases in *ρ*, only the monosyllabic *πυρ* dispenses in some compounds with the vowel of conjunction, hence, *e.g.*, *πυρβόλος* opposed [G. Ed. p. 1419.] to *πυρόβολος*. Before vowels, the monosyllabic bases *ποδ*, *παιδ*, *κυν*, too, appear without a conjunctive *o*; hence, *e.g.*, *ποδ-αλγής*, *ποδ-ένδυτος*, *ποδ-ήνεμος**, *παιδ-αγωγός*, *παιδ-εραστής*, *κυν-αγωγός*, *κυν-αλώπηξ*, *κυν-όδους*; so also *φωτ* in some compounds (*φωτ-αγωγός*, &c.), and the dissyllabic base *κορυθ* in *κορυθ-άϊξ*, *κορυθ-αίολος*. Proceeding from bases ending in consonants, the conjunctive vowel *o* has been communicated also to bases of the third declension ending in a vowel; and while, *e.g.*, *πολί-πορθος*, *μαντι-πόλος*, *μεθυ-πλήξ*, *γηρυ-γόνος*, *βου-τρόφος*, *ναύ-σταθμος*, correspond well to the above-mentioned (§. 968.) Sanscrit formations, *mati-bhramâ-s*, *madhupá-s*, *gô-dhuk*, *nâu-sthá-s*, there are no analogous forms to *φυσι-ο-λόγο-ς*, *ἰχθυ-ο-φάγο-ς*, *βο(F)-ο-τρόφο-ς*, *νη(F)-ο-φόρο-ς*, in Sanscrit and the other sister-languages. In words, however, like *λογοποιός* (see Buttmann, §. 120. 4.), I can neither recognise a declinational ending, nor a vowel of conjunction, but only the naked base *λογο*; and therefore consider, *e.g.*, *νε(F)ό-μην* in its first member as identical with the first member of the Sanscrit *navu-dalá-m*, "young leaf," and Sclavonic новоградъ *novo-grad'*, "new town" (see §. 257.). In the *o*, too, of words like *ῥιζο-τόμος*, *ἡμερο-δρόμος*, *δικο-γράφος*, I cannot recognise a vowel of conjunction, but here, as generally in words of the first declension where they are found at the beginning of compounds, I take the *o* (=Sanscrit *a*) for the weakening or

* With transposition of the members of the compound, cf. p. 1415 G. ed.

shortening of the ā or η (from ā, see §. 4.), both which vowels, in all feminines, correspond to the Sanscrit *á* (see §. 119.), even where the ā has been shortened in the nominative and accusative singular. The change of ă, ā, or η, therefore, is like the shortening of the Sanscrit *á* to *a* in compounds like *priya-bhâryá*, "dear spouse," where the feminine base *priyá* [G. Ed. p. 1420.] is changed into the masculine-neuter base by being shortened to *priya*.

970. In remarkable coincidence with the Greek, the Sclavonic, too, at the beginning of compounds, weakens the feminine *a* = Sanscrit *á* (see §. 552.[a]) to the masculine-neuter *o* (= Sanscrit *a*, Greek *o*, see §. 257.); hence, *e.g.* водоносъ *vodo-nosŭ*, "*hydria*," properly, "carrying water" for *voda-nosŭ*; козодой *kozo-dojĭ*, "*caprimulgus*" for *koza-dojĭ*. The latter would, in Sanscrit, be *ajá-dhúk* (theme *-dúh*).* The Greek, however, admits also long vowels at the end of the first member of compounds; and so, *e.g.*, σκιᾱ-γράφος, νικη-φόρο-ς, resemble the Sanscrit compounds like *chhâyâ-karâ-s*, "umbrella-carrier," properly, "shadow-maker." Γεω-γράφος has again lengthened the form γεο, which has been first developed from γέα, and νεη-γενής, λαμπαδ-η-φόρο-ς, exhibit η = *â* for ο = ă, as, conversely, η is usually thinned to α. Forms like αἰγ-ί-πους, νυκτ-ί-βιος (= νυκτ-ό-βιος), answer, through their conjunctive ι, to Latin like *noct-i-color*; and so also in forms like μελεσ-ί-πτερο-ς, properly, "having long pinions," I can only recognise in the ι a means of composition in accordance with what has been remarked at §. 128; and in this I differ from Buttmann (§. 120. Rem. 11.). Compare, with reference to the first member of such compounds, and the inserted vowel of conjunction, Latin forms like *fæder-i-fragus*. In forms like ὀρειβάτης, the diphthong ει is explained by the dropping of the σ which belongs to the base; while in the Latin compounds *opifex*, *munificus*, *vulni-*

* коза *koza* = अजा *ajâ*, as кость *kosty* = अस्थि *ásthi*, "bone."

ficus, for *oper-i-fex*, &c. (cf. *fæder-i-fragus*), not only the *r* which corresponds to the Greek σ, but also the preceding vowel, appears to have been passed over.* [G. Ed. p. 1421.] So, too, *horr-i-ficus*, *terr-i-ficus*, may be regarded as abbreviations of *horrôr-i-ficus*, *terrôr-i-ficus* (cf. *sopôr-i-fer*, *honôr-i-ficus*). In accordance with the almost universal weakening in Latin of the final vowel to *i*, we find in Greek, beside the already mentioned ἀρχι and τερπι, also ἀργι in ἀργί-πους, ἀργι-όδους &c., χαλκι in χαλκί-ναος, χαλκί-οικος, μυρι in μυρί-πνοος, and φοξι in φοξί-χειλος.

971. The Gothic, in my opinion, never makes use of a conjunctive vowel in its compounds, and does not require one, as it has but few bases which end in a consonant, and these are principally such as terminate in *n*. These, however, as in Sanscrit, suppress (see §. 139.) the *n* at the beginning of compounds; hence, *e.g.*, *smakka-bagms*, "fig-tree" (theme *smakkan*, nom, *smakka*. "fig"), for *smakkan-bagms*; *auga-daurô*, "window," properly, "eye-door," for *augan-daurô*,† as above, *râja-putrá-s*, for *râjan-putrá-s*.‡ [G. Ed. p. 1422.] Bases in *r* avoid the harshness of the combination with a

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* A somewhat different explanation of *opifex* has been attempted above (p. 1352 G. ed.).

† So in Latin, *homi-cida*, *sangui-suga*, for which might have been expected *homin-i-cida*, *sanguin-i-suga*. In Greek, in a similar way, the τ is often suppressed in the suffix ματ (from μαν, see §. 801.), and then the preceding *a* is generally weakened to *o*; hence, *e.g.*, σπερμο-φόρος for σπερματ-ο-φόρος: on the other hand, ὀνομά-κλυτος, which in Sanscrit would appear in the form *nâma-śrutá-s*. The Latin retains the *n* of *nomen* in *nomenclator* without appending a conjunctive vowel.

‡ The neuter nom. and acc. *augô* (see §. 141.) affords no ground for the supposition that *augôn* is the theme (cf. Gabelentz and Löbe, Gramm., p. 129): we cannot, therefore, in this example, speak of the shortening of the final syllable. Such an abbreviation, however, occurs in inorganic feminine bases in *ôn* and *ein* (see §. 142.); hence, *qvina-kunds*, "having the sex of women" (theme *qvinôn*, nom. *qvinô*, "woman"); *mari-saivs*, "sea," literally, "ocean-sea" (theme *marein*, nom. *marei*).

following consonant by transposition ; hence, *brôthru-lubi*, or *brôthru-lubô*, "brotherly love." *Fidur*, "four" = Sanscrit *chatur* (of the weak cases, and at the beginning of compounds), admits, on the other hand, of the combination of *r* with *dôgs* (see §. 913.); hence, *fidur-dogs*, "every four days," "quartan." As the Gothic, in the nominative and accusative singular, suppresses *a* and *i* of the base, it hereby comes to look as if the said bases properly terminated with a consonant, while the *a* or *i* which enters into the composition seems to be a compositional or conjunctive vowel. Such a compositional vowel, however, I can no more admit in the German languages than in the first and second declension of the Greek and Latin ; and as I recognise in Grimm's first strong declension of masculines and neuters, bases in *a*, and in the masculines and feminines of the fourth, bases in *i*, I look upon the *a* of compounds like *guda-faurhts*, "god-fearing," *reina-gards*, "vineyard," and the *i* of such as *gasti-gids*, "hospitable," *gabaur-di-raurd*, "birth-register," as distinctly belonging to the first member of the compounds; and I regard the said examples as standing in perfect accordance with the above-mentioned (§. 968.) Sanscrit compounds like *lôku-pâlá-s*, *mati-bhramá-s*.* Just so, in Grimm's third declension.

[G. Ed. p. 1423.] compounds like *fôtu-bandi*, "iron for the feet," *handu-raurhts*, "prepared with the hand," correspond to Sanscrit like *madhu-pá-s*, "honey-drinking," and Greek like μεθυ-πλήξ. Bases in *ô* (=*â*, see §. 118.) shorten that letter to *a*, whereby there results an accidental agreement with the nominative and accusative singular; hence, *e.g.*, *airtha-kunds*

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* I have already, in my review of Grimm's German Grammar (Journal of Lit. Criticism, 1827, p. 758, "Vocalismus," p. 132), shewn that a compositional vowel is altogether unknown in the German languages, and is limited in Latin to the cases in which the first member of the compound terminates with a consonant (*honór-i-ficus*). In Greek it has by degrees extended itself over the whole third declension, but kept aloof from the first and second, where it is the least needed.

"earthly" ("having earthly nature"), contrasted with Sanscrit words like *dharâ-dharâ-s*, "earth-carrier," and Greek like γεο-φόρο-ς, γεο-ειδής. The originally short *a* of masculine and neuter base words is occasionally suppressed; for example, in *thiudan'-gardi*, "king's house;" *guth'-blôstreis*, "God-worshipper" (for *guda-*); *gud'-hus*, "God's house;" *hals'-agga*, "nape" ("nape of the neck"); *thiu-magus*, "servant," properly, "servant-boy" (for *thiva-*); *sigis'-laun*, (for *sigisa-*, see §. 935.) "reward of victory;" *gut'-thiuda*, "the Gothic nation; *midyun'-gards*, "terrestrial globe"*; *vein'--drugkya*, "wine-drinker;" and in some compounds, the first member of which is an adjective or pronoun, as, *hauh'-hairts*, "magnanimous" (literally, "having a high heart"); *laus--handùs*, "having empty hands;" *anthar'-leiks*, "diverse," properly, "like to another." To *vein'-drugkya*, corresponds, with respect to the suppression of the final vowel of the first member, the Latin *vin'-demia* (cf. p. 1417 G. ed., Note). Those Gothic substantive bases in *ya* (Grimm's second declension) which, before this syllable, have a long syllable, or more syllables than one, suppress the *a*, and vocalise the *y* to *i* (cf. §. 135.); hence, *e.g.*, *andi-laus*, "endless," for *andya-laus; arbi-numya*, "heir" ("taker of [G. Ed. p. 1424.] inheritance"); on the other hand, *frathya-marzeins*, "deception of the intellect" (*frathya*, n., nom. *frathi*, see §. 153.); *vadya-bôkôs*, pl. "mortgage" (*vadya*, n., nom. *vadi*). The feminine substantive base *thusundyô*, too, in the compound *thusundi-faths*, χιλιάρχος, contracts its final syllable to *i*, for which its polysyllabicness, or the positional length of its penultima, may have given occasion. Adjective bases in

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* As the first member of this compound does not occur in its simple state, it is uncertain whether its theme is really *midyuna;* in which case I should compare it, just as also the feminine base *midumi* (nom. *midums*), with the Sanscrit *madhyama*, "*medius.*" In Sanscrit the earth is called, among other names, *madhyama-lôkâ-s* and *madhya-lôkâ-s*, *i.e.* literally, "the middle world" ("between heaven and the infernal regions").

ya retain, even when preceded by a long vowel, the full thematic form; hence, *hrainya-hairts*, "having pure heart:" besides which I do not know another compound with an adjective base in *ya* as the first member, for in *midya-sveipeins*, "deluge," properly, "earth-inundation," *midya*, though identical with the adjective base *midya*, stands as substantive, while the Sanscrit sister word, *madhya* in the above-mentioned (p. 1423 G. ed., Note) *madhyalôká-s*, "earth," as "middle world," stands as adjective. The pronominal base *alya* = Sanscrit *anya*, "*alius*," corresponds in *alya-kuns* to the Greek ἀλλο in ἀλλο-γενής.

972. In Old High German, too, the final vowel of the bases of Grimm's first strong declension, masculine and neuter, has been pretty frequently retained, either unaltered, or weakened to *o* or *e*; hence, *e.g.*, *taga-rod*, "redness of morn" ("aurora"); *tage-lôn*, "daily pay;" *taga-sterno*, and *tage-sterno*, "lucifer" ("day-star"); *spila-hûs*, *spilo-hûs*, *spile-hûs*, "playhouse;" *grape-hûs*, "grave-house." Bases too, in *i* have occasionally preserved this vowel, or corrupted it to *e*, *e.g.*, in *steli-got*, "*loci genius*;" *prûti-chamara*, *briute-chamara*, "bride-chamber;" *prûti-geba*, "bridal present;" *brûti-gomo*, "bridegroom" ("bride's-man"). The Lithuanian, exclusive of the obscure compounds in *ninka-s* discussed above (p. 1344 G. ed.), regularly rejects the final vowel, as also the termination *ia*, *ya* (nom. *i-s*, *yi-s*, see

[G. Ed. p. 1425.] §. 135.) of the substantive, adjective, and nominal bases, which appear as the first member of compounds, when they have more than one syllable; *e.g.* *uyn'-kalnis*, "hill planted with vines" (*uyna-s*, "wine"); *uyn'-médis*, "vine;" *dyw'-darys*, "wonder-worker" (*dywa-s*, "wonder"); *krau-leidys*, "one who lets blood" (*krauya-s*, "blood" = Sanscrit *kravya*, "flesh"); *griĕk-twanis*, *Sündflut**, "deluge;" *auks'-kalys*, *auksa-kalys*, "goldsmith" (*auksa-s*,

* *Griĕka-s*, "sin;" *twana-s*, "flood:" the German word, however, has avowedly nothing to do with "sin," and is in Old High German *sin-fluot*, *sin-fluot*.

"gold"); *auksa-darys*, "worker in gold;" *barzd'-skuttis*, or *barzda-skuttis*, "razor," properly, "beard-shaving" (*barzdà*, f., "beard"); *did'-burnis*, "one that has a great mouth" (*did-li-s*, theme *didia*, euphonic *didźia*, "great"); *did'-galwys*, "he that has a great head;" *wiẽn'-rágis*, "one-horned" (*wiena-s*, "one"): *saw'-redus*, "obstinate" (*sawa-s*, "*suus*").

973. The Zend, as has been already remarked, instead of the naked theme, places the nominative singular as the first member of its compounds, and I have already drawn attention elsewhere to a similar use in Old Persian*. It cannot surprise us if, in the European sister-languages also, isolated cases occur, in which the nominative singular takes the place of the theme; and I differ from Buttmann (§. 120., Note 11.), in that I do not hesitate to take the Greek θεος of *θεόσ-δοτος* in Hes. to be just as much the nominative as the Zend *daêvô* (from *daêvas*, see §. 56.[b.]) in the quite analogous compound *daêvô-dâta*, "produced by the Daêvas" Sanscrit *dêva*, "God"). In *θέσφατος*, and some other compounds beginning with θες, one easily recognises a contraction of θεος. Perhaps, also, in the compounds beginning with *ναυσι*, as *ναυσιβάτης* (=*ναυβάτης*), Ναυσίθοος, Ναυσιθόη, Ναυσιμέδων, the nominative *ναυς* is con- [G. Ed. p. 1426.] tained as representative of the theme†, and to it an *ι* has been added as conjunctive vowel (cf. §. 970); if not, I should prefer to regard *ναυσι* as a derivative which has been formed from *ναυ*=Sanscrit *nâu*, with the suffix *σι* (from *τι*), and which has ceased to be used by itself. It appears to me less probable that it is the dative plural of *ναῦς*, and least of all would I take the *σ* here as euphonic. The Gothic *baurgs* of *baurgs-vaddyus*, "town walls," I take to be the genitive, as it stands in the genitive relation, and as this irregular word

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* See Monthly Intelligence of the Acad. of Lit., March 1848, p. 135.

† I recall attention to the fact, that in Sanscrit only monosyllabic words carry the *s* of the nominative into the locative, to which a case-sign does not properly belong.

exhibits, as well in the genitive as in the nominative, the form *baurgs*. In Sanscrit we might take *divas* in *divas-pati-s* as the genitive of *div*, as I also formerly did: as, however, there is a compound *divas-pṛithivy-âu*, "heaven and earth," which is passed over in this explanation, and in which *divas* does not stand in the genitive relation, I now prefer to assume a base *divas*, to be found only in composition, which is also contained in the proper name *divô-dâśa* (see Benfey's Gloss.), and whence, too, has proceeded the extended base *divasa*, as in general the suffix *asa* is only an extension of *as*. To the base *divas*, which is only found at the beginning of compounds, corresponds well the Latin *dies* in *dies-piter*. The second part of this compound is indeed only a weakening of *pater*, to be explained according to §. 6., but here hardly signifies "father," but, in accordance with its etymology, "ruler" (see §. 512.). The Greek exhibits a real genitive, which, however, Buttmann (§. 120., Note 11.) will not recognise as such, in the compound *νεώσ-οικοι*, in which the singular surprises me as

[G. Ed. p. 1427.] as little as in our term *Schiffshäuser*, "ships' houses." Moreover, the first part of *οὐδενόσ-ωρα* I cannot take otherwise than as the genitive.

974. The Indian Grammarians divide compound words into six classes, which we will now examine separately in the order in which they follow one another in Vôpadêva.

FIRST CLASS.

Copulative Compounds called *Dvandva*.*

This class consists of the compounds of two or more substantives, which are co-ordinate to one another, *i.e.* which

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* The Sanscrit term *dvandva-m*,, *i.e.* "pair," is a reduplicated form formed from the theme *dva*, "two" (cf. §. 756.).—*N.B.* I spell this word as it is found in the German, but ॱ *v*, when compounded with another consonant in Sanscrit, is pronounced like *w*. See Wilson's Grammar, p. 5, l. 18.—*Translator*.

ınd in the like case-relation, and are, according to the nse, joined together by "and." These compounds are vided into two classes; the first permits to the last mem- r of the compound the gender which belongs to it, and .ts it in the dual when only two substantives are joined gether, of which each by itself stands in the singular re- :ion; and in the plural when the compound consists of ore than two substantives, or when one of the two mem- rs so united is in a plural relation. The accent regu- rly falls on the final syllable of the united base; hence, ɿ., *sûrya-chandramásâu*, "sun and moon." In the Vêda alect, however, one of the two words combined in Dvandva :ry often receives the accent which belongs to it in its mple state; and in the Dvandvas, which occur in the êdas, the first member often stands in the dual, at least think in compounds like *agní-ṣhṓmâu*, "Agni and Sôma," *drâ-váruṇâu*, "Indra and Varuṇa," *mitrá-váruṇâu*, "Mitra ıd Varuṇa," *índrâ-víṣhṇû*, "Indra and [G. Ed. p. 1428.] iṣhṇu," I may venture to regard* the lengthening of the ıal vowel of the first member of the compound, not as ırely phonetic, but as the consequence of the dual inflec- on; as, too, I look upon the final *â* of *dyávâ*, "heaven," ı combination with *pṛithiví*, "earth" (*dyávâpṛithiví*), as the êdic dual termination, which has been added to *dyâu* (the rong theme of *dyô*), just like the *â* in the Vêdic com- ɔund *pitarâ-mâtárâu*, "father and mother." As dual, too, regard the Zend *âpa* (theme *âp*) in the copulative [illegible] *âpa-urvarê*†, "water and tree" (V. S. p. 40). here occurs, l. c., one other Dvandva which we cannot ave unnoticed, as compounds of this kind have hitherto

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* Cf. §.214., p.228, Note *, and see "Smaller Sans. Gram.," §.589., Note.

† Burnouf, to whom we owe an admirable disquisition on the greatest ırt of the 9th chapter of the Yaçna, does not declare his opinion as to the st member of the copulative compound *âpa-urvarê* ("Études," p. 147).

been but very seldom cited in Zend. I annex the conclusion of the passage referred to, according to Burnouf's corrected text: -𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬯𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬱 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 *yaṭ kĕrĕnôiṭ aṇhê cshathrâṭ amĕrĕshanta paśu-vîra aṇhushamanê âpa-urvarê*, *i.e.*, literally, "that he make under his dominion not dying beast and man, not drying up water and tree." Neriosengh translates pretty exactly, only with a different notion for the compound *paśu-vîra*: *yaś chakâra tasya râjyê amarân paśuvîrân aśoṣhîṇi udakâni vanaspatîn*, *i.e.*, "who made in his kingdom undying the males among animals and not drying up the water, trees." Burnouf (l. c. p. 145) draws attention to the circumstance, that *yaṭ kĕrĕṇôiṭ* properly sig-

[G. Ed. p. 1429.] nifies "*pour qu'il fît*," nor has it escaped him that *paśu-vîra* may also mean "*les troupeaux et les hommes*" (p. 140); he translates, however, in accordance with Neriosengh, "*car il a, sous son règne, affranchi de la mort les mâles des troupeaux, de la sécheresse les eaux et les arbres.*" I admit that *amĕrĕshanta** and *vîra* might also be plural accusatives, and I recall attention on this head to what has been remarked above (§. 231., Note) regarding the manner in which neuter forms have found their way into the plural of masculines. This does not, however, prevent me from letting, in the passage before us, the *a* of the said words, according to §. 208., stand for the dual termination, as, in my opinion, it gives a much more suitable sense, if, by taking *paśu-vîra* as Dvandva, we place, not only the males of animals, but animals and human beings

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* In the sibilant of this form I recognise neither any connection with the character of the future, nor with that of the desiderative, but simply a phonetic affix, and recall attention to the fact, that the Sanscrit, too, has several secondary roots which have appended a sibilant. In the case before us the Lithuanian *mirsz-tu*, "I die" (pret. *mirriau*, fut. *mir-su*, infin. *mir-ti*), fortuitously coincides with the Zend.

both sexes under the protection of the government of
ma.

975. To return to the Vêdic Dvandvas, I must draw
ention to the circumstance, that the dual termination,
ıich is common to the nominative, accusative, and vocative,
retained also in that case, in which the whole word
ınds in another case-relation, and the last member,
ɜrefore, ends in *bhyâm* or *ôs*; *e.g.*, *dyávâ-pṛithivî́-bhyâm*,
:o the heaven and to the earth" (Yajurv. XXII. 28.),
drâ-pûṣhṇóḥ, "of Indra and the Sun" (l. c. XXV. 25.).
ıis phenomenon may be explained by the language hav-
g become unconscious that the first member actually
rries a case-termination, whereby remembrance may
: drawn to the above-mentioned (§. 973.) [G. Ed. p. 1430.]
ɜnd idiom, by which the nominative singular very com-
only takes the place of the theme. If we should also
:tually recognise, in forms like *índrâ*, *agnî́*, simply a pho-
ɜtic lengthening of the *a* and *i* of the common language,
e could not, however, by this mode of explanation,
ear up *pitár-â*, *dyáv-â*, *pûṣhán-â* and *kṣhám-â*. It is also
nportant to remark, that, as Benfey has been the first to
ɔtice*, where the first member of the Dvandva is sepa-
ıted from the second, the former assumes the requisite
ɜrmination of the oblique cases of the dual, but *â* only
ıere where suitable for the connection with the other
ords. Thus, in a passage cited by Benfey l. c. of the
ıgv. (IV. 8. 11.), we find the genitive, *mitráyôs . . . váruṇayôs*,
of Mitra and Varuṇa;" on the other hand *dyávâ*, as ac-
ısative dual separated from *pṛithivî* (Rigv. I. 63. 1.). This
henomenon in expressing the numeral relation is owing
) the speaker's, when he names each part of the com-
ɔund thing which is usually thought of together, having

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* In his Review of Böhtlingk's Sanscrit-Chrestomathy (Göttinger
earned Notices, 1846).

the other in his mind, and this latter thus ideally comprehended under the name of that he mentions (cf. §. 211. 1st Note), so that, therefore, *e.g.*, *dyávâ-prithiví**, properly signifies, "Heaven and earth, earth and heaven;" hence, too, the name of one member of the compound may be understood: and, *e.g.*, in a passage of the Sâma-Vêda (II. 3. 2. 8. 2 and 3.) the dual *mitrá* occurs in the sense of "Mitra and Varuna," and I am of opinion that the dual *ródasî*, which, in classical Sanscrit, also signifies "heaven and earth," denotes by its base *ródas* only "heaven," though the meaning "earth"

[G. Ed. p. 1431.] has also been ascribed to it †. I draw attention here to a similar procedure in several Malay-Polynesian languages, since, *e.g.*, in the New Zealand *tá-ua* (lit. "thou two," therefore, as it were, the dual of the second person) signifies, "thou and I.‡" Here, *ta* answers to the Sanscrit base *tva*, "thou," and *ua*, which, when standing by itself, is *dúa*, to *dva*.

976. Combinations of more than two substantives in one Dvandva appear not to occur in the Vêdic dialect and Zend; at least, I know of no example. Examples in classic Sanscrit are: *agni-vâyu-ravibhyas*, "From fire, air, and sun" (Manu, I. 23.); *gîta-vâditra-nrityâni*, "Song, instrumental music, and dance" (Arjuna's Journey to Indra's heaven,

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* For *prithivyâù*, with the case-termination suppressed, cf. p. 1205 G. ed.

† Wilson, perhaps correctly, derives *ródas* from *rud*, "to weep," with the suffix *as*; "the heaven" therefore would be here represented as "weeping" ("raining"), and the drops of rain as its tears. This is certainly not more unnatural than when the cloud (*méghá*) is represented as "*mingens*." Moreover, the Greek *οὐρανός* admits of being derived from a root which, in Sanscrit, signifies "to rain," viz. from *varsh*, *vṛish*, with the loss, therefore, of a sibilant, as *χαίρω* from *χαίρσω* (Sanscrit root *hars*, *hṛish*). *Οὐρανός*, therefore, would be a transposition of *Fορανός*. Regarding the suffix *avo*, see p. 1369 G. ed.

‡ See "On the connection of the Malay-Polynesian languages with the Indo-European," p. 87.

7.); *siddha-châraṇa-gandharvâis*, "by Siddhas, Châranas, Gandharvas (l. c. V. 14.). In such cases the last nber, if it does not already for itself stand in the al relation, should evidently express, by its plural ter-ation, the sum of the whole. In the second kind of ılative compounding, which is used especially in anti-is, or when speaking of the members of the body, or bstract ideas, and generally of inanimate things or in-s, the last member stands in the singular with a neuter nination; the separate members may stand by them-es in the singular, dual, or plural re- [G. Ed. p. 1432.] ɔn, *e.g.*, *charâcharam* (*chara-acharam*), "the moveable immoveable" (Manu, I. 57.); *hasta-pâdam*, "hands and " (l. c. II. 90.; *pâda*, masc.); *anna-pânam*, "food and ık" (Arjuna, 4. 11.); *chhatrôpânaham**, "umbrella and es" (Manu, II. 246.); *yûkâ-makṣhika-matkuṇam*, "lice, ı, and bugs" (l. c. I. 40., *matkuṇa*, masc.).

977. In Sanscrit adjectives, too, which are in sense ıed by "and," may be united in compounds, which are indeed reckoned by the Indian grammarians as Dvan-s, but can be assigned to none of the six classes with re justice. The following are examples: *vṛitta-pîna*, ɔund and thick" (Arjuna II. 19); *hṛiṣhitasrag-rajôhîna*, ıving garlands of flowers standing upright and free from t" (Nal. V. 25.). So in Greek, λευκο-μέλας, "white and ck." A substantive Dvandva base is βατραχομυο, in the ıpound, βατραχομυομαχία, "frog-mouse war." In Latin derivative *suovitaurilia* is based on a Dvandva consisting hree members, which must have been, according to the t kind of this class of Sanscrit compounding (§. 974.), *su-i-tauri*; according to the second (§. 976.), *su-ovi-taurum* ıwine, sheep, and bull").

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* From *chhatra* n., and *upânah* f., with *a* added.

SECOND CLASS.

Possessive Compounds, called *Bahuvrîhi*.*

978. Compounds of this class denote as adjectives or [G. Ed. p. 1433.] appellatives the possessor of that which the separate members of the compound signify, so that the notion of the possessor is always to be supplied. For this reason I call them "possessive compounds." The last member is always a substantive, or an adjective taken as a substantive, and the first member may be any other part of speech but a verb, conjunction, or interjection. The final substantive undergoes no other alteration but that which the distinction of genders makes necessary; whence, *e.g.*, *chhâyâ*, f., "shadow," in the compound *vipulá-chchhâyâ*† has shortened its long feminine *â*, in order to become referable to masculines and neuters. So, in Greek, the feminine final vowel of the bases of the first declension becomes *o* (=Sanscrit *a*), and in Latin *u*, in possessive compounds like πολύσκιο-ς, πολύκομο-ς, αἰολόμορφο-ς, *multi-comus*, *albi-comu-s*, *multi-vius*. The procedure in Old High German is the same, when it places the feminine substantive *farwa* or *farawa*, &c., "colour," at the end of possessive compounds, and then furnishes the whole word, where it refers to masculines or neuters, with the terminations of the said genders; hence, *e.g.*, nom. m. *snio-varawar sêo*, "sea having the colour of snow" (Graff, III. 702.); neut. *golt-varawaz* "having the colour of gold." I see, therefore, no occasion to presuppose, for the explanation of such compounds, adjectives which do not exist; otherwise we might, with equal justice, assume in Greek and Latin adjectives like κομος,

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* This word signifies "having much rice," and it is properly only an example of the kind of compounding here spoken of, as, in Greek and Latin, πολύκομος, *multicomus*, might be used to denote the same.

† *Chchh*, euphonic for *chh*, on account of the short vowel preceding.

comus, "hairy," and for Sanscrit an adjective *chhâya-s*, "shady." The Greek has forgotten how to re-transform into its feminine shape the *o* which has arisen from *α* or *η* in compounds like *πολύσκιος*, *πολύκομος*, and contrasts, therefore, with Sanscrit feminines like *vipuláchchhâyâ*, "having a large shadow," and Latin like [G. Ed. p. 1434.] *multicoma*, *albicoma*, masculine forms like *πολύσκιος*, *πολύκομος* (see p. 1341 G. ed.): on the other hand, the Latin, according to the principle laid down in §. 6., has changed the final vowels of the bases of the first and second declension frequently into the lightest and most suitable vowel of the three genders.* Hence, *e.g.*, *multi-formis*, *difformis*, *biformis*, *imbellis*, *abnormis*, *bilinguis*, *inermis*; so, also, the organic *u* of the fourth declension in *bicornis*; while, on the other hand, *manu-s*, in the compound *longi-manus*, has passed into the second declension.

979. Just as the neuter Sanscrit *hṛid*, "heart" (from *hard*), in the possessive compound *suhṛíd*, "friend," properly, "having a good heart," has become masculine, and is therefore, in some cases, distinguished from the simple *hṛid*, so it happens with the Latin neuter base *cord* in the compound bases *miseri-cord*†, *concord*, *socord*; hence the accusatives *misericordem*, *concordem*, *socordem*, answer to the Sanscrit *suhṛídam*, while the simple *cor*(*d*), as nominative and accusative, corresponds to the Sanscrit *hṛid* (euphonic *hṛit*). The Gothic neuter base *hairtan* suppresses, in the undermentioned possessive compound, the final *n*, and ex-

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* The final *e* of neuters like *difforme* is only a corruption of the *i* at the end of a word (see §. 251.).

† Properly, "for the unfortunate having a heart," not "*cujus cor miseret*." So the Gothic *arma-hairts*, "pitiful," properly signifies "having a heart for the poor;" for in it the adjective-base *arma* is contained, as the base *miseru* in the Latin *misericors*, which base is weakened to *miseri*, according to §. 968.

hibits then *arma-hairta* as theme, and *arma-hairt-s* (Old High German *arme-herzer* in Notk.) for *arma-hirta-s*, (see §. 135.), as masculine nominative (pl. *arma-hairtai*); so *hrainya-hairts*, "having a pure heart;" *hauh-hairts* (for *hauha-hairts*, "high-minded," properly, "having a high heart." The Greek and Latin, too, oc- [G. Ed. p. 1435.] casionally drop a final consonant at the end of possessive compounds; hence, *e.g.*, in Greek ὁμώνυμος, ἑπτάστομος, ἄναιμος, αὔθαιμος, in Latin, *exsanguis* (properly, "having the blood out," gen. idem., for *exsanguin-is*), *multi-genus*: for the latter we might have expected *multi-genor*, if the suffix of the simple word be contained therein uucurtailed, and also without affix, as *us*, *eris* = Sanscrit *as*, *asas*, has retained the old *s* only in the uninflected cases of the neuter (see §. 128.), but for it exhibits *r* in the masculine and feminine (see p. 1377 G. ed.); hence, *bicorpor*, opposed to the simple *corpus*, *corporis*. The base *gener* (*genus*, *gener-is*) appears with the inorganic affix of an *i* in *multi-generi-s*. The Greek occasionally appends an *o* to bases ending in a consonant, *e.g.*, to πῦρ in ἄπυρο-ς, θεόπυρο-ς (properly, "having God's fire"), to ὕδωρ in εὔϋδρος, μελάνυδρος.

980. The Lithuanian uses its possessive compounds for the most part substantively, and adds to their last member as to that of almost all its compounds, the suffix *ia*, nom. m. *is** ; hence, *e.g.*, *did'-burnis*, "the large-mouthed" (*burna*, "mouth," cf. Sanscrit *brû*, "to speak"); *did'-galvis*, "great head" ("having a great head," *galvà*, "head"); *ketur-kampis*, "four-cornered" (*kampa-s*, "corner"); *trikoyis*, "three-footed, having three feet" (*kòya*, "foot"). The feminine of the Lithuanian possessive compounds, and other classes of compounds, ends, in the nominative singular, in *ė*, from *ia* † ; hence, *e.g.*, *na-bagė̃*, "the poor," properly, "not

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* See §. 135., and p. 1345 G. ed., Note.

† See §. 895.

having wealth"*; *pus-mergẽ*, "the half-maid" (the latter a determinative compound; *mergà*, "maid"). [G. Ed. p. 1436.] To this belongs the phenomenon, that the Sanscrit, too, adds a derivative suffix to some of its possessive compounds, and, indeed, the same wherewith above (§. 953.) our *i-g*, Gothic *ha, ga*, has been compared. Our compounds, therefore, like *hochherzig*, "high-hearted," contrasted with the Gothic *hauh-hairts*, are in a measure already prepared through the Sanscrit by compounds like *aṅguṣhṭhá--mâtra-ka-s*, "having a thumb's length" (Nal. XIV. 9.); *mahóraska-s*, "great-breasted." Without the derivative suffix we can use our possessive compounds like *Dreifuss, Viereck, Rothbrüstchen, Langohr, Gelbschnabel, Dickkopf, Grossmaul*, "Three-foot," "Four-corner," "Red-breast," "Long-ear," "Yellow-beak," "Thick-head," "Great-mouth," only as appellatives, or as words of abuse.

981. The accent in the Sanscrit possessive compounds usually rests on the first member of the compound, and, indeed, on that syllable which receives it when the word stands uncompounded. This kind of accentuation approaches most closely to that of Greek, in which the principle prevails to cast back the accent in all kinds of compounds as far as possible, without reference to the accentuation of the separate members in their simple state; a procedure by which the compound gains much more of the character of a new ideal unity than if the retention of the accentuation of one of the combined elements preserved for that member its individuality, and made the other member subservient to it. In the other classes of compounds, the Sanscrit usually takes no notice of the accentuation of the single members in their simple state, yet

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* The simple *baga-s*, "wealth," is wanting; cf. Sanscrit *bhaga-s* and *bhâga-s*, "share," "luck." The masculine *na-bágas* has the suffix *ia* contained in it.

does not cast back the accent, but allows it to sink down on the final syllable of the whole base; hence, *e.g.*, *mahâ-bâhú-s*, "a great arm," opposed to *mahá-bâhu-s*, "great-armed," while in Greek the possessive compound μεγαλόπολις, "great-town [G. Ed. p. 1437.] forming," and the determinative Μεγαλόπολις, properly, "great-town," have the same accentuation.

952. The form *mahâ*, in the just-mentioned compounds *mahá-bâhu-s* and *mahâ-bâhú-s*, is an irregular abbreviation of *mahát*, "great" (theme of the weak cases), which, at the beginning of possessive and determinative compounds, drops its *t*, and then the lengthening of the *á* may be regarded as compensation for the consonant that has been dropped. Although in Sanscrit, according to §. 978., all the parts of speech, with the exception of verbs, conjunctions, and interjections, may stand as the first members of possessive compounds, still for the most part, as also in the European sister-languages, adjectives, including participles, appear in this place. I further annex some examples from the Mahâ-Bhârata: *chárु-lôchana-s*, "having beautiful eyes;" *bahú-vidha-s*, "of many kinds" (*vidhá*, m. or *vidhâ*, f. "kind"); *tanú-madhya-s*, "having a thin middle;" *vírûpa-rûpa-s*, "having a disfigured form" (*rûpá-m*, "form"); *tîkṣhṇá-daṅṣhṭra-s*, "having pointed teeth" (*dáṅṣhṭrâ*, f. "tooth"); *lambá-jaṭhara-s*, "having a swagging belly;" *sphurád-ôṣhṭha-s*, "having trembling lips" (*sphurâmi*, Cl. 6. "I tremble"); *jáyad-ratha-s*, proper name, signifying "having a conquering car;" *jitá-krôdha-s*, "having subdued anger;" *gatá-vyatha-s*, "having departed grief," *i.e.*, "free from grief." The following are examples in Zend: 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀𐬯 *śrîraôcshan*, "having good oxen" (from *śrîra* and *ucshan*); *kĕrĕśaôcshan*, "having thin oxen" (*kĕrĕśa*=Sanscrit *kṛiśa*)*; *kĕrĕśâśpa*, proper name, "having thin horses" (from *kĕrĕśa* and *aśpa*); 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬀𐬯 *cshaêtô-*

* See Burnouf, "Yaçna," p. 328, n. 185.

-puthrî, "who has bright (beautiful) children." The following are examples in Greek: *μεγά-θυμος*, [G. Ed. p. 1438.] *μεγα-κύδης*, *μεγα-κλεής*, *λευκό-πτερος*, *δολιχό-σκιος*, *λευκ'-όφθαλμος*, *βαθύ-στερνος*, *πολύ-χρυσος*, *τανύ-πεπλος*, *μελάμ-βωλος*, *μελαν-ό-κομος*, *κλυτό-παις*, *κλυτό-βουλος*. The following are Latin examples: *magn'-animus*, *multi-caulis*, *longi-pes*, *atri-color*, *acu-pedius**, *versi-color*, *fissi-pes*, *flex'-animus*. Gothic examples are: *laus'-qvithr'-s*, "having an empty body, fasting" (for *lausa-*); *laus'-handus*, "having empty hands;" *lausa-vaurds*, "having wanton, vain words, speaking unprofitably" (*vaurd*, n., theme *vaurda*, "word"); *hrainya-hairts*, "having a pure heart" (see §. 979.). Examples in Old High German are: *lang-líper*, "having long life"†; *lanch-mueter*, "long-suffering;" *milt-herzer*, "having a mild heart." For Lithuanian examples, see §. 980. Examples in Old Sclavonic are: милосрдъ *milo-serd'*, "*misericors*," literally, "having a loving heart;" чрноокый *cherno-okyĭ*, "black-eyed;" бѣлоглавый *byelo-glavyĭ*, "white-headed."‡

The following are examples in Sanscrit of possessive compounds, which have a substantive as their first member: *bandhú-kâma-s*, "having love to kindred;" *tyáktu-kâma-s*, "having a desire to leave" (see §. 853.); *bála-putra-s*, "having a child as son" (Sâv. II. 8.); *mâtṛî-ṣhaṣhṭha-s*, "having the mother as sixth" (Hid. I. 1.): in Greek, *κυν-ό-φρων*, *κυν-ο-θαρσής*, *βου-κέφαλος*, *ἀνδρ-ό-βουλος*: in Latin, *anyui-*

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* This compound (according to Festus) should properly be *acu-pes*, in the theme *acu-ped*. Through the appended suffix *iu* it answers to the Lithuanian compounds (§. 980.). In Sanscrit the theme would be *âśú-pád* (from *âkú*), and in Greek *ὠκύ-πους*, *ὠκύ-ποδ-ος*. The first member of the Latin compound is therefore important to us, because adjective bases terminating in an original *u* have elsewhere, in Latin, universally received the inorganic affix of an *i* (see p. 1356 G. ed.).

† Graff (II. p. 46) unnecessarily assumes an adjective *líb*, "lively," while we may be satisfied with the substantive *líp*, *líb*, "life."

‡ The two last examples with the affix of the definite declension.

[G. Ed. p. 1439.] *comus, angui-pes, ali-pes, pudor-i-color*: in Lithuanian, *szuk'-dantis*, "having gaps in the teeth" (*szukkė*, "hole, gap"); *szun-galwis*, "dog's head" (an abusive word), properly, "the dog's headed" (cf. §. 980.). The following are examples in Sanscrit, with a numeral at the commencement: *dvi-pád**, "two-footed;" *trichakrá*, "three-wheeled" (Sâma-V.); *chátuṣh-pâd*, "four-footed" (l. c.): in Zend, [illegible] *bi-zaṇhra*, "two-footed;" [illegible] *chathru-chaśman*, "having four eyes;" [illegible] *cshvas-ashi*, "having six eyes;" [illegible] *hazaṇhrô-ghaôsha*, "having a thousand ears:" in Greek, *δίπους, διπόταμος, δίπορος, τρίπους, τετράκυκλος*: in Latin, *bipes, bidens, bicorpor, tripes, tripectorus*†, *quadrupes, quadr'-urbs, quinquefolius*: in Lithuanian, *wien'-ragis*, "one-horned" (*ragas*, "horn," see §. 980.); *dwi-koyis*, "two-footed;" *tri-koyis*, "three foot;" *tri-kampis*, "three-cornered;" *tri-galwis*, "three-headed;" *ketur-koyis*, "four-footed:" in Sclavonic, ѥдинорогъ *yedino-rog'*, "one-horned;" четврѣногъ *chetvrye-nog'*, "four-footed" (*noga*, "foot"): in Gothic, *haihs*, "one-eyed" (see p. 418): in Old High German, *ein-hanter*, "one-handed," *ein-ouger*, "one-eyed;" *zui-ekker*, "two-cornered;" *feor-fuazzer*, "four-footed." The following are examples of Sanscrit possessive compounds with a pronoun as the first member: *svayám-prabha-s*, "having lustre by itself" (*svayám*, "self," see §. 341., *prabhá*, "lustre"); *tád-âkâra-s*, "having such appearance;" *mád-vidha-s*, "like me," properly, "having the kind of me." Examples in Greek are: *αὐτόβουλος*, [G. Ed. p. 1440.] *αὐτόδικος, αὐτοθάνατος, αὐτόκομος, αὐτομή-*

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* In the weak cases *dvi-pád*. The numerals in this kind of composition retain the accent only under certain conditions: usually it falls on the final syllable of the whole word (see Aufrecht, "*De accentu compositorum Sanscr.*," pp. 12, 20.

† With an extension of the base *pector* (cf. *bicorpor*) by a vowel affix, as in Greek forms like *θεόπυρος* (§. 979. conclusion).

ὠτόμοιρος. The following are examples with an adverb
ding them in Sanscrit: *táthâ-vidha-s*, "so constituted,"
rly, "having its kind so;" *sadâ-gati-s*, "always
g going," an appellation of the wind; so in Greek,
οπος, ἀειπαθής, ἀεισθενής. In Sanscrit the *a* primitive,
e vowels *an*, very frequently appears at the beginning
s class of compounds, in which case the accent sinks
on the final syllable; hence, *e.g.*, *a-malá-s*, "spotless"
having spots"); *a-pâd*, "footless;" *a-balá-s*, "weak"
having strength"); *a-bhayâ-s*, "fearless;" *an-antá-s*,
less" ("not having end"). Hereto correspond, irre-
ve of the accentuation, Greek compounds like ἄπαις,
(genit. ἄποδ-ος=Sanscrit *a-pad-as*), ἄφοβος, ἄνοικος.
Latin, which retains the nasal of the privative parti-
fore consonants, also furnishes us with compounds
inops, iners, inermis, insomnis, imberbis, imbellis. So
d Northern, *ô-hræsi*, "not having glory, gloryless"
"praise"); *ô-mâli*, "not having speech," "child"
"speech"): Old High German, *un-fasel*, "insect,"
lly, "not having seed" (*fasel*, "seed," Grimm, II. 776.).
nd example of this class of words is *anaghra*, "begin-
ess," from *an* and *aghra*=Sanscrit *agra*, "point, be-
ng" (see p. 246).

3. For a purpose similar to that for which the priva-
particle *a* is applied, prepositions also, which express
ation, are used in Sanscrit and its sister-languages as
l members of possessive compounds; *e.g.*, in Sanscrit,
bhî-s, "fearless, having fear away" (*ápa*, "from,
," *bhî*, f. "fear"); so in Greek, ἀπόθυμος, ἀπόθριξ; in
, *abnormis;* in Gothic, *af-guds*, "godless" ("having
away"), in opposition to *ga-guds*, "pious," properly,
ing God with." निस् *nis*, "out," before sonant letters
s found, *e.g.*, in *nír-mala-s*, "spotless," properly, "hav-
he spots out;" as in Latin, *e.g.*, *ex-* [G. Ed. p. 1441.]
is, exsanguis, expers; in Gothic, *e.g.*, *us-vêna*, theme

uz-vênan, "hopeless, having the hope out" (*vên(i)-s*, "hope"); Old High German, *ur-hërzêr*, "*excors*;" *ur-hu* (for *-hl.*), "*exsors*;" *ur-môt*, "spiritless;" *ur-wâfan*, "u armed, defenceless." In a sense opposed to that of t privative prepositions, the preposition *sa*, "with"*, wh occurs only as prefix, is employed in Sanscrit to expr persons or things which possess that which the final s stantive expresses; *e.g.*, *sá-kâma-s*, "with wish," "being with the circumstance of the wish, having a sa fied wish;" *sá-ruj*, "sick, being with sickness;" *sá-rôg* id. (*ruch* and *rôga*, "sickness"); *sá-varṇa-s*, "similar," p perly, "*concolor*" (*varṇa-m*, "colour"); *sá-garva-s*, "pro being with pride;" *sá-daya-s*, "sympathizing" (*da* "sympathy"). So in Latin, *e.g.*, *concors*, *consors*, *conca conformis*, *confinis*, *commodus*, *communis* (for *con* and *mu* cf. *immunis*); in Greek, *e.g.*, *σύνορος*, *σύνταφος*, *συντε σύνορκος*, *σύνοπλος*, *σύνομβρος*, *σύνοικος*, *σύνοδος*, *σύγγο σύνθρονος*, *σύμμορφος*, *συγγάλακτος*; the latter with the ext sion of the substantive base by *o* (see §. 979. conclusion). the Sanscrit *sa* is based the Greek *ἀ* (from *ἀ* for *σα*) in co pounds like *ἀγάλακτος*, *ἀγάλαξ*, *ἀδελφός*, *ἄλοχος*. Ment has already been made elsewhere of the exact retention of Sanscrit preposition *sa* in the Greek *σαφής*, properly, "w light, being with brightness." In Sanscrit, *bhâs*, "brig ness," would regularly combine with *sa* into the compou *sá-bhâs*, and this, in like manner, would signify "cle shining." In Gothic, *ga-guds*, "pious," properly, "bei with God," belongs to this class of words, being the an

[G. Ed. p. 1442.] thesis to the above-mentioned *af-gu* and also *ga-liugs*, "false"†; *ga-daila*, "sympathiser," "wi

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* When used alone, *sahá*; as verbal prefix, *sám*. The former appears al in the compound *sahádêva-s*, and the latter in some nominal compounds.

† Properly, "being with lying:" it presupposes a lost substanti *liugs*, "lie."

portion having" (for *ga-dail(i)-s*, see §. 928.); *ga-hlaifa*, "companion, with bread having" (for *ga-hlaifs*, l. c.). If I have been wrong in comparing, in §. 416., the Gothic formations in *leik'-s*, and the forms analogous to them in German, with the Sanscrit in *dṛiśa-a*, they must then be included in the class of compounds under discussion, and we must recognise in their concluding element the substantive *leik'-s*, "body;" then *ga-leiks*, "similar," signifies properly, "with body having," "having the body, *i.e.*, the form in common with another," and it would correspond in its formation to the Latin *conformis*, Greek *σύμορφος*, and Sanscrit *sá-rûpa-s*.* The form *anthar-leik'-s*, "separate," deducible from *anthar-leikei*, "difference," would then literally signify "having another body," *i.e.* "another form," *ἀλλόμορφος* (cf. Sanscrit *anyárûpa-s*, "other shaped;" S. V. II. 8. 1. 4. 1.

984. The Sanscrit prefixes *su* and *dus* (before sonant letters *dur*, cf. §. 919.), like their sister forms in Greek, *εὐ* and *δυς*, stand in the class of compounds under discussion for adjectives, whereby *su* allows the accent which belongs to it to sink down on the final syllable of the base, or before words which are formed with the suffixes *as* and *man* on the penultima;" hence, *e.g.*, *su-pé́śas* (nom. m. f. *supé́śâs*), "having a good form;" *sumánas*, nom. m. f. *sumánâs*, "having a good spirit, well-intentioned," in opposition to *su-jíhvá-s*, "having a good [G. Ed. p. 1443.] tongue" (*jihvâ*, f. "tongue"); *su-parṇá-s*, "having good wings." The following are examples with *dus*, *dur*, "bad:" *dúr-âtman* (nom. *-mâ*), "having a bad soul;" *dúr-bala-s*, "having bad strength;" *dúr-mana-s* (nom. *-manâs*), "having a bad spirit." To the latter corresponds, irrespective of the accentuation, the Greek *δυσμενής* (see §. 146.), as

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* Likewise "similar," from *sa*, "with," and *rûpa*, "form;" so *ánu-rûpa-s*, "similar," from *ánu*, "after," and *rûpa*, "form."

εὐμενής to *sumánâs*. Other Greek examples belonging to this class are: εὐμελής, εὐμεγέθης, εὔμορφος, εὔμηλος, δύσμορφος, δύσμορος, δυσπρόσωπος, δύσλεκτρος. Examples in Zend of this class of words are: [illegible] *hu-kĕrĕp*, "having a handsome body," nom. [illegible] *hu-kĕrĕf-s* (see §. 40.); [illegible] *hu-jîti*, "having a good life" (see §. 128.); *hu-puthra*, f. *hu-puthrî*, "having handsome children;" [illegible] *dus-manaś*, "having a bad spirit;" [illegible] *dus-skyaôthna*, "having a bad deed, acting badly;" [illegible] *dusch-vachaś*, "having bad discourse."

THIRD CLASS.

Determinatives called *Karmadhâraya*.

985. The last member of this class of compounds is a substantive or adjective, which is more closely defined or described by the first member. The first member may be any part of speech, excepting verbs, conjunctions, and interjections: the most usual, however, is the combination of an adjective with a following substantive. Adjectives, which have a peculiar theme for the feminine, use, if the concluding substantive be feminine, not the feminine base, but the primary form common to the masculine and neuter. The accent falls most commonly on the final syllable of the united base. The following are examples: *divya-kusumá-s*, "heavenly flower;" *priya-bhâryá*, "dear spouse" [G. Ed. p. 1444.] (not *priyâ-bhâryá*); *saptarṣháya-s*, "the seven Rishis;" *a-bhayá-m*, "not fear, fearlessness"*; *ádhṛishṭa-s*, "invincible;" *án-ṛita-s*, "untrue;" *súprîta-s*,

* Inseparable adverbs and prepositions have the accent at the beginning of these compounds: just so substantives which denote the thing with which the person or thing to which the compound refers are compared. To the numerous exceptions from the rules of accent in this class of compounds belong, *inter alia*, the compounds described in §. 919., like *su-lábha-s*, "being easily attained;" *dur-lábha-s*, "being with difficulty attained."

"much beloved;" *sú-pûrṇa-s*, "very full;" *dúr-dina-m*, "storm," lit. "hard day;" *sú-níti-s*, "good behaviour;" *sâmí-bhukta-s*, "half eaten;" *prá-vîra-s*, "fore-man," *i.e.* "superior man;" *ádhi-pati-s*, "regent, lord;" *ví-sadṛik*, "dissimilar;" *ghána-śyâma-s*, "cloud-dark, black like a cloud;" *śyêná-patvâ* (theme *-van*), "flying like a falcon." Examples in Zend are: [illegible] *pĕrĕnô-mâo*, "full moon;" [illegible] *a-mara*, "undying" (theme); [illegible] *amĕrĕ-ṣhaṅs*, "not dying" (see p. 1421 G. ed., Note); [illegible] *dusch-varĕstĕ-m*, "bad deed, bad action;" [illegible] *dus-matĕ-m*, "bad thought;" [illegible] *dusch-ûctĕ-m*, "badly said;" [illegible] *hu-matĕ-m*, "well thought;" [illegible] *hu-fédhra*, fem. *-î*, "very fortunate, excellent."

986. To this class belong Greek compounds like *μεγαλ'-έμπορος*, *μεγαλο-δαίμων*, *μεγαλο-μήτηρ*, *ἰσό-πεδον*, *εὐρυ-κρείων*, *ἄ-γνωτος*, *ἀν-ήμερος*, *εὔ-δηλος*, *εὐ-άνοικτος*, *δυς-άγγελος*, *δυς-άπιστος*, *ἡμι-κύων*, *ἡμί-κενος*, *πρό-θυμα*, *ἔξ-οδος*, *ἔφ-οδος*. The following are examples of Latin compounds of this class: *merî-dies*, properly, "the middle day," from *medî-dies* (see §§. 17., 20.), for *medii-dies*, as *tibî-cen* for *tibii-cen*, from *tibia-cen* (see §. 968.), *albŏ-galerus* (see [G. Ed. p. 1445.] p. 1417, Note, G. ed.), *sacri-portus*, *quinque-viri*, *decem-viri* (as in Sanscrit *sáptárṣhayas*, "the seven Ṛiṣhis"), *pæn-insula*, *neg-otium*, *in-imicus*, *semi-deus*, *semi-dies*, *semi-mortuus*, *bene-dicus*, *male-ficus* (see §. 916.), *in-felix*, *in-sulsus* (see §. 490. Remark 1), *in-sipidus* (see §. 6.), *dif-ficilis*, *dis-similis*, *pro-avus*, *pro-nepos*, *ab-avus*, *ante-pes*, *ante-loquium*, *con-serva*, *inter-rex*, *inter-regnum*, *per-magnus*, *præ-celer*, *præ-dulcis*, *præ-durus*. In German this mode of forming compounds is still in full force in all its varieties. The following are examples: *Grossvater*, "grandfather;" *Grossmutter*, "grandmother;" *Grosmacht*, "great potency;" *Grosshändler*, "wholesale dealer;" *Weissbrod*, "white bread;" *Schwarzbrod*, "black bread;" *Vollmond*, "full moon;" *Halbbruder*, "half-brother;" *haushoch*, "high as a house;" *federleicht*,

"light as a feather;" *himmelblau*, "sky-blue;" *dunkelblau*, "dark blue;" *Unschuld*, "innocence;" *Unverstand*, "indiscretion;" *unreif*, "unripe;" *uneben*, "uneven;" *Übermacht*, "overpowering force;" *Abweg*, "by-way;" *Ausweg*, "outlet;" *Beigeschmack*, "false taste;" *Unterrock*, "petticoat;" *Vorhut*, "vanguard;" *schwarzgelb*, "tawny;" *Vorrede*, "preface;" *Vorgeschmack*, "foretaste;" *Vormittag*, "forenoon;" *Nachgeschmak*, "after-taste;" *Miterbe*, "co-heir;" *Mitschuld*, "participation in guilt;" *Abgott*, "idol;" *Abbild*, "image." In Old High German only the compounds with *sâmi*, which are wanting in our dialect, will be here mentioned by me as analogous to the above-mentioned (p. 1399, l. 3.) Sanscrit *sâmi-bhuktas*, "half-eaten," Greek *ἡμίκενος*, Latin *sêmi-mortuus*, viz. *sâmi-heil*, "half well;" *sâmi-qvëe*, "*semi-vivus*;" *sâmi-wîz*, "*subrufus* ("half white"). The following are examples in Gothic: *yugga-lauths*, "young man, youth;" *silba-siuneis**, "eye-witness, *αὐτόπτης*;" *afar-dags*†, "the other (following) day;" *anda-vaurd*, "answer" ("counter-word"); *anda-vleizn*‡, "face, countenance;" *ufar-gudya*, "high priest, *ἀρχιερεύς*;" *ufar-fulls*, "overfull." Examples in Lithuanian are: *pirm-gimmimmas*, "first-birth;" *pus-dèwis*, "demi-god;"

[G. Ed. p. 1446.] *pus-sesů*, "half-sister;" *pus-gywis*, "half-dead" (literally, "semi-animate"); *pus-salė*, "peninsula;" *san-kareiwis*, "competitor;" *san-tewonis*, "co-heir;" *prybuttis*, "vestibule." Examples in Old Sclavonic are: новоградъ *novo-grad'*, "new-town;" вьсеславныи *vyse-slavnyĭ*, "entirely famous;" вьсеблагыи *vyse-blagyĭ*, "quite good;" вьсецарь *vyse-zar'*, "*παμβασιλεύς*;" самовидецъ *samo-videz'*, "eye-

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* In case the last member of this compound occurred in its uncompounded state, and that the whole is not, which I consider more probable, a derivative from a to-be-presupposed *silba-siuns*, "self-seeing."

† In Sanscrit *aparâhṇa-m* (from *apara-ahṇa-m*) is called "the afternoon," but literally, "the other day" ("the other part of the day").

‡ *Vleizn* does not occur uncompounded.

witness, *αὐτόπτης*:" in Russian, полдень *pol-deny*, "noon"*; полночь *pol-nochy*, "midnight;" полубогъ' *polu-bog*, "demi-god;" свѣшлочеленый *svyetlo-chelenyi*, "light green;" совладѣшель *so-vladyetely*, "co-owner."

FOURTH CLASS.

Dependent Compounds called *Tatpuruṣha*.

987. This class forms compounds, of which the first member is dependent on, or is governed by, the second, and therefore always stands in some oblique case-relation. Examples, in which the first member stands in the genitive relation, are contained in §. 968. So in Zend, *e.g.*, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬎𐬱, *nmânô-paiti-s*, "*loci dominus*;" 𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬎𐬱, *nmânô-pathni*, "*loci-domina*;" 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬎𐬱 *zantu-paiti-s*, "*urbis dominus*:" in Greek, *οἰκό-πεδον*, *στρατό-πεδον*, *οἰνο-θήκη*, *οἰκο-φύλαξ*, *θεσαυρο-φύλαξ*: in Latin, *auri-fodina*, *auri-fur*, *mus-cerda* (see p. 1418 G. ed., Note), *su-cerda*, *imbri-citor*, *Marti-cultor*: in Gothic, *veina-gards*, "vineyard;" *aurti-gards*, "kitchen-garden;" *veina-basi*, "grape;" *heiva-frauya*, "master of the house;" *smakka-bagms*, "fig-tree" (see §. 971.); *daura-vards*, "warder, keeper of the gate;" *daura-varda*, [G. Ed. p. 1447.] "portress, door-waitress;" *sigis'-laun*, "guerdon of victory" (for *sigisa-laun*): in Lithuanian, *wyn'-ûgẽ*, "grape" (*ûga*, "berry," see §. 980.); *wyn'-szakẽ*, "vine" (*szakà* = Sanscrit *śâkhâ*, "branch"); in Old Sclavonic, домостроитель *domo-stroitely*, "steward;" свѣтодавецъ *svyeto-davez'*, "light-giver;" богородица *bogo-rodiza*, "mother of God;" пѣтлоглашенїе *pyetlo-glashenie*, "*gallicinium*" (Dobrowsky, p. 458). Examples in which the first member of the dependent com-

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* Lit. "half-day." If L. Diefenbach is right, as I think he is, in comparing the Lithuanian *pussẽ*, "half," with the Sanscrit *pârśva*, "side," the Sclavonic *pol* may also be referred to this class, and *l* may be regarded as the representative of the Sanscrit *r*, as is done by Miklosich, who traces back полъ *pol'* to पर *para*, "*alius*."

pound stands in the accusative relation have been given on a former occasion.* In Sclavonic, водоносъ *vodo-nos'*, "*hydria*," properly, "water-carrier," belongs to this class. In the instrumental relation the first member of the compound appears frequently in Sanscrit in combination with the passive participle in *ta*, and that member then receives the accent which belongs to it in its uncompounded state; hence, *e.g.*, *páti-jushṭâ*, "*a marito dilecta.*" Thus, *e.g.*, in Zend, irrespective of the accentuation, which is here unknown to us, 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵 *zarathusthrô-frôcta*, "announced by Zaratusthra;" 𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬀 *mazda-dâta*, "made by Mazda (Ormuzd): in Greek, *θεό-δοτος*, *θεό-τρεπτος*; in Gothic, *handu-vaurht'-s*, "made with the hand, *χειροποίητος*:" in Sclavonic, ржкотворенный *ruĭko-tvorennyi*, id. (*ruĭka*, "hand," see §. 970.). In the dative relation we find, *e.g.*, पितृ *pitṛí* and हिरण्य *híraṇya*, in the compounds *pitṛí-sadṛiśa-s*, "like the father;" *híraṇya-sadṛiśa-s*, "like gold"†; so in Greek, *θεοείκελος*; in Gothic, *gasti-gôds*, "hospitable," literally, "to the guest or guests good;" in Russian, богоподобный *bogopodobnyĭ*, "Godlike;" богопослушный *bogoposlyshnyĭ*,

[G. Ed. p. 1448.] "obedient to God." In the ablative relation stands नभस् *nábhas*, "heaven," in the compound *nabhaś-chyutá-s*, "fallen from heaven." In the locative relation is *nâu*, in the above-mentioned *nâu-sthá-s*, "standing in the ship."

988. To the class of dependent compounds belong, too, our German formations like *Singvogel*, "singing-bird;" *Springbrunnen*, "well-head;" *Ziehbrunnen*, "draw-well;" *Schreiblehrer*, "writing-master;" *Singlehrer*, "singing-master;" *Fahrwasser*, "water-channel;" *Esslust*, "desire to eat;" *Lesezimmer*, "reading-room;" *Scheidekunst*, "analy-

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* See §§. 916., 922.

† In combination with *sadṛiśa* and *pratirûpa* the first member takes its proper accent.

tical art, chemistry;" *Trinkglas*, "drinking-glass;" *Trink-spruch*, "drinking-speech, toast;" *Kehrbesen*, "broom, whisking-brush;" *Lehrmeister*, "instructor;" *Lebemann*, "worldly-man, epicurean;" *Lockvogel*, "decoy-bird." They have this peculiarity, that the first member is not used alone; but I can no more regard it as a verb than I can the first member of the Greek compounds like δεισι-δαίμων, discussed above (§. 967.). I rather look upon it as an abstract substantive, although, for some compounds of this kind, the signification of the present participle appears the more suitable; for *Singvogel* is "a singing-bird," *Springbrunnen*, "a springing-well;" but *Ziehbrunnen* is not "a drawing-well," but "a well for drawing;" *Trinkglas* not "a drinking-glass," but "a glass for drinking;" *Schreiblehrer* not "a writing-teacher," but "a teacher of writing," as *Tanzlehrer* is "a teacher of the dance;" and so, too, *Singvogel* may be taken as *Gesangsvogel*, *Ziehbrunnen* as *Zugbrunnen*, "well for drawing." The circumstance that many substantives occur in the manner cited only at the beginning of compounds can no more surprise us than another which has come under our notice, that in several members of our family of languages some classes of adjectives are limited, either solely and entirely, or principally, to the end of compounds.* In formation, the [G. Ed. p. 1449.] substantives of the class of compounds under discussion, and which do not occur so early as in the Gothic, are identical with the theme of the present, the class-syllable of which is for the most part suppressed in strong verbs, but retained in some, and, indeed, in the Old High German, either in its original form *a* (see §. 109.[a] 1.), or in that of *e*; hence, *e.g.*, *trag-a-stuol*, "sedan" ("chair for carrying"), analogous to *trag-a-mês*, "we carry;" so *trag-a-betti*, "pa-

* See §§. 909.[b], 911., 912., 916.

lanquin;" *trag-a-diorna*, "female supporter," "Caryatis;" *web-e-hús*, "web-house," "*textrina*." The few remnants of the Sanscrit 4th class (§. 109.[a] 2.) contract, in Old High German, the class-syllable *ya* (य *ya*) to *i*, of which *hef-i--hanna*, "midwife," appears to be a solitary example. As *wasku*, "I wash," and *slífu*, "I drag," do not belong to this class, the *i* of *wash-i-wazar* and *slíp-i-stein* (literally, "wash-water," "draw-stone"), may be regarded as the weakening of *a*. The syllable *ya* of the first weak conjugation is likewise contracted to *i* (see Grimm, II. p. 681), and this latter vowel is frequently weakened to *e*, or entirely suppressed; hence, *e.g.*, *wez-i-sten*, *wezz-e-sten*, *wez-stân*, "whetstone." The second and third weak conjugations afford, in Old High German, no examples of this class of compounds, which has continually extended itself in the course of time, and is most numerously represented in New High German. Since the weak conjugation, as I think I have proved, is based on the Sanscrit 10th class (see §. 109.[a] 4.), I would further recall attention to the fact that the character of this class is retained in the accusative forms in *ayâm* discussed in §. 619., and in the Zend infinitives in *ayanm*.

FIFTH CLASS.

Collective Compounds called *Dvigu*.

989. This class forms collectives, which are more closely defined by a numeral prefixed. The final substan-
[G. Ed. p. 1450.] tive, without reference to its primitive gender, becomes a neuter, for the most part in *a*, or fem. in *í*. The accent rests on the final syllable of the collective base. The following are examples: *tri-guṇá-m*, "the three properties" (*guṇa*, m.); *chatur-yugá-m*, "the four ages of the world" (*yuga*, n.); *pañchêndriyá-m*, "the five senses" (*indriya*, n.); *tri-khaṭvá-m* or *tri-khaṭví*, "three beds" (*khaṭvâ*, f.); *tri-râtrá-m*, "three nights" (*râtra*, for the

simple *râtri*, f.); *pañchâgní*, "the five fires"*; *tri-lôkí*, "the three worlds." Examples in Zend are: 𐬚𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 *byârĕ*, "*biennium*," for *bi-yârĕ* (*ĕ*, according to §. 30.); 𐬞𐬚𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬞 *thri-csaparĕ-m*, "*trinoctium*;" 𐬙𐬀𐬞𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀 *chathru-mâhya*, "four months," acc. *-mâhîm* (see §. 312. and §. 42.); 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬀-𐬞𐬚𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙 *nava-csaparĕ-m*, "nine nights;" 𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀 *pancha-mâhya*, acc. *-hîm*, "five months;" 𐬰𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙 *csvas-csaparĕ-m*, "six nights." To these, viz. to the neuters, correspond in Latin *tri-viu-m*, "point where three roads meet," *bi-viu-m*, *ambi-vium*†, *quadri-vium*, *bi-duu-m*, *tri-duu-m*, for which we may presuppose a simple *duu-s*, or *du-a*, or *duu-m*, as an appellation of "day;" for all three forms *duu-m*, according to the Sanscrit principle, must be employed in the compound. In Sanscrit, *divâ* appears as an appellation of "day," in the compounds *divâ-karâ-s*, "sun," as "day-maker;" *divâ-maṇí-s*, likewise "sun," lit. "precious stone of day," and *divâ-madhya-m*, "noon" ("middle of day"). The adverb *divâ*, "by day," does not suit for these three compounds. From the base *divâ* in Latin, after suppressing the *i*, we must get *dua*. [G. Ed. p. 1451.] The Latin forms like *bi-noct-iu-m*, *tri-noct-iu-m*, *quinqu'-ert-iu-m* (see §. 6.), *bi-enn'-iu-m*, have quitted the original position of genuine compounds, by annexing a neuter suffix. The Greek prefixes the feminine form of the suffix to the neuter in *ιο-ν*, which latter, however, is not wanting. Examples are: *τριημερία*, *τριοδία*, *τετραοδία*, *τετραόδιον* (*quadrivium*), *τετρανυκτία*, *τρινύκτιον* (*trinoctium*). In exact accordance with the Sanscrit neuter compounds like *chatur-yugá-m* stands *τέθριππον*: on the other hand, the Sanscrit, too, can, from its copulative compounds, form with the neu-

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* Viz. the sun and four fires kindled in the direction of the four quarters of the world, to which he who undergoes penance exposes himself.

† The *i* of *ambi* is the weakening of the final vowel of the base, which, in the nominative singular, would form, were it imaginable, *ambu-s*.

ter suffix *ya* derivations, which do not alter the meaning of the primary word. Thus, together with the above-mentioned *tri-guṇá-m*, *tri-lôkí́*, there exist, too, the forms *trâígun̓-ya-m*, *trâílôk̓-ya-m*, of equivalent meaning; so *châturvarṇ̓-ya-m*, "the four castes," from *chaturvaṇá-m*. These, therefore, irrespective of the Vṛiddhi augment, are the true prototypes of Latin forms like *tri-enn̓-iu-m*, *quadri-enn̓-iu-m*, &c., and of the Greek *τρι-όδ̓-ιο-ν*, *τρι-νύκτ-ιο-ν*.*

[G. Ed. p. 1452.] SIXTH CLASS.

Adverbial Compounds called *Avyayíbhâva*.

990. The first member of this class of compounds is either, and indeed most commonly, a preposition, or the privative particle *a*, *an*, or the adverb *yáthâ*, "as;" and the last member is a substantive, which, without reference to its gender when uncompounded, always assumes the form

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* The term "collective compounds" would be unsuitable for this class of compounds, if, with the Indian Grammarians, we included in this class also adjectives like *pañchagava-dhana*, "having the wealth of five bullocks," "five bullocks rich." If, however, we do not regard the having a numeral for the first member as the most important condition of these compounds, I do not see any reason for withdrawing adjectives like the above mentioned from the possessive class, and placing them in a class with the collectives, which are more narrowly defined by a numeral. The word which Indian Grammarians put forth as an example of this class of compounds, viz. *dvigu*, is likewise no collective, but an adjective of the class of compounds, with a trifling overplus of meaning beyond what literally belongs to it, "having two bullocks." It should, however, signify "bought for two bullocks," but must originally have meant scarce aught else but "having the value of two bullocks"="costing two bullocks." The peculiarity of this compound consists, therefore, only in this, that *dvigu* signifies, by and for itself, not "two bullocks," but "the worth of two bullocks." If *gô*, with a numeral, should form a real collective, its base receives the extension of an *a*; hence, *e.g.*, *pañcha-gavá-m*, "five bullocks." Cf., with respect to the *a* which is used to extend bases, Latin compounds like *multi-colôr-u-s*, *tri-pector-u-s*, and Greek like *δύ-πυρ-ο-ς*.

which belongs to the neuter in the nominative and accusative; hence, *e.g.*, the feminine *śraddhâ*, "belief, faith," becomes *śraddham* in the compound *yathâ-śraddhám**, "proportioned to faith," literally, "like faith." The following are other examples: *yathâ-vidhí*, "like prescription, corresponding to prescription" (*vidhi-s*, f.); *a-saṅśayá-m*, "not doubt, without doubt" (*saṅśaya-m*, n.); *anu-kṣhaṇá-m*, "immediately" (*anu*, "after," *kṣhaṇa-m*, "moment"); *ati-mâtrá-m*, "beyond measure" (*mâtra-m*, "measure"); *prati-yahám*, "daily" (*prati*, "towards," *ahan*, n. "day," with *n* suppressed). Latin compounds of this kind are, *admodum*, *præmodum*, *obviam*, *affatim*, in which, however, the last member retains its original gender, while, according to Sanscrit principle, *obvium*, *affate*, must be said for *obviam*, *affatim*. The following are compounds of this kind in Greek: *ἀντιβίην*, *ἀντίβιον*, *ὑπέρμερον*, *παράχρημα*. Some similarity to these adverbial compounds is to be observed [G. Ed. p. 1453.] in the Old High German periphrases of superlative adverbs by neuter accusatives with prepositions prefixed, which elsewhere govern, not the accusative, but the dative (see Grimm, III. 106.); *e.g.*, Old High German *az yungist*, "*tandem*;" *az lâzôst*, "*demum*;" *zi furist*, "*primum*." We write in one word *zuerst*, *zuletzt*, *zuvörderst*, *zunächst*, *zumeist*, &c. A certain likeness to this class of compounds is to be traced also in Greek adverbs like *σήμερον*, *τήμερον* (see §. 345.), in which *ἡμέρα* has appended a neuter form in the very same way as the Sanscrit *śraddhâ* mentioned above.

INDECLINABLES.

ADVERBS.

991. Exclusive of the compounds described in the preceding §., adverbs are formed in Sanscrit,

* The accent ordinarily rests on the final syllable.

1) With particular suffixes, the most important of which have been already considered (see §. 420.). I must here further mention, that, in departure from §. 294. Remark 2, I now prefer to trace back the Gothic adverbs *hva-dr*, "whither," *hi-drê*, "hither," *yain-drê*, "thither, ἐκεῖ," to the Sanscrit pronominal adverbs in *tra* (§. 420.). They will therefore have experienced an irregular transformation of the tenuis to the medial, *e.g.*, *fadrein*, "parents," contrasted with the Sanscrit *pitúrâu*. As regards the *ê* of the said Gothic adverbs, it would lead us to expect in Sanscrit, according to §. 69., *â* for *a*. This *â* occurs in the Sanscrit suffix when it is appended to certain substantives and adjectives. Thus we read in the Schol. to Pâṇini, V. 4. 36., *manushyatrâ vasati*, "he dwells among men;" *dêvatrâ gachchhati*, "he goes to the gods."*

[G. Ed. p. 1454.] 2) With case-forms; *e.g.*, the form of adjectives, which is common to the nominative and accusative singular neuter, represents also the adverb. I, however, of course consider the said form to be the accusative, as any oblique case is better adapted than the nominative to denote an adverbial relation. The following are examples: *madhurám*, "lovely, pleasant;" *śíghrám*, *kṣipráṁ*, *âśú*, "quick;" *nítyam*, "ever" (*nítya-s*, "*sempiternus*"); *chirám*, "long;" *prathamám*, "first;" *dvitíyam*, "for the second time;" *bahú*, "much;" *bhúyas*, "more;" *bhúyiṣṭham*, "most." So in Latin, *e.g.*, *commodum*, *plerumque*, *potissimum*, *multum*, *primum*, *secundum*, *amplius*, *recens*.

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* In classical Sanscrit I have not met with forms and constructions of this kind: they seem to be limited to the Vêda dialect. Böhtlingk cites in his Commentary to Pâṇini, p. 230, two passages of the first book of the Rigvêda: in the one (32. 7.) occurs *purutrá*, "in many," *i.e.* "in many places" or "members" (Schol. *bahuṣhv anavayavéṣhu*); in the other (50. 10.) *dêvatrá*, in the sense of "among the gods."

facile, difficile. So, in Sclavonic, the adverbs in *o* are identical with the accusative (nom. also) neuter of the corresponding adjective; *e.g.*, МАЛО *malo*, "little;" МНОГО *mnogo*, "much;" ДОЛГО *dolgo*, "long, a long time." To this class belongs, in Gothic, *filu*, "much," "very." Observe, too, the adverbial use of neuter adjectives in Greek, both in the singular and in the plural, as *μέγα, μεγάλα, μικρόν, μικρά, καλόν, πλησίον, ταχύ, ἡδύ*, which likewise must of course be regarded as accusatives. The adjective base word for *δηρόν*, "long," is wanting: it is probably, just like *δολιχός*, akin to the Sanscrit *dîrgha* from *dargha* or *dragha*, "*longus*," whence the adverb *dîrgham*. Some Sanscrit adverbs are, according their form, plural instrumentals, formed from adjective bases in *a; e.g., uchchâís*, "high," "loud," from *uchchá; nîchâís*, "low," from *nîchá; śanâís*, "slow," from the unused *śana*. [G. Ed. p. 1455.] The Lithuanian, which forms instrumentals plural in *ais, eis* (from *iais*), from bases in *a* and *ia* (*diewais* = Sanscrit *dêvâis*, see §. 243.), exhibits, in remarkable conformity with the Sanscrit, adverbs also with plural instrumental terminations; *e.g., pulkais.* "frequent," from *pulka-s*, "heap;" *kartais*, "at times," from *karta-s*, "a time," "once;" *wakarais*, "in the evening," from *wakara-s*, "evening;" *nakti-mis*, "by night;" *pietu-mis*, "at noon." The instrumental singular occurs in Sanscrit likewise in some forms which pass for adverbs; *e.g.*, in *dákṣhiṇê-n-a*, "southern," from *dákṣhiṇa; áchirê-n-a*, "soon," literally, "after not long:" *ahnâya*, "soon," literally, "this day," is a dative. The Old High German adverbs with a dative plural termination like *luzzîkêm*, "*paulatim;*" the Anglo-Saxon like *mîdldum*, "*in medio*," *miclum*, "*magnopere;*" the Old Northern like *löngum*, "*longe*," *fornum*, "*olim*" (Grimm, III. p. 94), remind us of the Sanscrit and Lithuanian adverbs first discussed, with the plural termination of the instrumental. The following are

examples in Sanscrit of adverbial ablatives: *paschât*, "hereafter;" *ârât*, "near," also "far;" *adhastât*, "under;" *purastât*, "before," from the lost bases *paścha*, &c.; *áchirât*, "swift," from *áchira*, "not long." To this class have already been referred the Greek adverbs in ως (from ωτ).* They enrich, to a certain extent, the declension of adjectives by one case; and Buttmann (§. 115. remarks that ως may still be regarded as a termination entirely devoted to the inflection of the adjectives. We

[G. Ed. p. 1456.] must, however, here give up the simple rule, that the termination ος, nominative and genitive, passes into ως, as ως cannot possibly, as an independent case-termination, arise at one time from a nominative, and that of the masculine gender, and at another from a genitive. The agreement in accentuation, *e.g.*, of σοφώς with σοφός, of εὐθέως with εὐθύς, εὐθέος, corresponds with the phenomenon, that in Greek, as in Sanscrit, the accent regularly remains on the syllable on which the base or the nominative has it; thus, in Sanscrit, from the base *samá*, "like," comes the nominative *samá-s*, acc. *samá-m*, abl. *samá-t*, as in Greek from ὁμός come the analogous forms ὁμ-ός, ὁμό-ν, ὁμώ-ς. The following are Latin adverbs with an ablative form, *e.g.* *continuo*, *perpetuo*, *raro*, *primo*, *secundo*; and in Gothic these have a genuine ablative signification, *e.g.*, *hva-thrô*, "whither?" *tha-thrô*, "therefrom" (see §. 294. Rem. 1.); and the following have not an ablative meaning like the Greek in ως and Latin in *o*: *sinteinô*, "always." *sin-*

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* See §. 183. Since, then, Ahrens ("*De dialecto Dorica*," p. 376) has similarly explained the Doric adverbs in ῶ (πῶ, τουτῶ, αὐτῶ, τηνῶ), which, as representatives of the adverbs in θεν (see §. 421.), have a genuine ablative meaning. By their termination ω, for ω-τ, they correspond admirably to the Gothic adverbs, which are likewise strictly of an ablative nature, like *alyathrô*, "*aliunde*" (see §. 294. Rem. 1.).

mundô, "hastily," &c. (l. c.). We have a Sanscrit adverb with a genitive form in *chirásya*, "finally," literally, "of the long;" so in Greek, *e.g.*, ὁμοῦ, ποῦ, ἄλλου, in Gothic, *allis*, "entirely;" *gistra-dagis*, "yesterday."* In Sanscrit, *prâhṇê*, "in the forenoon," is regarded as an adverb with a locative termination, as the said case-termination, without transgressing its original destination, as is frequently the case with adverbs, stands here quite in its place. The language, however, itself distinguishes *prâhṇê* from the common locative in this, that it forms from it, as from a theme, the derivative *prâhṇê-tana-s* (see §. 960.). From Latin [G. Ed. p. 1457.] we refer to this class, as has already been done (p. 1227, Note *, G. ed.), the adverbs of the second declension, and compare, *e.g.*, *novê* with the Sanscrit locative *navê*, "in the new," which is no obstacle to regarding the genitive also, *novî*, according to its origin, as locative (see §. 200.). As the Lithuanian forms locatives in *è* (see §. 197.) from bases in *a*, but occasionally contrasts *ai*, too, with the Sanscrit Guna diphthong *ê* (from *ai*) (see p. 997), so perhaps its adverbs in *ay*, *ey* (the latter from *ia*), and which spring from bases in *a*, are, according to their origin, locatives, since *ay*, *ey*, are not distinguished in pronunciation from *ai*, *ei* (see Kurschat, "Contributions," II. 9.). The following are examples: *gieray*, "good, well" (*giera-s*, "a good man"); *źinnomay*, "knowing" (*źinnoma-s*, "a male acquaintance"): *pirmay*, "before" (*pirma-s*, "the first"); *tenay*, "there" (Old Prussian *tan'-s*, from *tana-s*, "he," acc. *tenna-n*); *didey*, "very" (*didis*, "great," theme *didia*, euphonic *didźia*). Ruhig remarks, that, in Lithuanian, adverbs can be formed from

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* Matt. vi. 30, "to-morrow," see Gabelentz and Löbe, l. c. Regarding the comparative adverbs, see §. 301. Remark; and as to High German adverbial genitives, see Grimm, III. 93.

verbs by adding the syllable *nay* to the infinitive; but I believe that the language has arrived in a different manner at adverbs like *laupsin-tinay*, "in a praiseworthy manner" (infin. *laupsinti*, "to praise"), than by appending the syllable *nay* to the infinitive suffix *ti*. I believe, viz. that in Lithuanian abstract bases in *tina-s* existed, which suffix might be added to the root or the verbal theme in the same way as the infinitive suffix *ti*. I presuppose, therefore, *e.g.*, abstracts like *laupsintina-s*, "the praising," *mylĕtina-s*, "the loving;" and I deduce therefrom the adverbs *laupsin-tinay*, *mylĕ-tinay*, in the same way as *gieray*, "*bene*," from *giera-s*, "*bonus*." I regard the suffix *tina* as identical with the secondary suffix *tvana* (see p. 1216 G. ed., Note), which forms abstracts in the

[G. Ed. p. 1458.] Vêda dialect. With regard to the loss of the *v*, remark the relation of the Lithuanian *sapna-s* "sleep," to the Sanscrit *svápna-s*. To the Vêdic suffix *tvana*, and in fact to its locative *tvané* (=*tvanai*), I refer also the Old Persian infinitives or gerunds in *tanaiy*. If Oppert is right, as I think he is, in assigning the *t* of *chartanay* and *thastanay* to the suffix*; *char-tanay* then ranks itself under the Sanscrit root *char*, "*ire*," also "*facere*," "*agere*," "*committere*;" and *thas-tanay* under *thah*, which Rawlinson compares† with the Sanscrit root *śańs*, the final sibilant of which is protected by the *t* following. But if it be correct to divide *char-tanay* and

* Benfey refers the *t*, *e.g.* that of *chartanaiy*, "to make," to the root, and takes *ana* as the suffix.

† "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. XI. p. 176. I formerly thought (Glossar. Sanscr., a. 1847, p. v) of a connection of the Old Persian *thah* with the Sanscrit *chaksh*; but if we do not follow Benfey in referring *thastanay* (the original confirms also the reading *thastanaiy*) to the Sanscrit root *chĕsht*, "to strive," other Persian forms are wanting with *th* for Sanscrit *ch*, though it is true that further instances may be quoted where the Persian 𐎹 *th* is substituted for sibilants.

thas-tanay, instead of *chart-anay*, *thast-anay*, in which, too, Rawlinson recognises gerunds, then the agreement with the Lithuanian verbal adverbs under discussion is very remarkable; and I think that *laupsin-tinay*, *mylĕ--tinay*, which Ruhig translates by "in a praiseworthy, loveable manner," signify, according to their origin, nothing else than "in the praising," "in the loving," "*in laudando*," "*in amando*."*

992. There are in Sanscrit also several [G. Ed. p. 1459.] verbs which can be referred to no settled principle of mation. To this class belong, among others, the negae particles *a* (as prefix), *na* (see §. 371.); the adverbs of ne, *sanâ*, "ever†," *adya*, "to-day" ("on this day"), *ıs*, "to-morrow" (Latin *cras*), *hyas*, "yesterday," *parut*, n the past year‡," *sadyas*, "simultaneously" (probably om *sa*, "this," and *dyas* from *divas*, "day"); the prefixes "well," "fine," and *dus*, "bad."

As in Greek, together with the abstracts in *συνη* (see p. 1216 G. ed., te), there exist adjectives in *συνος* (see Aufrecht, "Journal of Compar. ilol.," p. 482), *e.g.*, *μαντόσυνος*, together with *μαντοσύνη*; and as, in nscrit, the suffix *tva*, which is specially devoted to abstracts, and with ich Pott (E. I., II. p. 490) compares the Greek suffix *συνη*, may, in Vêda dialect, form also the future passive participle (see §. 835.); so, Lithuanian, together with the to-be-presupposed abstracts in *tina-s* re exist also adjectives with the signification of the future passive; , *bar-tina-s*, "*vituperandus*;" *biyo-tina-s*, "*timendus*;" *wes-tina-s*, *ucenduś*" (*wedu*, "I lead," cf. §. 102. conclusion). In my opinion, it not be denied that these formations, too, have much in common with se in *tvana* in Sanscrit; and if, in Lithuanian, where we ordinarily find sculines for Sanscrit neuter substantives, there never existed abstracts in t-*s*, we must then derive the adverbs in *tinay* from those adjectives.

Probably from the demonstrative base *sa* (cf. *sa-dâ*, §. 422., and see ss. Sanscr., a. 1847, p. 367).

From *par* for *para*, "the other" (see §. 375.), and *ut*, a contraction bably of the syllable *vat*, from *vatsara*, "year." Pott (E. I., II. 05) rightly compares the Greek *περύσι*.

CONJUNCTIONS.

993. The different members of the Indo-European family of languages agree in the construction of genuine conjunctions in this point, that they form them from pronominal roots (see §. 105.); but great difference prevails in specialities. *i.e.*, in the choice of the pronouns, whence conjunctions of the same meaning are formed in the various languages [G. Ed. p. 1460.] and groups of languages; so that, *e.g.*, our "*dass*," Old High German *daz*, answers neither to the Sanscrit *yat*, *yáthâ*, nor to the Latin *quod*, *ut*, nor to the Greek ὅτι, ὡς, ἵνα, ὅπως, nor to the Lithuanian *yog. kad.* nor to the Russian *kto*, at least not to the last as an entire word, but only to the concluding portion of it (*to*) (cf. §. 343.). The Old High German *daz* is nothing else than the neuter of the article, and the difference in writing which we make between *das* and *dass* has no organic foundation, as the *s* in the neuter of the pronouns and strong adjectives is everywhere based on an older *z*, and properly should always be written ȥ. I see no sufficient ground for regarding, with Graff (V. 39.), the conjunction *daz* as the neuter of the relative, though the Gothic *thatei* contains the particle *ei*, which gives relative signification to the demonstrative; but for the conjunction *dass* the demonstrative meaning is more suitable than the relative: and when we say, *Ich weiss dass er krank ist*, "I know that he is sick," this is tantamount to *Ich weiss dieses: er ist krank*, "I know this: he is sick;" and I have, for this reason, already, in my Conjugational-system (p. 82), called the conjunction *dass* the article of the verbs. We cannot place a verb or a sentence in the accusative relation without prefixing to it a conjunction, *i.e.* a pronoun, which is the bearer of the case-relation in which the sentence appears. As neuter, too, *dass* is adapted to express the nominative relation: this it does in sentences like, *Es ist*

ulich dass er wieder gesund ist, "It is pleasing that he ell again," which is equivalent to *das Wiedergesundsein lben ist erfreulich,* "the being well again of that person easing." With *dass,* be it in the accusative or nomi- ve relation, the grammatical sentence, the general mmatical scheme is in a manner completed; so that, *Ich weiss dass . . . .* or *Es ist erfreulich dass,* "I know " or "it is pleasing that," the logical import, whatever ay be, follows. As the accusative can express ad- ially other oblique case-relations also, and, *e.g.,* the crit *tat* and *yat* express not only [G. Ed. p. 1461.] s" and "which," but also, "on which account," refore," "wherefore," "since," *i.e.* the instrumental or al relation, and may therefore be substituted for *téna yéna,* so *dass* too is suited to assume the place of *t,* "therewith," where the preposition *mit,* "with," s the place of the instrumental termination, which is ting: hence, *e.g., Nimm diese Arzenei, dass (damit) du er gesund werdest,* "Take this medicine, that (therewith) become well again." Like *dass,* most of the other unctions also always stand in some case-relation, gh it be not formally expressed in the conjunction. *aber,* "but," properly, "other" (see §. 350.), like the unctions which correspond in sense to it in other lan- ges, stands always in the nominative relation; as, *Er det sich nicht wohl, aber er wird doch kommen,* "He does feel well, but he will come notwithstanding." With therefore, the other thing, that is to be said, begins, ntithetical to the preceding. In Greek, ἀλλά, in spite he difference of accentuation, is evidently identical the neuter plural ἄλλα. The Sanscrit gives us *tú,* h, like the Greek δέ, never stands at the beginning of ntence, and which, as it appears to me, is a weakening ie base *ta,* to which we have above (§. 350.) referred Greek δέ also. For "*aber*" we also find in Sanscrit

kintu from *kim*, "what?" and also for the *tu* just mentioned, to which the *kim* serves, in a manner, only as a fulcrum; as *yádi*, "if," to *vâ*, and, in Latin, *si* to *ve*, in *yádivâ*, *sive*, "or," which *vâ*, *ve*, by themselves signify.

994. The just-mentioned Sanscrit *yádi*, "if"*; has sprung, I doubt not, from the relative base *ya*, to which, too, the Gothic conjunction *ya-bai*, of equivalent signification, likewise belongs (see §. 383. p. 539): on the other hand, the *it* (see §. 360.) contained in चेत् *chêt*, "if," is to be [G. Ed. p. 1462.] classed under the demonstrative base *i*, and can scarcely be any thing else than the neuter of the said base, not occurring in use by itself, and identical with the Latin *id*. It may be left an open question whether the Gothic *iba* of *n'-iba*, "if not," be a contraction of *ya-ba* (cf. *thauh-yaba*), or whether its *i* belong to the base of the Sanscrit *it*, with which the Gothic *i-th*, "but," "if," is also connected in its base. The Latin *si* belongs evidently, like *se-d* and *si-c*, to the reflexive base (cf. *si-bi*). The Greek εἰ might be taken as an abbreviation of ἐδι, and so be compared with यदि *yádi*, to which it would bear nearly the same relation that, *e.g.*, φέρει does to *bhárati*, "he bears." Our *wenn*, "if," is identical with *wann*, "when," and the meaning "if" is still unknown to the Old High German adverb of time *hwanne*, *hwenne*. The Old High German expression for *wenn*, and also for *ob*, "whether," is *ibu*, *ipu*, &c. (formally = Gothic *iba*, English *if*), Middle High German *obe*, *ob*, on which our *ob* is based, which has lost the signification "if," the case-relation of which is always accusative, a relation expressed in the Latin *num* and *utrum* also by the form. The transition of the lightest vowel *i* in the Gothic *iba* and Old High German *ibu*, *ipu*, to the heavier *o* of the Middle and New High German *obe*, *ob*, is

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* Zend [Zend script] *yêzi*, [Zend script] *yêidhi*, see §. 520., §. 638. Note, §. 703. Rem. sub finem (for *yêdhi*, better *yêidhi*).

so far remarkable, in that languages become defaced, in the course of time, usually only by the weakening, not by the strengthening, of vowels.* In Sanscrit the above-mentioned *yádi* signifies, like the Greek εἰ, and [G. Ed. p. 1463.] Old High German *i-bu*, *i-pu*, besides "if," also "whether." The Lithuanian *yey*, "if," answers, with respect to the diphthong *ey*, to the adverbs *ay*, *ey*, discussed above (p. 1457 G. ed.); but, with reference to its base, it is identical with that of the Sanscrit *yádi* (see §. 383.). In the syllable *gu* of *yéy-gu*, "if, perhaps" (also *yei-g*), I believe I recognise the Sanscrit particle *ha*, Vêdic *gha*, *ghâ*, *hâ*, Greek γε, discussed above (§. 814. p. 1104, Note); and in the *gi* of *yey-gi*, "albeit, although, notwithstanding," the particle हि *hi*, which occurs without any perceptible meaning, or signifies "for," and in the latter case, too, never appears at the beginning of a sentence.†

995. From the relative base *ya* spring also, in Sanscrit, the conjunctions *yát* and *yáthâ*, "that;" the former in the

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* To what has been observed above (§. 383., p. 539) regarding the syllables *ba*, *bai*, in the conjunctions referred to, and of the adverb in *a-ba*, which spring from strong adjective bases in *a*, one more attempt at explanation may be here added, according to which *ba* might be based on the Sanscrit *pa*, whereby, from the demonstrative bases *a* and *u*, the prepositions *á-pa* and *ú-pa* have arisen. The Gothic prefers between two vowels the medial instead of the tenues of the formative suffixes and the terminations; while, at the end of a word, an aspirate is preferred (cf. §. 823., p. 1120): hence the preposition *af*, contrasted with the Sanscrit *á-pa*, cannot hinder us from recognising also, in the conjunctions *ya-bai*, *n'-i-ba*, and in the adjective adverbs in *ba*, the Sanscrit suffix *pa* of *a-pa*, *u-pa*, *prati-pa*, *ami-pa* = the Latin *pe*, of *pro-pe*, *nem-pe*, *quip-pe* (from *quid-pe*), *sæ-pe*. Then, too, in Lithuanian, the pronominal adverbs *tai-po*, *tai-p*, "so," *kittai-p*, "otherwise," *kai-po*, *kai-p*, "as," *katrai-p*, "in which manner," *kutrai-p*, "in another manner," and the conjunctive *yei-b*, "in order to," must be referred to this class, in respect to their labial, in departure from §. 383., p. 540.

† See §. 391., where, too, mention is made of the Greek γάρ.

sense of the Latin *quod*, and like it, according to form, the neuter of the relative; the latter in the sense of *ut*, and, like it, originally signifying "as."* In the Véda dialect there is found, also, a conjunction of rare occurrence, *yát*, "that," as adverb, "as," a very interesting form, which was first regarded by Kuhn† as a conjunction, and, according [G. Ed. p. 1464.] to formation, as an ablative according to the common declension (for *yásmát*). We have, therefore, in this *yát*, as it were the prototype of the Greek ὡς, which corresponds to the said *yát* both in its base (see §. 382.) and in the significations "as" and "that," and as ablative, if I am right in taking the ς of the adverbs in ως as a corruption of τ.‡ As correlative to *yát*, and, as it were, as twin-brother to the Greek τώς, occurs also, in the Vêda dialect, the demonstrative adverb *tát*, with the signification "so," in a passage of the Fourth Book of the Rig-Vêda (VI. 12.) cited by Benfey (Glossary to the Sâma-Vêda, p. 75), where, in one verse, *yát* is found with the signification "as," and *tát* with that of "so."

996. Our *so*, where it answers to *wenn*, ought to be regarded as a conjunction, just as much as *wenn;* for in sentences like *Wenn er gesund ist, so wird er kommen*, "If he is well, then he will come," *so* "then" is as much the support of the following sentence, as *wenn*, "if," is of the preceding; and it is quite impossible to translate it in languages in which a corresponding expression is wanting, as they feel no occasion, in constructions of that nature, to introduce the following sentence with a conjunction, or to prefix, as it were, an article to its verb. In the later

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* Regarding *yá-thâ*, see §. 425.; and as to *ut* from *uti* for *cuti*, p. 1227 G. ed., Note †. Regarding the use of the Zend conjunctions *yat*. *yatha*, see §. 725., and p. 1428 G. ed.

† See Hoefer's Journal, II. p. 174.

‡ See §. 183., and p. 1445 G. ed.

lingual period of the Sanscrit, *tadá*, originally, "then" (see §. 422.), has taken on itself the part of this conjunction, which corresponds to *yádi*, "if;" and thus we read, *e.g.*, in Lassen's Anthology, p. 7, *yady êṣhâ mama bhârya bhavati tadâ jîvâmi, nô chên* (euphonic for *chêt*), *mariṣhyâmi*, "if this woman becomes my spouse, then I will live; if not, (then) I will die." The Lithuanian gives the neuter of its article, viz. *tai*, and the Sclavonic the corresponding то= Greek *τό*, Sanscrit *tát*, "this," as conjunction for our *so* (see Dobrowsky, p. 447). The following [G. Ed. p. 1465.] is an example in Lithuanian, *yey źmonẽms atléisite yû mussidẽyimus, tai atléis ir yums yusû tẽwas danguyeṅsis*, "if ye forgive men their trespasses, then your heavenly Father will also forgive you" (Matt. vi. 14).

PREPOSITIONS.

997. The genuine prepositions, and such adverbs as in form and meaning are connected with prepositions, admit universally of being derived with greater or less certainty from pronouns: according to their signification they are based on such antithetical terms as "this" and "that," "this side" and "that side." Thus, *e.g.*, we may take *über*, "over," in relation to *unter*, "under," *vor*, "before," in relation to *hinter*, "after," *aus*, "out," in relation to *in*, "in," as "this side," and the counter term as "that side," or conversely (see §. 293.). The pronominal origin is most clearly discerned in the Sanscrit preposition *áti*, "over;" for, according to its formation, it has the same relation to the demonstrative base *a*, that *iti*, "so," has to *i*. It was, however, the adjectives *á-dhara-s*, *a-dháma-s*, "the lower," or "lowest," that first led me to perceive the pronominal origin of the old prepositions.* It

* See "Transactions of the Historic-Philological Class of the Royal Academy of Literature for the year 1826," p. 91.

was later that I first represented the preposition *a-dhu-s* "under," as adverb, "below," as a derivative from the demonstrative base *a*.* To *á-dhara-s*, *a-dhúma-s*, correspond, in Latin, *inferus*, *infimus* (see §. 293., p. 379), the former of which Voss derives from the verb *infero*, while [G. Ed. p. 1406.] the Sanscrit *adhúma-s*, in the Uṇadi-book (V. 54.), is formed from the verbal root *av*, "to help," with the suffix *ama*. If we would divide the words thus, *á-dha-ra-s*, *a-dhú-ma-s*, we must then derive these adjectives from *a-dhás*, "under, beneath," the *s* being suppressed, as *áva-ra-s*, *avú-ma-s*, have clearly sprung from the preposition *áva*, "from, down from," though, l. c., *aváma-s*, is assigned to the verbal root *av*. "to help." The former derivation would not prevent us from deriving the prepositional and adverbial *adhás*, "itself," from the demonstrative base *a* by a suffix *dhas*, as a modification of *tas*.

998. To *áti*, "over," Zend 𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 *aiti*, belongs probably the Latin *at* of *at-avus* (see §. 425.), as also the Lithuanian *ant*, "up," with a nasal inserted (cf. §. 293., p. 379), and without a nasal, but with altered meaning, *at*, according to Ruhig. "to, back," only as prefix; *e.g.*, in *at-eimi*, "I come here;" *at-dûmi*, "I give back." The Greek *ἀντί* and Latin *ante* appear doubtful to me now as derivatives from *ati*, because *ἄντα*, which it is not possible to separate in its origin from *ἀντί*, cannot easily have come from *ἀντί*, though *ἀντί* might have come from *ἄντα* by a very common weakening of *a* to *ι*. But if *ἄντα* be the old form, then अन्त *anta*, "end," presents itself as the medium of comparison, at the root of which, as the opposite to "beginning," *i.e.* that which is before, lies a prepositional idea.† Our *ant* in *Antwort*, "answer," as

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* See "On some demonstrative bases, and their connection with different prepositions and conjunctions," 1830, p. 9. Cf. C. G. Schmidt, "*De præpositionibus Græcis*," 1829.

† I have literally translated this obscure passage, which means that अन्त *anta*, "end," as the opposite to what is first, or before, may very well be

counter-word," has already been compared by Thiersch with ıe Greek *ἀντί*: the Gothic *anda-*, in *anda-vaurd, anda-nahti,* evening" (properly, "fore-night," or "the time meeting ight"), *anda-numfts,* "acceptance, the taking in front of," *nda-nêms,* "agreeable," opposed to *and-nima,* "I accept," peak in favour of *ἄντα* as the older form. In its isolated tate, and in most compounds, too, the Gothic preposition, on hich our *ent,* in *entsagen, entsprechen,* &c., [G. Ed. p. 1467.] ı based, has lost its final vowel. The Sanscrit substantive ase *anta,* "end," has been changed in Gothic to *andya,* nom. *ndeis* (also *andi,* nom. *andis*), and the latter substantive has, n our *Ende,* kept itself free from the second alteration of ound (§. 87.), which *ant* and *ent,* in *Antwort, ent-sprechen,* &c., ave undergone. In the Vêda dialect there is an adverb *nti,* "near," which recurs, too, in the later language (see Ben- ey Gloss.), and from which, in the first edition of my Glos- ary, without being aware of its existence, but presupposing hat such a form did formerly exist, I have derived the sub- tantive *antika-m,* "nearness." It is probable that this अन्ति *anti* has been formed from the demonstrative base *ana,* vith *a* suppressed, and with the same suffix as that which orms *á-ti* from *a.* The substantive अन्त *ánta,* "end," may, owever, be regarded as the etymological brother of अन्ति *nti,* "near," as it may be derived from the same pronominal oot through another, but cognate suffix. A verbal root suit- ble for the derivation of *ánta,* "end," is not to be found; at east the root *am,* "to go," to which the Indian Grammarians ave recourse (Uṇâdi, III. 85.), does not appear to me to be dangerous competitor with the demonstrative base *ana.*

999. The suffix धि *dhi* of अधि *ádhi,* "over, up, to- ards," answers to the Greek *θι* of locative adverbs like *πό-θι,*

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e the source from which *ἄντα,* "over against," has sprung, and may itself ave a prepositional idea as its base, as there is a similar idea at the root f "beginning."—*Translator.*

ὅ-θι, *οὐρανό-θι*. The possibility that the Greek *ἄ-χι* may have arisen from *ἀνθι* for *ἀθι*, and be akin to अधि *ádhi*, has already been noticed (see §. 294., Rem. 1., p. 388). I compare with more confidence the Latin *ad*, as also the Gothic *und*, "as far as, up to" (Old Saxon *unti*, *unt*), if this belong not to अन्त *ánta*, "end," and so be originally identical with *anda*, *and*. The great mobility in the transition of meanings in prepositions, combined with the facility of alteration [G. Ed. p. 1468.] in form, causes us here a difficulty in arriving at comparisons which can be entirely depended upon. For comparison with the Gothic preposition *at*, "near, at," we find in Sanscrit no other preposition than *ádhi*. To the Latin *ad* the Gothic *at* would correspond exactly, with regard to the law for the mutation of sounds, but the German languages do not stand in direct connection with the Latin.

1000. The Sanscrit preposition *á-pa*, "from," has already been mentioned (p. 1462 G. ed., Note) as an offshoot of the demonstrative base *a*, and as analogous, with respect to its termination, to *ú-pa*: the Greek *ἀ-πό* (like *ὑ-πό* to *úpa*), Latin *a-b* (like *su-b* to *u-pa*), Gothic *a-f* (according to §. 87.), English *o-f*, our *a-b*, correspond to it. The preposition अपि *á-pi*, "over, on," in *api-dhá*, "to cover," properly, "to lay upon" (as conjunction, "also"), as conjectural derivative of the base *a*, has, with regard to its termination, no analogous form elsewhere. Formally it has the same relation to *á-pa* that, in Greek, *ἀν-τί* has to *ἄν-τα*. To *ápi* corresponds the Greek *ἐπί*, but with respect to the vowel, and more restricted signification, the Lithuanian *ap* answers better; *ap-* in *ap-auksinu*, "I gild" ("I gild over"); *ap-denkiu*, "I cover" ("I cover over"); *ap-dumóyu*, "I reflect" ("I think over"); *ap-galu*, "I overpower" (*galù*, "I can"); *ap-si-immu*, "I take upon myself;" *ap-beriu*, "I spill" ("I over-fill"); *ap-tvyslu*, "I overflow;" *apipyaustau*, "I clip."*

* Nesselmann (Lexicon of the Lithuanian Language) remarks regarding

1001. The termination *bhi* of the preposition अभि *abhí*, 'to, towards" (adv. *abhí-tas*, "near"), is connected with the ase, and adverbial terminations beginning with *bh*, Zend nd Latin *b*, Greek *φ*.* I recall attention [G. Ed. p. 1469.]

ıg this preposition, that before roots which begin with *p* we sometimes nd *api*, but rarely before other roots. I therefore leave it an open ques- on, whether this *i* be the original *i*, or a euphonic affix.

* See §. 215. I know not why Spiegel has thought it necessary to ompare the Zend termination *byô* of the dative and ablative plural with Sanscrit termination other than that which corresponds in form and gnification, *bhyas* (see §§. 215., 244.). He says, however, in Hoefer's ournal of Philology, I. p. 60, "So, *e.g.*, in the declension of words in *a* everal Vêdic forms have taken firm root also in Zend; thus, the nomi- ative plural *âoñha* (as I write it *âoṇha*), to which answers the Vedic in *sah*, and thus the dative plural in *aêibyô*, to which corresponds the 'êdic in *êbhih*." I am fully persuaded that the Vêdas are altogether nocent of having aught to do with there being plural datives in *aêibyô* ı Zend; for, in the first place, the Vêdic forms in *êbhis*, *êbhih*, are not atives at all, and were never regarded by any one else as such, but re distinct instrumentals (see §. 219.); secondly, even if the Vêdic forms ı *êbhis* were actually datives, still the Zend datives in *aêibyô* could not e derived from them, as the Sanscrit termination *is* in Zend has never ecome *yô*, but has either remained unaltered, or has lengthened its *i*: hus, instead of the Sanscrit instrumental termination भिस् *bhis*, we find 𐬠𐬌𐬯 *bîs*, in Zend, of frequent occurrence. The datives in *aêibyô* may, at leasure, be deduced from the Vêda dialect, or from classical Sanscrit, as n both these the form *êbhyas* is found in the dative and ablative plural of he *a*-bases; and this *êbhyas* is, in Zend, changed into *aêibyô* according) regular rule. That the Zend plural forms in *âoṇhô* are based on a eculiarity of the Vêdic dialect admits of no doubt; and I believe that I ras the first to draw attention to this fact (see §. 229., and cf. Burnouf, Yaçna," Notes, p. 73), and, indeed, at a time when but little was known f Zend forms, so as to admit of being brought together for comparison in ıy Comparative Grammar. In general, I believe I may, in contradic- on to an assertion of Spiegel's (Weber's "Indian Studies," I. p. 303), ıaintain that the greatest part of what is adduced regarding Zend Gram- ıar in this book, and in the Reviews mentioned in the Preface to the 'irst Part (p. xiii), is based on my own observation; and I think I have shewn

to the Greek locative adverbs *αὐτό-φι*, *ἑύρη-φι* (§ .217.), and the Latin datives and adverbs *ti-bi*, *si-bi*, *i-bi*, *u-bi*, *utru-bi*

[G. Ed. p. 1470.] (§. 223.). To the preposition अभि *abhi* the Greek *ἀμφί*, Latin *amb-*, Old High German *umbi* (our *um*) have the same relation, with respect to the inserted nasal, that *ἄμφω*, *ambo*, have to उभौ *ubhâú* (theme *ubha*), "both." Under the Sanscrit preposition *abhí* must also be ranked our *bei*, as prefix, *be*, Old High German *bí*, *bi*, Gothic *bi* (see §. 88., p. 77), with the suppression of the initial vowel, as in Sanscrit, for the above-mentioned (§. 1000.) *ápi*, as preposition *pi* is more commonly used than the full form *ápi*: this *pi*, however, would lead us to expect, in Gothic, rather *fi* than *bi*. In Latin, the *amb-* just mentioned need not deter us from bringing *ob* also under this head, as the division of one and the same form into several is nothing uncommon. For *amb*, we find also *am* (like our *um* for *umbi*) and *an*, *e.g.*, in *am-plector*, *am-icio*, *un-fractus*. In Zend, likewise, the preposition under discussion appears in two forms, viz. in that of 𐬀𐬉𐬨𐬌 *aibi* and 𐬀𐬉𐬨𐬎 *aiwi*. To another preposition connected with the demonstrative base *a*, the Zend ministers this service, that it still uses its form in its original demonstrative signification with a full declension; I mean, the preposition *áva*, "from," "down" (see §. 377.). The prepositional meaning in the European sister-languages is most clearly represented by the Old Prussian inseparable *au*, *e.g.*, in *au-mû-sna-n* (acc.), "ablution" (cf. Russian мою *moyu*, "I wash"); *au-lau-t*, "to die" (see §. 787., p. 1062, Note, and cf. Sanscrit *lû*, "*abscindere, evellere*," Lithuanian *lavonis*, "corpse"). In Old Sclavonic both оу *û* and о seem to be

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shewn that Anquetil's traditional, but, in a grammatical point of view, most faulty, translation of the Zend books might lead to the developement of the grammatical system of the Zend language, even without the aid of the Sanscrit translation of the Yaśna by Neriosengh, which often follows the Zend text word for word.

assignable to this class, the latter, however, not in all compounds (see Dobrowsky, p. 401). The following are examples: оуръзати *û-ryezati*, "*abscindere*;" оумалити *û-maliti*, "*minorare, diminuere*;" оудалити [G. Ed. p. 1471.] *û-daliti*, "*elongare*;" оугасити *û-gasiti*, "*extinguere*;" оубогъ *û-bog'*, "pauper" ("not rich"); омыти *o-myti*, "*abluere*;" оставити *o-staviti*, "*dimittere*;" опровергати *o-provergati*, "*dejicere, abjicere.*"

1002. Besides अव *áva*, अभि *abhí*, too, lays claim to the Sclavonic preposition *o*, which appears in Polish in the forms *obe*, *ob*, and *o*, and, indeed, most frequently in the last (Bandke, §. 210.). The following are examples: *obe-zna-ch*, "to make known" (Sanscrit *abhí-jñâ* like *jñâ*, simply, "to know"); *obe-lz'wa-ch*, "to calumniate" (*lz'y-ch*, id.); *obe-lgną-ch*, "to adhere round;" *ob-cowa-ch*, "to go about, to associate with;" *ob-iazd*, "riding about;" *o-kaza-ch*, "to shew round about;" *o-garnia-ch*, "to embrace" (Sanscrit *gṛih-ṇá-mi*, from *grahṇâmi* for *grabh-nâ-mi*, "I take, I grasp"); *o-grycha-ch*, "to gnaw, to nibble round." To return to the preposition अव *áva*, I do not believe that the Latin *au* of *au-fugio*, *au-fero*, can be compared with it, but I hold to the common derivation of this *au* from *ab**: on the other hand, I believe, with Weber, that I recognise in *aver-nu-s* a sister-word of the Sanscrit *ávara-s*, "*inferus*" (see p. 1466 G. ed.), which springs from *áva*. As regards the addition of the suffix *nu* to the Latin form, I would recall attention to the relation of *infer-nu-s* (with *inferus*) to the Sanscrit *ádhara-s* (see §. 293., p. 379) of equivalent meaning. Should the Sanscrit preposition *áva*, "from," "off," be further retained elsewhere in the European languages, then, in my opinion, the Old High German privative *â* (Grimm,

* The assimilation to *af-fero*, *af-fugio* (like *of-fero* from *ob-fero*), must be avoided, because the form *af* has been claimed already by the preposition *ad* (cf. Pott, E. I., II. 153.).

II., p. 704) would have the next claim to it. As अप *áp*. "from," and the corresponding European forms, are used [G. Ed. p. 1472.] for negative (see §. 983.), so, too, the preposition *ára* would be similarly employed, and, after dropping the semi-vowel, the two short *a* must have been contracted to *á*. But if *á* is, as J. Grimm (l. c. p. 705.) assumes, identical in its origin with *ar*, "out," Gothic *us* (cf. §. 983.) then the Sanscrit *dúis*, of which the original signification was probably tantamount to "out," "herefrom," hence "visible, evident," might perhaps have the next claim to the paternity of this preposition, with which, too, an Irish preposition, viz. *as*, likewise meaning "out," admits of comparison. If दुर्भूत *dúis* be really a preposition, and therefore *dúr-bhúta* signify, with reference to the moon, "arisen," properly, "become forth," and *dúshṛita* signify "disclosed," properly, "made forth," then the Latin and Greek *ex*, ἐξ, may also be compared with it, so that we should have to assume a hardening of the *s* to *k* (see §. 19.).

1003. From the demonstrative base *a* comes, in Sanscrit, the adverb *á-tas*, "thence," expressing separation from a place which might, as justly as *a-dhás*, "under" (§. 997.), be used as a preposition, and to which the signification "from" would be very suitable. This is the meaning in Sclavonic of the preposition отъ *o-t'*, which, as regards form, I hold to be identical with the above-mentioned *átas*, with the observation, that the Sclavonic ъ, almost as commonly as the Latin termination *us*, represents the Sanscrit termination *as*, the *s* of which, according to §. 255. 1., must necessarily be dropped; hence, *e.g.*, новъ *nov'*=Sanscrit *navá-s*, Latin *novu-s*; везомъ *vez-o-m'*=*váh-á-mas*, *veh-i-mus*. I know, however, no termination in which Sclavonic ъ is based on a Sanscrit or Lithuanian *i*, but for that letter stands и *i* or ь (*y*); the former, *e.g.*, in даши *da-shi*, "thou givest"=*dádá-si*; the latter in дамь *da-my*, "I give"=*dádámi*; томь *to-my*

=*tú-smin*. I cannot, therefore, with Miklosich
. 60.), refer the said отъ *o-t'* to [G. Ed. p. 1473.]
it preposition *áti*, "over," discussed above (§. 997.),
see no objection in the meaning, which, in pre-
ıs very changeable.
rom the indeclinable demonstrative base *u*, which
tself as enclitic on other pronouns (see Gloss., a.
), proceed probably the prepositions उप *ú-pa*, "to,
and *ú-t*, "up, upwards, aloft," the former being
y akin to *á-pa*, "from" (see §. 1000.). As in
ró is related to *á-pa*, just so is *ὑ-πό* to *ú-pa*; only
ough breathing may cause a difficulty, and the
the Latin *su-b* exhibits for it *s*. If, however,
lered that with the Sanscrit *upá-ri*, "over," Gothic
, the Greek contrasts *ὑπέ-ρ*, and the Latin *supe-r*,
e readily inclined to regard the rough breathing
ınd the *s* in Latin, in the preposition referred to,
a phonetic prefix. To this class belongs in
; "under," to which the Old High German *o-ba*,
ur *ob* in *obliegen*, "to be incumbent," *Obdach*,
Obhut, "protection," adv. *oben*, "above," corre-
th an opposite signification (see Grimm, III. 253.).
onic, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian have lost the
wel, as in Sanscrit *pi* occurs together with *ápi*,
hence, in Old Sclavonic, *pa*, more frequently *po*,
(Dobrowsky, p. 404), *e.g.*, in ПАМѧТЬ *pa-mańty*,
;" ПОМНѢТИ *po-mnye-ti*, "*meminisse*;" ПОМАЗАТИ
,"*inungere*;" ПОЛАГАТИ *po-lagati*,"*ponere*;" ПОДАТИ
præbere;" ПОСТЛАТИ *po-stlati*, "*sternere*." From
would appear, proceeded ПОДЪ *po-d'*, "under," and
ıдъ *na-d'*, "over," from *na*, ПрЕДЪ *pre-d'*, "before"
'*præire*," ПрЕДЪВИДѢТИ *pred'-vidyeti*, "*prævidere*"),
pre, though the latter generally signifies "*trans*."
к *d'* may perhaps be identical with the Zend *dha*
e pronominal adverbs (see §. 420.).

[G. Ed. p. 1474.] 1005. In Lithuanian, *po*, as a separable preposition, signifies, among other things, "under," *e.g.*, *po dangumi*, "under the heaven:" where, however, it means "after," *e.g.*, *po pẽtù*, "after noon," it springs, probably, from a different source, and is akin to the Sanscrit adverb *paśchát*, an ablative form of *paścha* *, which occurs in no other case, with the primary element of which the Latin *pos-t*, too, is to be compared, but in such wise, that the suffix *t* (from *ti*, cf. *pos-ticus*), has nothing to do with the Sanscrit *cha* (from *ka*), though, amongst other words, the Lithuanian *kuy*, may be connected with it, in *pas-kuy* (=*paskuy*), "hereafter," which is perhaps a dative (like *wilkui lupo*, §. 177.), from the base *paska*. In Old Prussian, *pans-dan*, with a nasal inserted, means "hereafter," as in the dative termination plural *mans* = Sanscrit *bhyas*, Lithuanian *mus* (§. 215.). With respect to the suffix *dan*, *pans-dan* answers to *pirs-dan*, "before," in the primary element of which the Sanscrit *purás* (from *parás*), "before," is easily recognised, of which hereafter. Without suffix, *pas* signifies, in Lithuanian, "near," with the accusative. The inseparable Lithuanian *pa* may partly be based on the Sanscrit preposition *ápa*, "from," *e.g.*, in *pa-bẽgu*, "I run away;" *pa-gaunu*, "I purloin, I take away;" partly on *úpa*, "to, towards," *e.g.*, in *pa-darau*, "I prepare" (*darau*, "I make"); *pa-giru*, "I praise" (Old Prussian, *gir-turei*, "to praise," *po-gir-sna-n*, "praise," accusative); *pa-źintis*, "acquaintance."

1006. Regarding the prepositions which have probably sprung from the base अन *aná*, "this," see §. 373. I formerly imagined† a relationship between the Latin and

* From *pas* (cf. Persian *pes*, "hereafter") and *cha*; as, *uchcha*, "high," from *ut*, "upwards;" *ni-cha*, "low," from *ni*.

† See "On the Demonstrative, and the origin of the Case-sign" in the Transactions of the Historic-Philological Class of the Royal Academy of Literature for 1826.

German preposition *in*, Greek *ἐν*, and the [G. Ed. p. 1475.] demonstrative base *i*; but the *i* of *in*, and the Greek *e* of *ἐν*, may easily be regarded as a weakening of *a*, as in *inter* = Sanscrit *antár;* and the Gothic adverb *inna-thrô*, "from within" (see §. 294. Rem. 1. p. 384.), is much easier explained as coming from the base *aná*, by doubling the liquid (cf. §. 879.), than from the base *i*. By weakening the final *a* of the Sanscrit base *aná* to *u*, we get the preposition अनु *ánu*, "after," which has the same relation to *aná* that the interrogative base *ku* (§. 386.) has to the extensively used *ka*. The Sclavonic *na* and *na-d'*, "over" (cf. Greek *ἀνά* *, Old Prussian *na*, *no*, "up," Lithuanian *nů*, *nûg*, "from,†" appear, like *po*, *pod'*, *pa*, to have lost an initial vowel. The last part of the compound pronominal base *aná*, viz. *na* (see §. 369.), with the weakening of *a* to *i* becomes a preposition, with the signification "down," and is, too, the source whence our *nie-der*, Old High German *ni-dar* (see §. 294. p. 382.), has proceeded. There can, too, be scarce any doubt that the Sanscrit preposition नि *ni* lies at the root of the Sclavonic adverb низъ *ni-ζ*, "under;" зъ *ζ'*, consequently would be an appended suffix, as perhaps, also, in и-зъ *i-ζ*, "out," for which, in Lithuanian, *isz* (= *ish*), in Old Prussian *is*, id. Perhaps the preposition signifying "out," has lost an initial *n*, as имя *imaṅ* = Sanscrit *nâman*, so that the said prepositions, at least with regard to their base, rank themselves under the Sanscrit *ni-s*, "out," which is evidently formed from *ni* by appending *s*, as *s* is frequently added to prepositions, and, indeed, without altering their meaning. But though, in Sanscrit, *nis* has assumed a meaning different from that of *ni*, still, in Zend, it has retained that of *ni*, "down," [G. Ed. p. 1476.]

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* With regard to the *dh*, see §. 1003. conclusion.

† I hold the *g* for an enclitic (cf. §. 994. conclusion): *ů* (*uo*) frequently represents a long *û*; *e.g.*, in *dům̃i*, "I give" = *dádâmi*.

also, since in this language *nis-had* or *nis-hidh*, *nis-hadh* represents the Sanscrit *ni-ṣhad* (euphonic for *ni-sad*), in the special tenses *ni-ṣhîd*, *e.g.*, V.S. p. 440: *yaṭ ahmi, nmânê* .... *nâirika* .... *nis-hadâṭ*, "when in this place a woman sits down." If, at the time when the Lettish-Sclavonic languages separated from the Sanscrit, the locative suffix ह *ha* in Sanscrit (from ध *dha*, see §. 420.), already existed in this abbreviated form, and, indeed, simultaneously with the more perfect ध *dha*, then the suffix зъ *ζ'* of the Sclavonic forms низъ *ni-ζ'*, изъ *i-ζ'*, might be derived from the suffix *ha* (cf. азъ *aζ'*, "I," Lithuanian *asz*, with the Sanscrit *ahám*), and, as has already been remarked, in the дъ *d'* of forms like подъ *pod'*, the elder form of the Sanscrit suffix, preserved in Zend, might be recognised, in spite of its corrupted form.

1007. From the above-mentioned (§. 1004.) *úpa* has been formed, as it appears, with the suffix *ri*, the Sanscrit *upá-ri*, and under it is to be classed the Gothic *ufa-r* of equivalent meaning, Old High German *uba-r*, *oba-r*, our *übe-r*, English *ove-r*, Greek *ὑπέ-ρ*, Latin *super*. To the Gothic *ufa-r* correspond as regards their suffix, several locative pronominal adverbs; *e.g.*, *hva-r*, "whither?" *tha-r*, "there;" *yaina-r*, "yonder;" *alya-r*, "elsewhere;" *hê-r*, "here." Should, too, the Gothic *iup*, "on," Old High German *ûf*, our *auf*, come from the Sanscrit preposition *úpa*, so that the old tenuis would have remained in Gothic, as that of *svap*, "to sleep," has been preserved in the Gothic *slêpa*, we should then have to assume that the vowel *u* has, by the weaker Guna, become *iu* (see §. 27.), and the Guna been replaced in Old High German by lengthening the vowel. But from an older *û* in New High German must come *au* (see §. 76.). It is impossible to compare in any other way the said German preposition with the Sanscrit. The Greek presents for comparison *ὑπ-σι*, in the suffix of which we easily recognise the corruption [G. Ed. p. 1477.] of *ti*, which appears in Sanscrit in the

prepositions *á-ti*, "over," *prá-ti*, "towards," "against," (Greek *προ-τί*, *πρό-ς*), and the pronominal adverb *i-ti*, "thus." Observe, also, that the Sanscrit abstract suffix *ti* occurs in Greek, after labials, only in the form of *σι*; hence, *e.g.*, *τέρπ-σι-ς*, compared with the Sanscrit *tṛ́p-ti-s* (from *tarp-ti-s*), "contenting, satisfying."

1008. The Sanscrit preposition *út*, "up, upwards," might, according to its form, be taken as the nominative and accusative neuter of the base *u*, in analogy with *tá-t*, *yá-t*, *anyá-t*, &c. (see §§. 155., 156.). In Greek *ὕσ-τερος*, *ὕσ-τατος*, admit of being compared with this *ut* (see §. 102, conclusion), whence, likewise, are formed degrees of comparison: viz. *út-tara-s*, "the higher," as prototype of *ὕσ-τερο-ς*; and *ut-tamá-s*, "the highest," with which may be compared, in Latin, *in-timus*, *ex-timus*, *ul-timus*, and *op-timus*, as of cognate formation (see §. 291. conclusion). *Optimus*, likewise, probably contains an obscured preposition, and, indeed, a sister-form of the Sanscrit *ápi*, "on, over" (Greek *ἐπὶ*, §. 1000.), to which, as regards its vowel and the suppressed *i*, it would bear the same relation as *ob* to अभि *abhí* (§. 1001.). Consequently *op-timus* would properly signify "the highest." In Gothic, *ût*, "out," Old High German *ûz*, our *aus*, English *out*, might be referred to the Sanscrit preposition *ut*, so that the long vowel would be just as inorganic or ungrounded as the Guna of the above-mentioned *iup*, "on" (see §. 1007.). If we compare *ût* with *ûta*, "without," "abroad," we perceive a sort of declension of a base *ûta*, whence *ût* would be the nominative and accusative (as, *e.g.*, *vaurd*, "word"), *ûta* the dative (as *vaurda*), and *ûta-na* the masculine accusative, according to the pronominal declension, like *tha-na*, "the," *hi-na*, "this." On the latter is based our adverb of place, *hin*, "towards." Moreover, from the base *ûta* has arisen a secondary base *ûta-thra*, whence comes [G. Ed. p. 1478.] the ablative *ûta-thrô*, "from without," analogous to *inna-thrô*, "from within," and some similar formations (see §. 294.

Rem. 1. p. 384). With respect to the retention of the old tenu in the Gothic forms *ût*, *ûta*, &c., in so far as they are reall connected with the Sanscrit preposition *ut*, I recall attentio to the relation of the Gothic *slêpa* to the Sanscrit *svápi* (§. 89.), as also of the pronominal neuters like *tha-ta*, "thi the," to Sanscrit like *ta-t* (§. 155.). In Zend, the *t* of th preposition under discussion has been changed into *s* or, especially before sonant consonants, into *z*; hence *e.g.*, *us-i-hista*, "stand up, arise" (see §. 757. *us-a-zayaṇha*, "thou wast born" (l. c. *uz-dâta*, "held on high;" *uz-vaza* "he bears on high."

1009. From the preposition *ápa*, "from," comes, in San scrit, most probably *ápara-s*, "the other" (see §. 375.), the same way as *áva-ra-s*, "the lower," from *áva* (see §. 99 and in Zend, *upa-ra**, "superior," "*altus*" (cf. Old Hig German *oba-ro(n)*, "the higher"), from *upa*. Observ with respect to the signification, the derivation of th Gothic *frama-theis* (theme *frama-thya*) "*alienus*," from *fra* "from." From *ápara-s*, came, by Aphæresis, the mo current form *pára-s*, which, like *ápara-s*, *anyá-s*, and, Latin, *alius*, *alter*, has been assigned by the language itse through its declension, to the pronouns: moreover, point of fact, the idea of "other" is not far removed fro that of the remote demonstrative. The preposition which, in my opinion, come from *pára*, are *prá*, *práti*, *pár purás*, *pári*. *Prá* (insep.), formed by a very ancie syncope from *para*, means "before, in front, forward [G. Ed. p. 1479.] forth." To it corresponds, in Zend, *fr* or *frâ*†, in Greek *πρό*, in Latin *prô*, in Lithuanian *p*

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* *E.g.*, in the possessive compound *upurô-kairyô*, "having a hi body," see Burnouf, "Études," p. 182.

† See §. 47. If we take *frâ* as the ancient form, we may recognise it an instrumental, as in the Sanscrit *pra* (cf. p. 1297 G. ed.). I r ca

insep.), "before," *e.g.*, in *pra-dûmi*, "I give provender beforehand;" *pra-dêmí*, "I commence;" *pra-neszu*, "I represent;" *pra-rakas*, "prophet" ("foretelling"); *pra-stoyu*, "I quit"*; *pra-szok-ti*, "to dance away;" *pra-girti*, "to drink away," *i.e.* "by dancing, by drinking to squander one's money:" in Sclavonic пр҃а- *pra-*, пр҃о-; *e.g.*, in пр҃адѣдъ *pra-dyed'*, "*proavus*;" пр҃авноукъ *pra-vnûk'*, "*pronepos*;" пр҃амати *pra-mati*, "first mother;" пр҃овидѣти *pro-vidyeti*, *providere*;" пр҃опоповѣдати *pro-po-vyedati*, "*prædicare*;" пр҃олити *pro-liti*, "*profundere*;" пр҃оводити *pro-voditi*, "*deducere*:" in Gothic, perhaps, *fra-* (cf. §. 1011.), our *ver-* (Old High German *fra*, transposed *far*, *for*, *fir*, *fër*); *e.g.*, in *fra-lêtan*, "to leave free, to release (to let go)," &c.; *fra-kunnan*, "to despise" (*kunnan*, "to know"); *fra-qviman*, "to expend, to lay out" (properly, "to make proceed," *viman*, "to come"); *fra-bugyan*, "to sell" (*bugyan*, "to buy"); *fra-qvithan*, "to curse, to execrate" (*quithan*, "to say"); *fra-vaurkyan*, "to sin" (*vaurkyan*, "to do, to make"). A weakening of *fra* is *fri*, in *fri-saihts*, "picture, example" *saikan*, "to admonish, to interdict," *in-sakan*, "to indicate," "to describe"). Perhaps, too, the Lithuanian and Sclavonic *pri* is a weakening of *pra*.

1010. From *pra* may be derived the preposition *práti*, "towards," unless this, as I prefer assuming, just like *pra*, as come direct from *pára*, and is therefore an abbreviated form of *para-ti*, which made its appearance so early as in the time of the unity of language. Thus [G. Ed. p. 1480.] much appears certain, that the suffix of *prá-ti* is identical with that of *i-ti*, "thus," and *á-ti*, "on." In Greek, *προτί*, (Cret. *ποροτί*), *πρός* (see §. 152. p. 167.), *ποτί*, corresponds.

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all attention to the fact, that in Sanscrit, too, evident instrumentals occur as prepositions; *e.g.*, *parêṇa*, "over," from *para*.

* *Stowyu*, "I stand." In Sanscrit, *sthâ*, "to stand," receives through *prá* (*prá-sthâ*) the signification "to proceed."

The latter answers, with respect to the loss of the semivowel, to the Zend 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 *paiti*, which, when isolated, signifies not only "towards," but also "on," "over;" *e.g.*, *barĕshnushu paiti gairinaṅm*, "on the summits of the mountain;" in combination with *vach*, "to speak," it signifies "towards," and the whole means "to answer" (see §. 536. Rem.). In Lettish correspond *pretti*, *prett'*, "towards, against," with the accusative, sometimes also with the genitive; in Slowenian, *proti*, "towards," with the dative; in Lithuanian, *priĕsz*, id., with the accusative. In Latin, *por-*, *pol-*, *pos-*, in forms like *por-rigo*, *pol-liceor*, *pos-sideo*, have arisen most probably, by assimilation, from *pot* (=ποτί) or *pod*, and perhaps *præ* has come from *prai*, for *prati* (cf. Pott, I. 92, Ag. Benary "Doctrine of Roman sounds," p. 185.).

1011. *Párâ* (insep.) is little used in Sanscrit, and signifies "back, away, forth;" *e.g.*, *párâ-vṛit*, "to return back" (*vṛit*, *vart*, "to go"); *párâ-han*, "to strike back, to drive forth;" *pálây* (for *párây*), "to draw back, to flee" (*ay* "to go"); *parâñch* (*parâ-añch*), in the weak cases *parâch*, adjective "turned back" (*añch*, "to go"); *párâ-kṛiṣh*, "to draw forth;" *párâ-pat*, "to fly away;" *párâ-bhû*, "to go to ruin" (*bhû*, "to be, to become"). In Lithuanian the corresponding word is *par*, 1. "back," 2. "down" (insep.); *e.g.*, in *par-eimi*, "I come back;" *par-wadinu*, "I call back;" *par-půlu*, "I fall down;" *par-si-klaupyu*, "I kneel down;" *par-dauźiu*, "I plunge down." In Zend the preposition *para* by itself has the meaning "before," in reference to time, and with the ablative*, and παρά corresponds [G. Ed. p. 1481.] in Greek. In Sclavonic the inseparable preposition *pre*, which generally means "through" or "over, across," might be referred to this class, provided

* See "Crit. Gram. linguæ Sanscr.," p. 253. According to form, the Sanscrit *párâ* seems to be an instrumental as well as the Zend *para*.

it does not belong to पार *pârá*, "the further shore" (cf. Greek *πέρᾱν*), or to प्र *pra*, or has been derived from different sources according to the difference of its meanings. I annex some examples from the Slowenian, according to Ant. Janczich (Lexicon, p. 317.): *pre-bdeti*, "to watch through;" *pre-bechi*, "to outrun;" *pre-bernuti*, "to throw round;" *pre-bèrsnuti*, "to cast beyond;" *pre-biti*, "to beat to pieces;" *pre-bosti*, "to stick through, to pierce through;" *pre-bresti*, "to wade through;" *pre-budili*, "to rouse up" (Sanscrit *pra-budh*, id.); *pre-bulati*, "to overfill;" *pre-hod*, "passing over, passage;" *pre-pád*, "abyss;" *pre-púditi*, "to be ruined;" *pre-pis*, "transcript;" *pre-pláviti*, "to overflow;" *pre-poditi*, "to expel, to drive away" (cf. Dobrowsky, p. 417). In Russian this inseparable preposition becomes пере *pere;* hence, *e.g.*, перебіраться чрезъ рѣку *pere-biraty-sya chrez' ryeku*, "to go over a river;" перебітый *pere-bityĭ*, "mingled with one another, mixed;" перебрасываю *pere-brasyvayu*, "I cast over;" перебѣгъ *pere-byeg'*, "the outrunning;" переваλъ *pere-val'*, "the ferrying over from one shore to another;" переворачиваю *pere-vorachivayu*, "I turn round;" перегладываю *pere-gladyvayu*, "I see through, I examine." The Lettish has lost the final vowel of this preposition, and, on the other hand, retained the old *a*-sound of the first syllable unweakened, indeed lengthened, and uses *pâr* (*pahr*) both separate and in compounds; *e.g.*, *sakkis pâr zellu tekk*, "the hare runs across over the way" (see "Rosenberger's Doctrine of Forms," p. 170); *pâr-kâpt*, "to overlook;" *pâr-lûkôt*, "overseeing;" *pâr-dôt*, "to sell" ("to give over"); *pâr-eet*, "to return home, to return back." In the meaning "back" this *pâr* (according to Lettish ortho- [G. Ed. p. 1482.] graphy, *pahr*) agrees with the Lithuanian *par*, and Sanscrit *párâ;* on the other hand the Lithuanian also has a preposition *pér*, used only separated, which signifies "through, over, across," *e.g.*, *pér tiltaĩ wažóti*, "to drive

over the bridge;" *pér naktiń*, "through the night;" *pér buttań*, "through the house" (see Nesselmann Lexicon, p. 285). That the *e* of this *pér*, and the Russian *e* of *pere*, are corruptions of *a*, and that therefore *pér*, *pere*, and the Lettish *pâr*, "over, across," are originally one, is self evident: it is, however, impossible to decide with certainty whether the Sanscrit *párâ*, "back, forth, away," is the sole source of the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Sclavonic preposition under discussion, or whether, in accordance with its signification, in spite of the similarity of form, it is based at one time on परा *párâ*, at another with the Greek πέρᾱν, πέρην, on पार *pârá*, "the further shore," which probably proceeds from *pára-s*, "*alius*." In Sanscrit the neuter accusative, too, of *pára*, "*alius, remotior, ulterior*," viz. *páram*, is used as a preposition, with the meaning, "on that side, behind," with reference to time, "after." There is also, in Sanscrit, a preposition *parás*, "over, across yonder, on that side," whence the adverb *paras-tât;* all of them bases of prepositions in the European sister-languages, of similar sound and similar signification. The Latin *per* must likewise be brought under this class, and must be compared especially with the Lithuanian *pér*. We have already noticed *peren-*, in *perendie*, as sister-form of *pára*, "*alius*" (see §. 375., p. 527). The Latin *re-*, before vowels *red-*, like *prod-*, euphonic for *pro-*, together with the Ossetish *ra-*, admits of being regarded as an abbreviation of परा *párâ* (cf. Pott, II. p. 156); for the surrender of the first syllable of a dissyllabic preposition is something so common, that two languages may well accidentally coin-

[G. Ed. p. 1483.] cide in that point in one and the same word. In Ossetish, *e.g.*, we have *ra-jurin*, "to answer."*

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* *Jurin* (infin. see p. 1269 G. ed.), "to speak;" cf. Sanscrit *gir* from *gar*, "voice;" and see G. Rosen's Ossetish Grammar, p. 39. In some other compounds occurring l. c., *ra*, or, transposed, *ar*, expresses, so far as the

1012. In Gothic the inseparable *fair*, as far as its form is concerned, might as well belong to *púri*, "around," with which I have before (p. 68) compared it, as to *párâ*. In any case the *i* of *fair* is a weakening of *a*, and the preceding *a* a euphonic prefix according to §. 82. With regard to its signification or operation, however, *fair*, to which our *ver-* corresponds, answers, in the cases in which it is not based on *fra* (see p. 1479 G. ed.), better to *párâ* (with which I have also compared it in my Glossary, a. 1847, p. 210), than to *púri*. Perhaps *fair*, *faur*, *faura* and *fra* are originally one, and have all proceeded from *párâ*; at least परा *párâ*, "back, forth, away," answers just as well for the compounds cited at p. 1479 (G. ed.), and for all our combinations with *ver*, and, in some respects, better than प्र *prá*. Thus, *e.g.*, the place of our *ver* in *verkommen*, "to perish," *verfallen*, "to go to ruin," *verleiten*, "to mislead," *verführen*, "to seduce," *verirren*, "to lead astray," *vergeben*, "to give away, to resign," *verschenken*, "to bestow," *verscheuchen*, "to scare away," *verbreiten*, "to divulge," *verjagen*, "to chase away," *verachten*, "to despise," *verthun*, "to squander," may very well be represented in Sanscrit by *párâ*, exclusive of the circumstance that this preposition, as has already been remarked, has become of but very rare employment. In the idea of separation, removal, the Sanscrit *párâ* and our *ver* coincide, and [G. Ed. p. 1484.] that which corresponds to the latter in the older dialects (see Grimm, II. 853.).

1013. The meaning of the Zend *para*, "before," is re-

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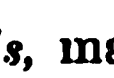
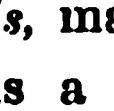
the latter is not to be taken as =(*p*)*ar*(*â*), "appropinquation," viz. in *ra-tzawin*, *ar-tzawin*, "to arrive," in opposition to *a-tzawin*, "to depart," the *a* of which can only be a remnant of a more full Sanscrit preposition, probably from *ápa* (cf. Latin *ab*, *a*); *ar-chasin*, "to bring to," opposed to *a-chasin*, "to carry forth." From Sjegrön's Lexicon I cite in addition, *ra-vadun*, "to leave off;" *ra-dtun*, "to give up, to deliver;" *ra-ζdaechun*, "to step aside, to retire."

presented in Gothic by *faura, faur*, the *u* of which I regard as the weakening of *a*, like that of the Sanscrit *purús*, "before." To the *u*, however, must, in Gothic, according to §. 82., an *a* be further prefixed; as, *e.g.*, in *baurans* for *burans*, "borne," from the root *bar* = Sanscrit *bhar, bhṛi*, "to bear." On the Gothic *faura, faur*, which signifies not only "before," but also "for," are based our *vor* and *für*. In the Old High German *fora, foro, for, furi, fori, fore*, &c., the meanings "before" and "for" are not firmly distinguished by the form (see Graff, III. 612.). The *i* of *furi* I take to be the weakening of the *a* of *fora*. As in Latin gutturals very often stand for labials, *e.g.*, in *quinque* for *pinque* (§. 313.), *coquo* for *poquo* (Sanscrit *pach*, from *pak*, "to cook"), so, perhaps, the *c* of *cŏram* might be taken as the representative of *p*, and the whole word be referred to the class of words which, in Sanscrit, Zend, and the German languages, signify "before." The Latin *ŏ*, like the Greek *ω*, stands very commonly for an original *a*, as, *e.g.*, in *datŏrem* = *dâtâram, sŏpio* = *svâpáyâmi*; wherefore for *cŏram* we should have to expect in Sanscrit *pâram* (cf. Greek *πέρᾱν πέρην*), which occurs, not indeed as preposition, but as accusative of the above-mentioned (p. 1482 G. ed.) substantive *pârá*, "further shore," as in general the lengthening of an *a* in the derivative forms is, in Sanscrit, of very common occurrence.

1014. The Sanscrit *pári*, "around," Zend  *pairi*,  *pairis*, may be taken either as an abbreviation of *apari*, and as a derivative from *ápa*, to which it would have the relation that *upá-ri* has to *úpa* (see §. 1004.); or we may presuppose, which appears to me less satisfactory, a base *par*, and look upon *pári* as its locative: so much [G. Ed. p. 1485.] seems certain, that *pári* is etymologically connected with other prepositions beginning with a labial. In Greek, *περί* corresponds, and in Latin, most probably, the *pari* (see §. 912.) which stands quite isolated in *pari-es*,

nd which surpasses *περί* in retaining the original vowel. n the same way, in Latin, another Sanscrit preposition is reserved in an obsolete compound, viz. the preposition *vi*, which expresses separation, and on which our *wi-der*, Old High German *ui-dar*, is based (see §. 294. p. 382.). This reposition occurs, viz. in the Latin *vi-dua*, which makes self etymologically known through the Sanscrit sister-word *vi-dhavâ*, "widow," as "the woman robbed of her husband, the husbandless," for *dhava-s* means, in Sanscrit, man, husband;" a rare word, which, however, in the term or "widow," has been widely diffused in the Indo-European department of languages. The Gothic form is *i-duvô** (theme *-ôn*), the Sclavonic ВДОВА *v-dova*. As regards the origin of the preposition *vi*, it may have sprung, by a weakening of the vowel, from the base *va*, which is preserved in the compound *á-va* (see §. 377.), as *ni*, "down," s most probably connected with the final portion of *aná* see p. 1475 G. ed.); or it may also come from the demonstrative base *u*, whence, in Zend, the adverb *uiti*, "so" for *u-ti*, according to §. 41.), analogously to *i-ti* (§. 425.) of equivalent signification.

1015. There remains further for discussion, among the conjectural derivatives of the Sanscrit *pára*, the Gothic preposition *fram*, "von," which is *fram*, likewise, in Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, and Old High German, and in English "from." I look upon *fra-m* as an abbreviation of *fra-ma*, whence the above-mentioned (§. 1009.) base *fra-mathya*, "*fremd*, foreign, *ἀλλότριος*." In connection with *fram* stands also the comparative adverb [G. Ed. p. 1486.] *framis*, "further, *ulterius*" (see §. 301., Remark). This might be rendered into Sanscrit by the above-mentioned (see p. 1482 G. ed.) *páram*; but nevertheless the Gothic *m* of *fram*, *framis*, has nothing to do with the accusative sign

* Occurring once as *vidôvô* (Luke vii. 12).

of *páram*, but is connected with the derivative suffix of *paramá-s*, which springs from *pára*, "*alius, remotus*," and which, according to its derivation, might just as well signify "*remotissimus*," as "*eximius, altissimus, summus*." With this *paramá-s*, has been elsewhere compared also the Gothic *fru-ma* (theme *fruman*), "*prior, primus*," the Lithuanian *pir-ma-s*, "*primus*," and the Latin "*primus*,"* The comparative adverb *framis* has the same relation to the positive base *frama*, that, *e.g.*, *hauhis*, "higher," has to *hauha*; and the preposition *fram*, just like *faur*, has the form of a nominative and accusative neuter, but must of course be taken as an adverbial accusative.

1016. The prepositions which spring from the demonstrative base *sa* (see §. 345.) signify, all of them, in Sanscrit, "with." They are *sahá, sam, sa, sâkam, samám*, and *sârdhám*. The former corresponds in its suffix, to *i-há*, "here" (from *i-dhá*, §. 420.), and occurs in the Vêdas also in the form of *sadhá*. The Zend in this preposition furnishes us with a powerful corroboration of the origin of prepositions from pronominal roots, since it uses 𐬵𐬀𐬜𐬀 *hadhá*, which corresponds to the Vêdic *sadhá* not at all as a preposition, but as a pronominal adverb with the signification "here:" on the other hand, it employs another form, *hathra* (see §. 420.), which is formed from the base *ha* by a locative adverbial suffix, both as a preposition with the meaning "with," and as an adverb with the primitive signification "here, there." *Sam* and *sa* appear, in Sanscrit, only

[G. Ed. p. 1487.] as prefixes,† but in Zend the feminine accusative form 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬨 *haṅm* occurs also as an isolated preposition governing the genitive.‡ On the Sanscrit *sam*

* See Gloss. Sanscr., a. 1847, p. 209.

† See §. 964., and p. 1441 G. ed.

‡ So in a passage of the Vend. Sad., p. 230, elsewhere cited ("Ann. Reg. of Lit. Crit.," Dec. 1831, p. 817): 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬨 𐬥𐬁𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬨𐬨 *haṅm náirinaṅm*, "with women."

are based the Greek σύν, the Old Prussian *sen*, the Lithuanian *san* in *san-dora*, "contract" (or *saṅ-dora*), *saṅ* in compounds like *saṅ-tẽwonis*, "co-heir," *saṅ-darbininka-s*, "co-labourer," *su* (separate with the instrumental), the Old Sclavonic съ *s'*, the Old High German *sin* in *sinflôt*, "*diluvium*." To *sa-* corresponds the Greek ἀ-, σα-, of the compounds discussed above (p. 1441 G. ed.). With *sâkám*, of which I know examples only in the Vêda dialect (see Benfey's Glossary), the Latin *cum* may be compared, supposing the first syllable to be suppressed. And, further, the Gothic *ga-*, "with" (see p. 1441 G. ed., sub. f.), admits of being similarly compared with *sâkám*. The derivation from स *sa* is on that account doubtful, because one does not meet with other examples in which an original sibilant has been hardened in German to a guttural. It would be better to trace back the Latin *cum*, through the medium of the Greek ξύν, to *sam*. As regards the violation of the law for the mutation of consonants in the Gothic *ga-*, if we derive it from *sâkám*, I would recall attention to similar phenomena which have been mentioned before.* The Sanscrit *sâr-dhám*, or *sârd-dhám*, "with," I hold to be an adverbial compound, formed, according to §. 990., from *sa*, "with," and *ardha*, *arddha*, "half," so that the meaning of the substantive has been entirely lost in the whole compound. From the pronominal base, or which comes to the same thing, from the preposition *sa*, I derive, too, the Vêdic adverb *sáchâ*, "*simul*," which I regard as the instrumental of a to-be-pre- [G. Ed. p. 1488.] supposed adjective base, सच *sá-cha*, and as analogous, with respect to its formative suffix, to *nî-cha*, "low," from *ni*, and *uch-cha*, "high," from *ut*. In Old Persian, *hachâ* is used as a preposition with the meaning "out, from, without," with the ablative, just as, in Zend, [illegible] *hacha*, which,

* See §§. 91., 823., 943., 951., conclusion.

with the ablative or instrumental, signifies "out," "from," and with the accusative "for."*

1017. In Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬙 *maṭ* means "with," and governs the instrumental, and standing by itself, too, expresses the relation "with." According to its formation, it appears to be the accusative (and nominative) neuter of the demonstrative base *ma*, which, in combination with the base *i* (*i-ma*), produces the neuter *i-maṭ*, "this" (see §. 368.). Thus, therefore, *maṭ* would be, in its primary meaning, identical with सम् *sa-m*, समम् *sa-má-m*, &c. With its theme that of the Greek με of με-τά admits of being compared, which, in its formative suffix, coincides with that of κα-τά, the base of which is identical with that of the Sanscrit interrogative base *ka*. The interrogative signification might easily pass into the demonstrative, and thus κα be adapted to the developement of prepositions, as, too, our *hinter*, Old High German *hin-tar*, conducts us back to the Sanscrit interrogative; since the Gothic demonstrative base *hi* (see §. 396. and §. 293. Rem.), acc. masc. *hi-na*, is based on the Sanscrit *ki*, with which we have also to compare the Latin *hi-c* (see §. 394.). With the Zend

[G. Ed. p. 1489.] *ma-ṭ*, our *mi-t*, Gothic *mi-th*, with the prepositions beginning with *v*, *u*, in other German dialects, have already been compared (see §. 294. p. 383, Note).

1018. The sole verbal root, which, so early as the time of the unity of our family of languages, at least at the

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* For examples with the ablative, see §. 180. p. 198, and §. 756., p. 1013; for examples with the accusative, see Brockhaus Glossar., p. 403. In the passages in which Benfey ("Glossary to the Cuneiform Inscriptions") makes the Old Persian *hachâ* govern the instrumental, I can only acknowledge the ablative, as the ablative of bases in *a*, on account of the regular suppression of the final *t*, is equivalent in sound to the instrumental. Regarding the form *aniyanâ*, "*hoste*," see Monthly Report of the Academy of Literature, March 1848, p. 133.

period when the Sanscrit and Zend were still one, produced prepositions, may, perhaps, be the root तर *tar*, तॄ *tṝ*, whence we have above (p. 375) derived the comparative suffix *tara*. This root already combines in itself the signification of a preposition with that of a verb, for it expresses motion with the secondary idea of "across," "through:" *tár-a-ti* means "he transports," *e.g.*, *nadím*, "over a river." From the root *tar* springs the preposition *tirás*, which is of such frequent occurrence in the Vêdas, governing the accusative, and signifying "across, through, *trans*."* The *i* is evidently a weakening of *a*, and the whole word originally an adverbial accusative neuter of an adjective belonging to the class of words described in §. 933. C. The Zend 𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎 *tarô* (*e. g.*, *tarô haraṅm*, "over the mountain") of equivalent meaning has retained the old *a*.† In the Irish dialect of the Celtic correspond *tar*, *tair*, "beyond, over, through," &c.; and *tri*, "through, by," &c. Moreover, the Latin *trans* and Gothic *thair-h*, our "*durch*," are to be classed under this head, but are independent formations from the same root; and, indeed, *trans* for *terans* (cf. *terminus*, §. 478. sub. f.) is, according to its form, a participle present, and the Gothic *thair-h* corresponds in its formation to the classes of words discussed in §. 951. passim. Further, *thair-kô* (neuter theme *thair-kan*, "hole," "ear," might be referred to the root [G. Ed. p. 1490.] under discussion, which lies beyond the lingual consciousness of the German, so that it would properly signify "passage," πόρος, δίοδος.

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* See Fr. Rosen on the Rigv., I. 19. 7., and Benfey's Gloss. to the S. V.

† See Burnouf, "Yaçna," p. 83, where, however, as it appears to me wrongly, the termination *as* of this and some other prepositions is represented as an ablative ending. We should then have to suppose for *tarô*, *tiras*, a base *tar*, *tir*.

SUPPLEMENT.

SINCE I wrote that part of my work which treats of the Formation of the Tenses, Shaffarik and Miklosich have brought to light some Old Sclavonic forms which were before unknown, and which are too important for me to conclude this work on the Comparison of Languages without a supplementary notice of them. They are as follows:—

1) Preterites which deviate from the ordinary formation, in that, instead of the *ch* of the 1st person singular and plural, which has been shewn (§. 255. *m.*) to come from *s*, they have retained the original sibilant, and thus afford a practical demonstration that the said tense is, without a doubt, essentially identical with those Sanscrit and Greek aorist forms which append the substantive verb to the principal root.* The 3d person plural exhibits the organic *s* for *sh*. To this class must be referred, *e.g.*, ꙗѣ*ъ ya-s'*, "I ate," 1st person plural probably ꙗѣомъ *ya-som'*, 3d person ꙗѣа *ya-saṅ*, from the root *yad* = Sanscrit *ad*, the *d* of which must be suppressed before the *s* of the auxiliary verb, according to the same principle from which, in the 2d person singular, we find ꙗѣи *ya-si* for the Sanscrit *at-si*. Compare, also, Greek aorists and futures like ἔψευ(δ)-σα, ψεύ(δ)-σω, contrasted with Sanscrit like *átâut-sam*, *tút-syá-mi*, from *tud*, "to knock." The Sclavonic, as a general rule, does not admit of the combination of a mute with *s*, or the junction of two sibilants; hence, *e.g.*, погрѣѣа *po-gre-saṅ*, "they buried" (root *greb*); ѣътрашъ *s'-traṅ-s'*, "I terrified" (root *traṅs*).

[G. Ed. p. 1491.] 2) Preterites which correspond to the Sanscrit aorists of the sixth formations, and to Greek aorists like ἔλιπ-ο-ν, ἔφυγ-ο-ν, ἔτυπ-ο-ν (see §. 575.). In verbs which are based on the Sanscrit 1st or 6th class (see §. 109. [a] 1.), as the augment is lost in Sclavonic, a distinction from the present in this aorist formation is only possible in the persons, in which there exists a distinction between the terminations of the 1st and 2d persons. The 1st person singular ends in ъ, which corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* and Greek *o* of forms like *ábudh-a-m*, ἔφυγ-ο-ν: the 3d person plural ends in ѫ *u-ṅ*, agreeing with the Sanscrit *a-n* and Greek *o-ν* of *ábudh-a-n*, ἔφυγ-ο-ν. The 2d and 3d person singular end in ѣ, as, according to §. 255. *l.*, the original final consonants are suppressed in Sclavonic; hence, *e.g.*, нѣсѣ *nes-e*, "thou didst bear," and "he bore," contrasted with Sanscrit and Greek forms like *ábudh-a-s*, *ábudh-a-t*

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* See §§. 561—575., and Miklosich, "Doctrine of Forms in the Old Slovenian," p. 50.

φυγ-ε-ς, ἔφυγ-ε. We may, to wit, now assume that the aorists in χъ, as NESOχъ *nes-o-ch'*, "I bore," are not used in the 2d and 3d person singular, but borrow these persons from the second aorist (see Miklos., l. c., p. 53). If this be the case, then бы *by*, "thou wast," "he was," belongs to the Sanscrit fifth aorist formation (see §. 573.), and answers in the 2d person as exactly as possible to the Sanscrit *ábhû-s* and the Greek ἔφῡ-ς, in the 3d to *ábhû-t*, ἔφῡ. The analogy of these forms might also have had its influence on those conjugational classes in which the first aorist formation is altogether wanting in other persons; so that the *bûdi* mentioned above (§. 561.) must be explained according to the selfsame principle as that on which rest forms like *nese;* and therefore not the verb substantive, but only the character of the 2d and 3d person has been dropped after the *i* of *bûdi*. *Bûdi*, therefore, would stand for *bûd-i-t*, in the 2d person, *bûd-i-s*, in the 3d, *bûdit*. According to the first aorist formation we should have to expect *bûd-i-she*.

3) Imperfects, which, like the first aorists, append the verb substantive to the theme of the principal verb, but so that the latter, without reference to the remaining tenses, always contains the character of the Sanscrit 10th class, and, indeed, for the most part, in the form of ѣ *ye**; but the *ch*, *sh*, or *s* of the auxiliary verb is always preceded by an *a*, or by its occasional representative ѣ *ye* (see Mikl. l. c. p. 35), in which I recognise the old *a* of the root अस् *as*, which is found still in an uncompounded state in Old Prussian (*asmu*, *asmai*, *as-mu*, "I am"). I divide, therefore, thus, *e.g.*, вѣдѣаχъ *vyed-ye-ach'*, from вѣмь *vye-my*, for [G. Ed. p. 1492]. *vyed-my*, "I know," according to the Sanscrit 2d class (वेद्मि *vêd-mi*); while the first aorist вѣдѣχъ *vyed-ye-ch'*, the infinitive вѣдѣти *vyed-ye-ti*, and the participles preterite вѣдѣвъ *vyed-ye-v'* and вѣдѣлъ *vyed-ye-l'*, in like manner, follow the Sanscrit 10th class, or causal form. Compare, *e.g.*, in the case before us, वेद्यामि *vêd-áyâ-mi*, Prâkrit *vêd-ê-mi*, "I make to know."† Perhaps аχъ *ach'* (from *as*), 2d and 3d person аше *ashe*, is the obsolete, in its simple form, imperfect of ѥмьъ *yes-my*, for ѥмь *es-my*, "I am;" and perhaps we ought to recognise the reason of the vowel difference between the imperfect and present in this, that *ach'* is based on the Sanscrit augmented *âsam*, as, in general, the Sclavonic *a* corresponds more frequently to the Sanscrit *â* than to the short *a*, which has commonly become е or о (see §. 255. *b*.). Compare—

SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.
âsam	аχъ *ach'*
âsîs	аше *ashe*

* Cf. §§. 505., 742.

† See §. 109.[a] 6, p. 110.

SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.
âsît	АШЕ *ashe*
âs-va	АχОВѢ *ach-o-vye*
âs-tam	АſТА *as-ta*
âs-tám	АſТА *as-ta*
âs-ma	АχОМЪ *ach-o-m'*
âs-ta	АſТЕ *as-te*
âs-a-n	Ахѫ *ach-u-ṅ*

I recall attention, moreover, to the fact, that in Sanscrit also the root *as* furnishes a tense, of occurrence in composition only, viz. the future *syámi* (see §. 648.).

4) Remains of the Sanscrit auxiliary future, to which the Greek in *σω*, *σίω* (§. 656.), and Lithuanian in *su*, correspond. The Sclavonic forms of this kind which have been discovered up to the present time (in Mikl., p. 73) all occur in the 1st person singular; *e.g.*, ꙁМИШѫ *iz-mi-shṅ*, "*tabescam*" (root *mi*). The other futures mentioned by Miklosich have, all but one, an *n* after the future character ſ *s*; *e.g.*, ОБѮЬſNѫ *o-brysnṅ*, "*tondebo*" (root *bri*); ВЪſКОПЫſNѫ *v's-kopysnṅ*, "*claleitrabo*" (root *kop*); ПЛАſNѫ *plasnṅ*, "*ardebo*" (root *pla*); ТЪКЫſNѫ *t'kysnṅ*, "*tangam*" (root ТЪК *t'k*). These forms have probably thus arisen: the

[G. Ed. p. 1493.] character of the verbs discussed in §. 496., p. 692, has been appended to the future base which ends in *s*, just as if, in Greek, *λυσνω*, *τυψνω*, were said for *λύσω*, *τύψω*. The form БѢГАſТАѧ *byegasyayuṅ*, from *byeg*, "to run," stands quite isolated. In case this form, which Miklosich translates by *curso*, is, according to its formation, a future, then in the syllable ſТА *sya* we have exactly to the letter the Sanscrit future character *sya*; the *a* preceding answers to that of the infinitive *byeg-a-ti* and analogous forms; and the whole corresponds, as regards the syllable *ya* inserted between the base *byegasya* and the personal termination *ṅ*, to present forms like ꙁNAѧ *znayuṅ*, "I know."* The verb substantive has left us a future participle in the following forms of the definite declension: БЫШѫШТЕѥ *byshuṅshteye*, "*τό μέλλον*;" БЫШѫШТААГО *byshuṅshtaago*, "*τοῦ μελλοντος*;" БЫШѫШТИИМИ *byshuṅstiimi*, instr. pl. (Mikl., pp. 69, 70). Cf. the Zend future participle *búsyaṅs*, "*futurus*," acc. *búsyantĕm*, and the Lithuanian *buseṅs*, acc. *busentiṅ* (see §. 784.).

5) Remains of the Middle. For *vye-my*, "I know" (abbreviated from *vyed-my* = Sanscrit *vêd-mi*), occurs, as Miklosich remarks, in the older MSS. ВѢДѢ *vyedye*. This form is explained, correctly in my opinion,

* See §§. 500., 526., p. 746: respecting the nasal ѫ, see §. 783. Rem. 1.

the said learned man, as middle. It corresponds as exactly as pos-
le to the Sanscrit *vidé**, and, like the Sanscrit termination, has lost
personal character *m*, which, together with the reasons mentioned
ve (see p. 1255 G. ed.), points to a comparatively later separation from
Sanscrit (cf. §. 467.). Miklosich, however (p. 71), calls the above-
ntioned ВѢДЪ *vyed-ye* the sole remnant in Sclavonic of the Atmanê-
lam (the middle), which isolation might raise some suspicion of the
uineness, or real middle nature of the said form. This mistrust must,
wever, disappear, when we find that several other Old Sclavonic forms
ve great claims to be regarded as middle. The conjugation given by
klosich (l. c. pp. 71, 72) of the verbs without a conjunctive vowel,
мь *ya-my* (from *yad-my*), "I eat," and дамь *da-my* (from *dad-my*,
give"), supplies four forms, as regards sound only two, which I am of
inion must be assigned to the middle. I mean the aorist forms of the 2d
d 3d person singular, ѩстъ *yast'*, "thou didst eat;" [G. Ed. p. 1494.]
st', "he ate;" дастъ *dast'*, "thou gavest;" *dast'*, "he gave." Miklo-
h refers the *s* of these forms to the root, and divides *yas-t'*, *das-t'*: if this
ision be correct, the *s* would be a euphonic alteration of the radical *d*, and
hould then compare *yas-t'*, *das-t'*, in the 2d person, to the Sanscrit im-
rfect middle *ât-thâs*, *adat-thâs*, and in the 3d person to the Sanscrit
-ta, *a-dat-ta*, Zend *daś-ta* (see §. 102. conclusion). The circumstance
at the middle of the Sanscrit root *ad*, Cl. 2., is hitherto unciteable† need
t prevent us from presupposing its former existence, as in the time of
unity of language the middle must have been much more extensively
ed than in the present condition of the different members of our lingual
m. The above-mentioned Sclavonic forms may, however, be so re-
rded, as that, instead of distributing them as Miklosich does *yas-t'*,
s-t', the sibilant may be separated from the root, thus, *ya-s-t' da-s-t'*.
this view of the subject, to which I give the decided preference, the
ts *yad*, *dad*‡, have dropped their final consonant before the *s* of the
rist, as before that of the 2d person singular (*ya-si*, *da-si*, see §. 436.);
d the *s* is, in its origin, identical with that of ѩсте *ya-s-te* ("ye ate"),
ста *ya-s-ta* (2d and 3d per. dual), дасте *da-s-te*, ("ye gave"), даста

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* Not *védê*, as the Guna is dropped before the heavy terminations (see
186.), while the Sclavonic *vyemy* retains the Guna vowel (see §. 255. *e.*) also
fore the heavy terminations; and hence, *e.g.*, *vyes-te*, "ye know," stands for
mparison with the Sanscrit *vit-tha*.

† The *ad-a-sva* which occurs in Mahâ-Bh. III. 2435. follows, like the corre-
nding Greek verb, the 1st class (see §. 109. [a]).

‡ *Dad* is based, indeed, on reduplication, but nevertheless passes, as Miklo-
h assumes, for a root in Old Sclavonic.

da-s-ta; as also with the χ of ꙗχъ *ya-ch'*, "I ate," ꙗχомъ *ya-ch-o-m'*, "we ate," ѧѧχъ *da-ch'*, "I gave," ѧѧχомъ *da-ch-o-m'*, "we gave;" and with the *sh* of ꙗшꙗ *ya-shan*, "they ate," ѧѧшꙗ *da-shan*, "they gave." All these forms belong to the Sanscrit first aorist formation (see §. 562. conclusion); and as *yad* and *dad*, by dropping the final *d*, put themselves on the same footing with the roots ending in a vowel. If a comparison be made between ꙗѣтъ *ya-s-t'*, "thou atest," ѧѧѣтъ *da-s-t'*, "thou gavest," and the Sanscrit middle *a-yá-s-thás*, "thou wentest," and between ꙗѣтъ *ya-s-t'*, "he ate," ѧѧѣтъ *da-s-t'*, "he gave," and *ya-s-ta*, "he went;" while ꙗѣте *ya-s-te*, "ye ate," ѧѧѣте *da-s-te*, "ye gave," would correspond to the active *aya-s-ta*, if *yá*, or, in general, the roots in *á*, admitted the first aorist formation. We compare, therefore, more aptly, *a-né-ṣh-thás*, "thou leddest;" *a-né-ṣh-ta*, "he led" (see §. 545.). To these forms corresponds also that mentioned by Miklosich [G. Ed. p. 1495.] p. 37, among other aorist and imperfect forms which, with respect to their personal terminations, are to be referred to this class, viz. бꙑѣтъ *by-s-t'*, "ἐγενέθης, ἐγενέθη;" for which we should find, in Sanscrit, *ábhú-ṣh-thás*, *á-bhú-ṣhta*, if *bhú*, "to be, to become," followed the aorist formation. I cannot put faith* in a replacement of the secondary personal terminations, which belong to the aorists, by the primary, with the exchange of ъ *y* and ъ (see §. 255. *k*.), and the removal of the 3d person into the 2d: otherwise we should have to charge the language in the case before us with three errors, while, according to my view of the Old Sclavonic, it retains the merit of having preserved, in accordance with the oldest German dialect, the old middle. The Gothic and Old Sclavonic make up one another's deficiencies with regard to the middle, inasmuch as the former has preserved the present, the latter the preterites (the aorists and the imperfect). The fact that the Russian, in the 3d person singular and plural of the present, contrasts a ъ with the Old Sclavonic ъ *y*, *e.g.*, несетъ *nes-e-t*, несутъ *nes-u-t*, for Old Sclavonic несѣтъ *nes-e-ty*, несѫтъ *nes-u-nty*, must be explained, in my opinion, thus, that the old *i* of the Sanscrit forms like *bár-a-ti*, *bár-a-nti*, which in Old Sclavonic has been weakened to ъ *y*, has in Russian, as in several other modern languages, been entirely lost. As, however, the Russian orthography requires that the imperceptible ъ be added to the final consonants, *i.e.* to those which are not followed by a perceptibly-sounding ъ *y*, the Russian forms, therefore, *nes-e-t* and *nes-u-t*, can, in the Russian character, be written no otherwise than несетъ, несутъ.

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* Cf. Schleicher, "Doctrine of Forms of the *Church* (or Kyrillian) Sclavonic Language," p. 337, where, in discussing the personal terminations here spoken of, the middle has been quite unnoticed.

ALPHABETICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

A heavier than *i* §. 6.

A-, *an-*, privative §. 537., of pronominal origin §. 371.

Ablative singular §. 179., in Zend §. 180., in Latin and Oscan §. 181., in Greek §. 183, in Gothic §. 294. Rem. 1. p. 380., in Armenian p. 1272 G. ed. Note, dual §. 215., plural §. 244.

Ablaut, see vowel-increment, vowel-weakening, vowel-interchange.

Accentuation §. 785., p. 1052.

Accusative singular §. 149., in Old Sclavonic §. 266., of the pronouns of the first and second person, and of the reflexive in German p. 1113 Note ** G. ed.; dual §. 206., in Old Sclavonic §. 273.; plural §. 236., in Old Sclavonic §. 275.

Active §. 426.

Adjectives §. 281., pronominal and derivative §. 404., definite declension in Lithuanian and Old Sclavonic §§. 283., 285., in German §. 287.

Adverbs §. 324., pronominal §. 420., adverbial compounds §. 990.

Ampliatives §. 930.

Anusvâra §. 9., in Lithuanian §. 10., in Old Sclavonic §. 783., Rem. 1.

Aorist §. 542., in Latin §. 546., in Old Sclavonic §. 561. and p. 1490 G. ed., Supplement 1) and 2).

Arian Languages, affinity with the Sclavonic and other European languages not traceable p. 1215 Note.

Aspiration thrown back in Sanscrit and Greek §. 104.

Atmanêpadam §. 426.

Augment §. 537., derivation from the demonstrative base *a* §. 540.

Auxiliary future §. 648., in Old Sclavonic, Supplement 4).

Avyayîbhâva p. 1452 G. ed.

Bahuvrîhi p. 1432 G. ed.

-bam, of Latin Imperfects, from *fam* §. 526.

-bo, of Latin Futures, from *fo* §§. 526., 662.

Cases, formation of §. 112., division into strong, weak, and middle cases §§. 129., 130., difference of accentuation in strong and weak cases §. 785., Rem. p. 1053.

Causals §. 739., in German §. 740, in Old Sclavonic §. 741., in Lithuanian §. 743., in Latin §. 745. p. 999, in Old Persian §. 750., in Lasiah §. 750. p. 1006., in Hindūstānī §. 877., Note †.

Collective Compounds §. 989.

Comparative degree §§. 291., 307., in Latin §. 299., in German §. 301. in Old Sclavonic §. 305., in Lithuanian §. 306.

Compounds 1410 G. ed.

Conditional §. 730.

Conjugational classification §. 109.a) 1. §. 493., Latin 1st, 2d, and 4th conju-

gations=Sanscrit 10th class §. 109.a)6. p. 111; Latin 3d conjugation= Sanscrit 1st, 6th, and 4th class §. 109.a)1., §. 500.; the German strong verbs=Sanscrit 1st class §. 109.a)1. p. 105, or 4th class 109.a)2; the German weak conjugation=Sanscrit 10th class §. 109.a)6., Armenian conjugations p. 1271 G. ed.

Conjunctions p. 1459 G. ed.

Conjunctive in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek §. 713., in Latin §§. 674., 690., of the imperfect §. 707., of the perfect §. 710. and p. 1228 G. ed., of the pluperfect §. 858. and p. 1229, G. ed., German conjunctive, preterite §. 756., present §. 694., Lithuanian conjunctive §. 684., Hindûstânî p. 1276 G. ed. Note

Consonants, permutation of §. 87.

Copulative compounds (*dvandva*) p. 1427 G. ed.

Dative Singular, in Sanscrit and Zend §. 164., in Lithuanian §. 177., in Old Sclavonic § 267., in Latin p. 1227 G. ed. Note †, in German §. 356. Rem. 3, in Greek §. 195., dual §. 215., in Lithuanian §. 215. p. 231, in Old Sclavonic §. 273., in Greek §§. 215., 221.; plural §. 244., in Lithuanian §. 215., in Old Sclavonic §. 276., in Greek §. 251.

Degrees of comparison §. 291.

Demonstratives §. 343.

Denominatives §. 761.

Dependent compounds (*tatpuruṣha*) p. 1446 G. ed.

Deponent of intensives §. 760.

Derivative verbs §. 732.

Desideratives §. 751.

Determinative compounds (*karmadhâraya*) p. 1443 G. ed.

Dual, its cases §. 206.

Dvandva p. 1427 G. ed.

Dvigu p. 1449 G. ed.

é, in Sanscrit, Old High German, and Latin, from *ai* §§. 2., 5., 78., 683., in Greek (η), Gothic, Latin, from *á* §§. 4., 69., 137. p. 1445 G. ed., in Latin and Gothic, through reduplication §§. 547., 605., p. 827.

Feminine, character of §. 118.

Final consonants suppressed in Sclavonic §. 255.b

Fruit, names of §§. 920., 921.

Future §§. 646., 692., in Old Sclavonic, Supplement 4), in Hindûstânî p. 1276 G. ed. Note.

Futurum exactum p. 1228 G. ed., in Umbrian and Oscan p. 1232 G. ed.

Genitive singular §. 184., §. 254. Rem. 3, in Old Sclavonic §. 269.; dual §. 225., in Zend §. 254. Rem. 1, in Old Sclavonic §. 273.; plural §. 245., in Old Sclavonic §. 278., §. 284. Note 6., §. 783. Note *, p. 1046

Gerunds, in Latin §. 809., in Sanscrit, in *tvâ* p. 1203 G. ed. Note *, p. 1240 G. ed., in य *ya*, p. 1296 G. ed, in Marâṭhî p. 1215 G. ed., in Prâkrit p. 1215 G. ed., p. 1277 G. ed. Note.

Guna, in Sanscrit §. 26., in Greek §. 26. p. 24, §. 491., in Gothic §. 27., in Zend §. 28., in Lithuanian §. 744. p. 997, in Old Sclavonic §. 255.b) ñ, §. 741.

Heavy personal terminations, influence of §. 480.

lightest of the primary vowels §. 6.
mperative §. 717., of the aorist §. 727., of the future §. 729.; Old Sclavonic, imperative §§. 677., 696., Carniolan §. 697., Lithuanian §§. 681., 695., Old Prussian §. 695., Lettish §. 682.
mperfect §. 517.
ndeclinabilia p. 1453 G. ed.
nfinitive: Sanscrit, in *tum*, p. 1202 G. ed., in causal or dative relation p. 1209 G. ed., represented by forms in *âya*, *anâya*, *anê*, pp. 1211—1214 G. ed., by forms in *am*, p. 1214 G. ed., in *âm*, *aydm* §. 619., p. 1215 G. ed., in *tu*, at the beginning of compounds, (§. 853.) p. 1217 G. ed., Vêdic, in *tavé*, *tavâe*, p. 1218 G. ed., in *dhyâi*, p. 1218 G. ed., in *ṣhyâi*, p. 1221 G. ed., in *sé*, p. 1222 G. ed., in *asê*, p. 1224 G. ed., in *ê*, p. 1225 G. ed., in *am*, p. 1233 G. ed., in *tôs*, p. 1238 G. ed.; with an apparent passive meaning, p. 1258 G. ed.; periphrasis of passive infinitive, p. 1261 G. ed. Marāṭhī, pp. 1215, 1217 G. ed., Ossetish, p. 1269 G. ed., Armenian, p. 1269 G. ed., Hindūstānī, p. 1273 G. ed., Zend §. 619., Old Persian, p. 1458 G. ed., Latin, p. 1223 G. ed., of the perfect, p. 1227 G. ed., of the future, p. 1232 G. ed., of the passive participle, p. 1226 G. ed., Oscan and Umbrian, p. 1234 G. ed., Old Prussian, p. 1248 G. ed., Lithuanian and Lettish, p. 1250 G. ed., Old Sclavonic, p. 1251 G. ed., German, pp. 1263, 1271, 1276, 1286 G. ed., Greek, p. 1286 G. ed., middle and passive, p. 1292 G. ed.
Insertion of euphonic sibilant §§. 95., 96., of a labial §. 96., of a nasal §§. 158., 212., 234., 246., in Old High German, Old Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon §. 246., of a euphonic *y* §. 43.
Instrumental singular in Sanscrit and Zend §. 158., in the Veda dialect, p. 1297 G. ed., in Gothic §. 159.*, in Old High German §. 162., in Lithuanian §. 162. p. 180, in Old Sclavonic §. 266.; dual §. 215., in Old Sclavonic §. 273., plural §§. 216., 243., in Old Sclavonic §. 277.
Intensive §. 753.
Interrogative §. 386.
Karmadhâraya, p 1443 G. ed.
L, for other liquids and semi-vowels §§. 20., 409. p. 571, Note †.
Letters §. 1., sonant §. 25.
Light personal terminations §. 480.
Lêt=Greek Conjunctive §. 713
Locative singular §. 195., in Old Sclavonic §. 268.; dual §. 225., in Zend §. 254. Rem. 1. p. 276.; plural §. 250., in Old Sclavonic §. 279.
M, from *v* or *b* §. 63., §. 109.b) 1. p. 114.
Middle terminations §. 466., origin of §§. 470., 473., reflexive §. 426., in Gothic §. 426., in Old Sclavonic, p. 1493 G. ed., Supplement 5.

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* What is said in §§. 160., 161., 171., regarding the Gothic dative must be corrected according to §. 356. Rem. 3.; and so, too, the dative plural in *m* is not to be compared with the instrumental termination in *bhis*, but with the real dative termination in *bhyas*.

Moods, formation of §. 672.
Neuter §. 113.
Nominative singular §. 134., of the bases in *n* §. 139., of the bases in *ar*, *ṛ* (ऋ) §. 144., of neuters §. 148., in Old Sclavonic §. 266.; dual §. 274., in Old Sclavonic §. 274.; plural §§. 226., 274.
Numerals §. 308.
Numeral adverbs §. 324.
ó in Sanscrit and Zend from *a* + *u* §§. 2., 33., Greek *u*, Gothic and Latin *ó*, from *á* §§. 4., 69., p. 1484 G. ed.
Optative §. 672.
Ordinal numbers §. 321.
Parasmâipadam §. 426.
Participles §. 779., future §. 784., perfect §. 786., middle and passive §. 774., perfect passive §§. 820., 836.
Passive §. 733.
Perfect §. 588.
Personal terminations §. 434., middle and passive §. 466., weight of §. 467.
Pluperfect §. 644.
Possessives §. 404.
Possessive compounds (*bahuvrîhi*) p. 1432 G. ed.
Potential §. 672.
Prepositions p. 1465 G. ed.
Present §. 507.
Preterite §. 513.
Precative §§. 701., 705.
Primary forms of nouns §§. 112., 116.
Pronouns §. 326., derivative pronominal adjectives §. 404.
Pronominal adverbs §. 420.
Ṛi (ऋि) from *ar*, *âr*, *ra*, *ri*, *ru* §§. 1., 811., and p. 1057 Note (*prichchhâmi* §. 109.[b]2., *tritîya* §. 322.*
R from *r* §§. 20., 409., Note †, §. 447., Table, Note [6].
Reduplication §. 109.[a]3., §§. 546., 579., 589., 751., 753.
Relative §§. 382., 383.
Roots §. 106.
Radical words, p. 1329 G. ed.
S, changes of §§. 21., 22., 86.[5], 136., 302., p. 1059, p 1374 G. ed. Note. rejected §. 128.
Sound. system of §. 1., Old Sclavonic §§. 255., 783., Rem. 1., Mutation of. *vide* Consonants.
Special Tenses §. 109.[a].
Strong cases §. 129.
Suffixes, Sanscrit *a*, pp. 1235, 1338 G. ed., Greek *o*, p. 1235 G. ed., Latin *a*, p. 1236 G. ed., Lithuanian *a*, pp. 1236, 1343 G. ed., Old Sclavonic *a*, p. 1236 G. ed., German *a*, pp. 1237, 1238; Sanscrit *a* §. 913., pp. 1338, 1345 G. ed, Greek *o*, pp. 1339, 1346 G. ed., *ad*, p. 1340 G. ed., Lithua-

* *ṛi* from *ru*, in *śṛiṇómi*, "I hear," for *śrunómi*, root *śru*.

nian *a*, p. 1343 G. ed., Latin *u*, p. 1340 G. ed., *a*, p. 1341 G. ed., Gothic *a*, p. 1342 G. ed.; Sanscrit * *a*, p 1346 G. ed., Greek *o, p. 1347 G. ed., Latin *u, p. 1347 G. ed.; Zend *a*, *a, pp. 1348, 1349 G. ed.

Sanscrit *â*, Greek *a*, *η*, Latin *a*, Lithuanian *à*, Old Sclavonic *a*, Gothic *ô*, nominative *a*; *ôn*, nominative *ô*, p. 1349 G. ed.

Sanscrit *i*, Zend *i*, Gothic *i*, Old Sclavonic *i*, nominative Ъ *y*, Greek *ι*, *ιδ*, *ιτ*, Latin *i*, Lithuanian *i* §. 924.

Sanscrit *u*, Greek *υ*, Lithuanian *u*, Gothic *u*, Zend *u* §. 925.

Sanscrit *an*, *ân*, Greek *αν*, *ενν*, *ον*, *ων* §. 926.

Latin *ôn*, nom *ô*; *in*, nom. *en*, Gothic *an*, nom. *a*, Old High German *on*, nom. *o* §. 927.; Lithuanian *en*, nom. *û*, p. 1363 G. ed ; Sanscrit *an* neut., Gothic *an*, nom *ô* §. 928.

Sanscrit *in* §. 929.; Sanscrit *in, Greek *ωv*, Latin *ôn, Sanscrit *inî* §. 930.

Sanscrit *ana*, fem. *anâ*, *anî*, Zend *ana*, Greek *avo*, Lithuanian *ûna*, Gothic *ana*, nom. *an'-s*, *anôn*, nom *anó* §. 932.

Sanscrit *anîya* §§. 904., 906, 907.; Zend *nya*, Gothic *nya*, Lithuanian *nya*, *inya* §. 906.

Sanscrit *âna* § 791.

Sanscrit *as* § 933., Greek *ες* (nom. *ος*, *ης*, *ες*), *ες, Zend *aṡ*, Latin *us*, *eris*; *us*, *or-is*; *ur*, *or-is*; *ur*, *ur-is*; *or*, *ôr-is*, *or*, *ôr-is* §§ 934., 937., 938., Gothic *isa* neut. (nom. and acc. *is*) *is-tra*, *is-la*, *s-la*, *as-su* (*drauhtin--as-su-s*) §. 935., Old High German *us-ta*, *us-ti*, *os-ta*, *os-ti*, Lithuanian *as-ti* §. 936.

Sanscrit *us*, p. 1382 G. ed.

Sanscrit *is*, p. 1382 G. ed.

Sanscrit *ya* §. 889., Latin *in* neuter §. 890.; Sanscrit *ya* neut., Gothic *ya*, Latin *iu*, Greek *ιο* § 891.; Old Sclavonic *ИѢ *iye* §. 892.; Lithuanian *ya* §. 893.; Sanscrit *yâ*, Gothic *yô*, nom. *ya* or *i* §. 894., Old Sclavonic *ya*, Lithuanian *ia*, *ê* §. 895.; Latin *ia*, *iê*, *iôn*, *ia, *iê, *iôn*, Greek *ια* § 896.; Old High German *î* §. 897., New High German *e* §. 898., Sanscrit *yâ, Greek *ια*, Old High German *ya*, neut. nom. *i*, Gothic *ein*, nom. *ei* § 898; Sanscrit *ya* fut. pass. part., Zend *ya*, Gothic *ya*, Lithuanian *ia*, nom. *is*, Latin *iu*, Greek *ιο* §§. 899., 900.; Sanscrit *ya*, Zend *ya*, Greek *ιο*, *ια*, Latin *iu*, *ia* §§. 891., 902.; Latin *ia* for Sanscrit *i*, Greek *ιδ* (?) §. 902.; Gothic *ya*, fem. *yô, *yan, *yan*, Sanscrit *ya*, Zend *ya*, Lithuanian *ia*, fem. *ẽ*, Old Sclavonic *yo* §. 903.

Sanscrit *yu*, Zend *yu*, Lithuanian *iu*, Greek *ευ*, p. 1390 G. ed.

Sanscrit *iyâns, *îyas*, see Comparative.

Sanscrit *iyâ*, see Possessives.

Sanscrit *êya, Greek *ειο, *εο*, Latin *eyu, *eu* §. 958.

Sanscrit *ra*, *la*, *a-la*, *i-la*, *u-la*, *i-ra*, *u-ra*, *ê-ra*, *ô-ra* §. 939, Zend *ra* §. 940, Greek *ρο*, *λο*, Latin *ru*, *la*, Gothic *ra*, *la*, Old High German *a-la*, *u-la*, *i-la*, *e-la*, nom. *a-l*, &c. §. 940.; Lithuanian *a-la*, Greek *α-λο*, *ε-λο*, *υ-ρο*, *υ-λο*, *α-ρο*, *ε-ρο*, Latin *u-lu*, *u-la*, *e-ru*, *i-li* (?) §. 941.

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* The mark (*) prefixed distinguishes the secondary suffixes from the primary.

Sanscrit *ra, *la, *i-ra, *i-la, *i-ra, *i-la, Zend *ra, Greek *ρι, *λι. Latin *li (?) § 942.
Sanscrit ri, Greek ρι, Latin ri, e-ri §. 943.
Sanscrit ru, Lithuanian ru §. 944.
Sanscrit va, Latin vu, uu §§. 945, 946.
Sanscrit van, Zend van §. 947.
Sanscrit *vant, vat, Zend *vant, vat, Latin *ntu, Gothic *lan-la §§. 409. 410., Lithuanian *leta, linta, la, ant §. 411.; Sanscrit *vant, vat. Latin *lent, lentu, Greek εντ §. 959.
Sanscrit vas, vâns, vat, uṣh, fem. uṣhî §. 786., Lithuanian en (nom. en-s), usia, nom. f. usi, Old Prussian wun-s, un-s, on-s, an-s (nom. m. us), Zend vâonh, uṣh, ûṣh, fem. uṣhî, ûṣhî §§. 786., 787., Gothic usia (nom. pl. m. bêrusiôs, "the parents," as "having begotten") §. 788., Greek οτ, υια, Latin ûri (sec-uri-s), *ôsu-s §. 789., Old Sclavonic v'sh, fem. v'shi (after vowels) §. 790.
Sanscrit na, Zend na, Gothic na, Lithuanian na, Old Sclavonic ню, Greek νο, Latin nu §§. 836., 837., 838.; Sanscrit na, fem. nâ, Zend na, Greek νο, νη, Latin nu, na, Old High German na, f. nô, nom. n', na §. 839.
Sanscrit *i-na, Greek *ι-νο, Gothic *ei-na, Old High German *i-na, Lithuanian *i-na, *i-nia, *y-na (=î-na), *o-na, Old Sclavonic *ε-ню §. 838.; Latin *î-nu, *î-na, *ê-nu, *ê-na, *â-nu, *nu §. 839.; Sanscrit *î-na §. 839. p. 1185 G. ed.
Sanscrit *ânî, f. (indrâ-ṇî, mâtulâ-nî, &c.), Greek *αινα, *ω-νη. Latin *ô-na, *ô-nia, Lithuanian *ě-nĕ, Old Sclavonic *ынꙗ ynya, Old High German *inna, New High German in, inn, Old Northern *ynya §§. 840., 841.
Sanscrit ni, f., Greek νι, Old Sclavonic ni, nom. нь ny, Lithuanian ni. Gothic ni §. 843.
Sanscrit ni m., Latin ni, Old Sclavonic ni, Lithuanian ni f. §. 850.
Sanscrit nu, s-nu, Zend nu, Lithuanian nu, s-nu, Gothic nu, Latin nu fourth declension, Greek νυ §§. 948., 949.
Sanscrit nt, ant, t, at, see Participle present and future.
Sanscrit ma, Zend ma, Greek μο, Latin mu, Lithuanian i-ma, i-mma. Gothic ma, Old High German ma §§. 808, 809.; Greek μη, Latin ma. Lithuanian mà, mě §. 810., Gothic mô §. 950.
Sanscrit mi, Gothic mi §. 950.
Sanscrit man, mân, i-man, i-mân, Zend man §§. 796., 797., Greek μον, μων, μεν, Latin môn, min, môn-ia §. 797., Greek μῖν §. 798.; Gothic man, Old High German mon, Lithuanian men, nom. mů, Old Sclavonic мен, nom. мы my §§. 799., 800., Greek ματ, Latin men, min, Old Sclavonic мен neut.; Sanscrit *i-man, Old High German *mon §. 799. conclusion.
Latin mentu, Greek μινθ, μιγγ, Old High German munda, nom. mund §. 803.
Sanscrit mâna, Old Prussian mana, Lithuanian ma, Greek μενο, Latin minu, mnu, Gothic monyô, f., Old Sclavonic mo, Zend mana, mna, mn §. 791—795.
Latin mulu §. 808.

Sanscrit *mara*, *vara* §. 808.

Sanscrit **mant*, *mat* §. 959.

Sanscrit *ka*, *a-ka*, *â-ka*, *i-ka*, *u-ka*, *û-ka*, Latin *û-cu*, *î-cu*, *i-cu*, *i-c*, *â-c*, *ô-c*, Greek *α-κο*, *ᾱ-κ*, *ῡ-κ*, *αικ* (*γυναικ*), from *ακι*, Lithuanian *i-ka*, *i-kka*, Gothic *aga* §. 951., Old High German *i-nga*, nom. *ing*, *u-ngâ*, f., nom. *unga* (?) §. 952.; Sanscrit **ka* §§. 404., 953., Gothic **ha*, **ga*, **i-g* §. 953., Latin **cu*, Greek **κο*, **ι-κο*, *τι-κο* §. 955.; Gothic, Lithuanian, Old Prussian **i-ska*, Old Sclavonic *i-sko*, Greek *ι-σκο*, *ι-σκη* §. 954.

Sanscrit *t*, Latin *t*, Greek *τ* §§. 909. conclusion, 912.

Sanscrit *ta*, Zend *ta*, Lithuanian *ta*, Latin *tu*, Greek *το* §§. 820., 821., 821., 824.; Gothic *ta*, *da* §. 823., Latin *du* §. 822., Old Sclavonic *to*, *lo* §§. 825., 826., Marāṭhī *tâ*, fem. *tī*, neut. *to*, p. 1160 G. ed. (cf. Bengal. p. 1159. G. ed.).

Sanscrit **i-ta*, Latin **tu*, Greek **το*, Lithuanian **ta*, Old Sclavonic **to*, *sto* §§. 827., 828.

Sanscrit **tâ*, **tât*, **tâti*, Greek *τητ*, Latin *ta*, *tât*, *tût*, Gothic *thô*, nom. *tha*, once *dô*, *da* (p. 1169 G. ed.), Old High German *dô*, nom. *du*, English *th*, Old Sclavonic *ta* §. 829—834.

Sanscrit *ti*, f., Zend *ti*, Gothic *ti*, *thi*, *di*, Lithuanian *ti*, Old Sclavonic *ti* §§. 844., 867., Greek *τι*, *σι*, *σια* §§. 845., 846., Lithuanian *tẽ*, from *tia*, **y-stẽ*, from *y-stia*, Old Sclavonic **sti* §. 447., Latin *ti*, *si*, *tión*, *sión*, **tia*, *tiê*, p. 1195 G. ed.

Sanscrit *ti*, m., Lithuanian *ti*, Gothic *ti*, *di*, Lithuanian *ti*, *chia* (euphonic for *tia*), Old Sclavonic *ti*, Greek *τι*, Latin *ti*, **sti* (?) §. 848.

Sanscrit *a-ti*, Greek *ε-τι*, Lithuanian *a-schia*, nom. *a-stis* §. 849.

Sanscrit **ti*, Zend *ti*, Latin *t* §. 414.

Sanscrit *tîya*, Zend *tya*, Gothic *dyan*, Latin *tiu*, Sclavonic *tiyo*, nom. *tĩ*, Lithuanian *iyo*, from *tia* §§. 322., 323.

Sanscrit *tu*, f., (see Infinitive), Greek *τυ*, p. 1243 G. ed, Zend *tu*, p. 1244 G. ed, Latin *tu*, *su*, 4th declension m. §. 865., **â-tu*, p. 1403 G. ed., Old Prussian *tu* (infin.), Lithuanian *tu* (supine), Old Sclavonic ТЪ *t'* (supine) §§. 866., 868., Gothic *tu*, *thu*, *du*, m. §. 956, Sanscrit *a-thu*, m. §. 956. conclusion.

Sanscrit *tu*, m., Gothic *tu*, *du*, Greek *τυ* §. 957.

Sanscrit *târ*, *tṛi* Zend *târ*, Greek *τηρ*, *τορ*, *τη-ς*, Latin *tôr*, *tûru*, Sclavonic *tely* §§. 646., 647., 810., 811., 814, 815.; Sanscrit fem. *trî*, Latin *trîc*, Greek *τριδ*, *τρια*, *τειρα*, *τιδ* §§. 119., 811.; Latin **â-tôr*, *i-tôr*, Greek **τη-ς*, **δη-ς*, **ι-δης* §. 957.

Sanscrit *tar*, *tr*, *tṛi*, Zend *tar*, *thr*, Greek *τερ*, *τρ*, Latin *ter*, *tr*, Gothic *tar*, *tr*, *thar*, *thr*, Lithuanian *ter*, nom. *te*, Old Sclavonic *ter*, nom *ti* §§. 144. (p. 157), 265., 812.

Sanscrit *tra*, fem. *trâ*, Greek *τρο*, *τρα*, *θρο*, *θρα*, Latin *tru*, *tra*, Zend *tra*, *thra* §§. 816., 817., Gothic *tra*, *thra*, *dra*, Old High German *tra*, *dra*, nom. and acc. *tar*, *dar*, New High German *ter*, English *ter* §. 818.; Gothic *thlô*, f, nom. *thla*, Old High German nom. *dla*, *dila*, *dela*, *dal*, Greek *τλο*, *τλη*, *θλο*, *θλη*; Gothic *thrô*, nom. *thra*, Old High German *trô*, nom. *tra*, *tar*, *tera*, *ter* §. 819.

Sanscrit **tra*, Zend **thra* §. 420.
Sanscrit **trâ*, Gothic **drê* §. 991.
Sanscrit **tara*, Zend **tara*, Greek **τερο*, Latin **teru*, Gothic **thara*, Old High German **dara* §. 291., Old Sclavonic **toro*, **tero* §. 297.
Sanscrit **tama*, Zend **tĕma*, Latin **timu*, **simu*, Gothic **tuman*, *tum'-ista*, *dum'-ista* §§. 291., 292., 295.
Sanscrit **tas*, Latin **tus*, Greek **θεν*, Old Sclavonic *dú* §. 293. (p. 37[illegible]. 421.
Sanscrit **tana*, Latin *tinu* §§. 960., 961.
Sanscrit **tavya*, Latin *tívu*, Greek *τεο* §. 904., Lithuanian *toya*, Old Sclavonic *a-tayo*, nom. *a-taĭ* §. 905.
Sanscrit **tya*, Gothic **thya*, Latin **tiu*, Greek *σιο* §. 961.
Sanscrit *tva*, Zend [illegible] *thwa*, Gothic *tva*, neut. nom. *tv*, *thvô*, fem. nom. *thva*, Old High German *don*, nom. *do*, Old Sclavonic *tva*, *ba*, Lithuanian *ba*, *bê* (?) §§. 835., 864., and p. 1244 G. ed.
Sanscrit **tva*, Old Sclavonic **stvo* §. 834.
Sanscrit **tvano*, Prâkrit *ttana*, Old Persian *tana*, Greek fem. **συνη*, adj. **συνο*, Lithuanian adj. *tina*, adv. *tinay* pp. 1216, 1457 G. ed.
Sanscrit **tha*, Greek *το*, Latin *tu*, Lithuanian *ta*, Sclavonic *to*, Gothic *tan*, *dan*, nom. *ta*, *da* §§. 322., 323., Sanscrit **tham*, Latin **tem* §. 425.
Sanscrit **thâ*, Zend *tha*, Latin *ta*, *tî* §. 425. and p. 1227 G. ed., Note.
Sanscrit **dâ*, Sclavonic *da*, *g-da*, Lithuanian *da* §. 422.
Sanscrit **dhâ*, Greek **χα*, §. 325.
Sanscrit **śas*, Greek *κις* §. 324.
Sanscrit **sya*, Latin **riu* (?) §. 962., Gothic *arya*, **arya* §. 963.
Sanscrit **ha*, Zend *dha*, Greek *θα*, Gothic *th*, *d* §. 420.
Superlative §§. 291., 298.
Supine in Latin, pp. 1245, 1253 G. ed., in Lithuanian and Lettish, p. 1247 G. ed., in Old Sclavonic, p. 1252 G. ed.
Tadhita suffixes, p. 1335 G. ed.
Tenses, formation of §. 507.
T-sound suppressed at the end of a word in Greek §§. 155., 456., in German §§. 294. Rem. 1. p. 385, 432.
U, middle vowel weight §§. 490., 584.
Umlaut §. 72.
Verb §. 426.
Vowel weakening §§. 6., 109.a 1., 272., 490., 605.
Vowel strengthening, *See* Guna.
Vowel interchange, in German §§. 68., 589., pp. 1335, 1338 G. ed, in Old Sclavonic §. 255., p. 1237 G. ed., in Lithuanian §. 744., pp. 1236 G. ed. Note, 1336, 1341, in Greek §. 589., in Latin p. 1336 G. ed.
Visarga §. 11.
Vocative singular §. 204., in Old Sclavonic §. 272.; dual §. 206., in Old Sclavonic §. 273.; plural §. 226., in Old Sclavonic §. 280. Table.
Vṛiddhi §§. 26., 27., p. 1335 G. ed.
Weak cases §. 129.
Words, suffixes used in formation of, *Vide* Suffixes.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

§. 2. Regarding *ê* from *ai* see §. 688. p. 917.

§. 3. Regarding *ε* and *o* see also p. 1375 G. ed. Note †.

§. 3. l. 19. Read *αι*, *ει*, or *οι*.

§. 6. Regarding *rótponis* from *rótponyas* see p. 1345 G. ed. Note.

§. 7. Regarding the weight of the *u* see §§. 490., 584.

§. 15. l. 16, for *never* read *seldom*.

§. 20. Mention should have been made here of the Cretan *τρέ*, "thee," from *τϝέ*=Sanscrit *tvâ*.

§. 26. Regarding Greek *οι* as Guna of *ι* see §. 491; regarding Guna in Old Sclavonic and Lithuanian see §§. 255.b), ∩, 741., 746.

§. 32. What is here said respecting 𐬚 *o* is to be* corrected according to §. 447. Note.

§. 33. 𐬞𐬚𐬵 according to Burnouf, occurs occasionally as the termination of the genitive singular of the *u*-bases for the more common 𐬵𐬌𐬎 *eus*, *e.g.*, 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬚𐬌𐬎𐬵 *bâzaôs*, "*brachii.*"

§. 35. p. 32. The Zend *dâta* in *kha-dâta*, belongs to the Sanscrit root *dhâ*, "to place, to make," not to *dâ*, "to give" see §. 637.

§. 40. Last line but one, for 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬚𐬌𐬎𐬵 *hufêdris* read 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬚𐬌𐬎𐬵 *hufêdhris*.

§. 41. p. 37. l. 19. for 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *âhûirya* read 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬀 *âhuirya*.

§. 42. To be completed according to p. 963 Note.

§. 42. p. 39. l. 7. for 𐬌𐬌 *y* read 𐬌𐬀𐬀 *ya*.

§. 42. p. 40. l. 4. 5. to be corrected according to §. 721.

§. 44. l. 14. for 𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬀 *âtharvan* read 𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬀 *âtarvan*.

§. 45. l. 17. for 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬙𐬚𐬀 *dadhwâo* read 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬚𐬀 *dadhvâo*. The root corresponds to the Sanscrit *dhâ* see §. 637.

§. 45. p. 42. l. 20. for 𐬀𐬀𐬌 *abi* read 𐬀𐬀𐬌 *aibi*.

§. 45. p. 42. l. 26. for 𐬀𐬵𐬚 *aové* read, according to Burnouf, *aôi* (*i.e.* "over"), and *yaśnô* signifies "reverence."

§. 46. l. 12. for 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬚 *âturunê* read 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 *ataurunê*.

§. 46. l. 13. for तरुन *taruna* read तरुण *taruṇa*.

§. 48. l. 5. for 𐬵𐬛𐬀𐬛𐬌𐬛 *kĕrepĕm* read 𐬵𐬛𐬀𐬛𐬌𐬛 *kĕrĕpĕm*.

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* I take this opportunity of cancelling what is said at p. 1155, Note *. Had I remembered the Note at §. 447. I should not have written my note, or changed the 𐬚 in several places into 𐬛, which latter letter is reserved, it seems, for the final syllable.—*Translator*.

§. 49. p. 45. l. 1. omit 𐌸 *th*.

§. 49. p 45. l 6. 7. for 𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌽𐌼 *aśthaṅm* read 𐌶𐌰𐌽𐌼 *aśtaṅm*.

§. 61. last line. The termination *aṅn* from *ân* belongs to the potential, precative, and subjunctive.

§. 65. l. 20. Also between *a* and *r* (*hazaṇra*, "thousand").

§. 77. l. 2. Regarding the Zend 𐬋 *o* see §. 447. Note.

§. 90. p. 78. It is better to regard the phenomenon here discussed, so as to assume *d* in Gothic to be the proper character of the 3d person, and the Old High German *t* as the regular substitute for it. The *d* has maintained itself also in the Gothic passive (*bair-a-da*), and the active form *bairith* is to be deduced from *bairid*, as the Gothic prefers aspirates to medials at the end of a word. The same is the case with the passive participle, the suffix of which in Gothic is *da*, which in Old High German, in consequence of the second phonetic change, becomes *ta*, so that, by proceeding in the corruption, we recur to the original form.

§. 90. l. 16. *da* is an abbreviation of *dai*=Greek ται, Sanscrit *tê*, see §. 466.

§. 95. last line, is to be corrected according to §. 616. 2d Note. The *s* of *tars-t*, *tors-ta*, belongs to the root.

§. 99. p. 88. l. 4. add *ED*.

§. 100. p. 90. l. 4. Regarding *sêdi*, *vîdi*, from *sesedi*, *vividi*, see §. 547.

§. 100. p. 90. cf. §§. 547., 576., 579.

§. 102., concl., cf. Sclavonic and Lithuanian §. 457.

§. 109.[a. 1.)] l. 8. The accent distinguishes here the 1st class from the 6th, since, *e.g.*, for *pátati* we should have, did it belong to the 6th class, *patáti*.

§. 109.[a. 3.)] p. 107. l. 23. To the 2d class belong also *FLA*, *FA*, and *NA*.

§. 109.[a. 4.)] l. 11. I now consider the *v* of *saihva*, and similar verbs, as purely euphonic, cf. §. 86., and Latin forms like *coquo*, *linquo*, *stinguo*.

§. 109.[b 1.)] p. 113, l. 6. for §. 117. 2. read p. 107.

§. 109.[b. 2.)] p. 117, l. 24. for 𐬐𐬆𐬉𐬭𐬆𐬥𐬋𐬌𐬙𐬌 *kĕerĕnoiti* read 𐬐𐬆𐬉𐬭𐬆𐬥𐬀𐬋𐬌𐬙𐬌 *kĕrĕnaôiti*.

§. 109.[b. 2.)] p. 118, l. 20. To be corrected according to p. 1320, G. ed. Note.

§. 112. p. 125, l. 15. for *kimah* read *kimaḥ*.

§. 116. l. 25. To be corrected according to p. 1334 G. ed.

§. 119. p. 130, l. 26. for इन्द्रानी *indrânî* read इन्द्राणी *indrâṇî*.

§ 125. last line but one, for "in the oblique cases" read "in most of the oblique cases."

§. 135. Respecting the nominative singular of Gothic bases in *ya* see p. 1309 G. ed. Remark.

§. 139. p. 151, l. 19. I now prefer taking the *i* of *homin-is*, &c., as the weakening of the *o* of *homo*. The relation resembles that of Gothic forms like *ahmin-is*, *ahmin*, to the nominative and accusative *ahma*, *ahman*, which preserve the original vowel.

§. 141. p. 153. l. 9. for *namôn-a* read *namn-a* (p. 1083 Note).

§. 144. p. 157, l. 10. for τωρ read τορ, and at l. 14. τορ for τωρ (as termination of the base).

§. 148. p. 163, l. 2 for 𐬬𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬋 *vachaô* read 𐬬𐬀𐬉𐬋 *vachô*.

§. 156. last line but one. The *â* of *â-dĕm* is the preposition corresponding to the Sanscrit *â*.

§. 157. 2d Note. Latter part to be corrected according to §. 386. p. 544.

§. 157. Table, p. 174, l. 1. for *patin* read *pátiṅ*.

§. 160. The German dative singular is, according to §. 356. Rem. 3., to be everywhere identified with the Sanscrit dative; and so, too, the dative plural, the *m* of which approaches as closely to the Sanscrit *bhyas*, Latin *bus*, Lithuanian *mus*, as the instrumental termination *bhis*, Lithuanian *mis*.

§. 163. l. 4. for *vṛikê-n-a* read *vṛikê-ṇ-a*, with *ṇ*, through the euphonic influence of the *r*.

§. 164. p. 182, l. 25. To be corrected according to §. 254. p. 286, Note †.

§. 171. and §. 172. p. 190, l. 21. To be corrected according to §. 356. Rem. 3. p. 501, last line but seven.

§. 178. p. 194, l. 2. for *tanâv-ê* read *tanav-ê*.

§. 180. p. 196, l. 18. for 𐌲𐌰𐌿𐌲𐌰 read 𐌲𐌰𐌲𐌰 (see §. 447. p. 624, Note); for 𐌲𐌰𐌲𐌰 *aôṭ* occurs also 𐌲𐌰𐌹𐍃 *euṭ*; *e.g.*, 𐌼𐌰𐌹𐌽𐌹𐌴𐌿𐍄𐍃 *mainyeuṭ* from *mainyu*.

§. 183. cf. the Gothic ablatives in *ô* adduced in §. 294. Rem. 1. p. 384.

§. 194. p. 210, l. 14. Gothic *handau-s;* l. 20. for *fiyand-s* read *fiyand-is*, see §. 254. p. 302, Note ‡

§. 194. p. 210, l. 22. for *nâmn-ô* read *nâmn-as*; l. 23. 24. for *brât-ar-s* probably should be read *brâthr-ô*, after the analogy of *dâthr-ô*, *creatoris* (Burnouf "Yaçna," p. 363 Note). The genitive of *dúghdar* is probably *dughdĕr-ô* (see p. 194 Note†).

§. 195. and §. 203. I now refer the Latin dative to the Sanscrit dative, rather than to the locative; see p. 1227 G. ed. Note.

§. 214. p. 228, Note, last line but one, expunge the words "and which is entirely wanting in the genitive."

§. 216. l. 3. also 𐌳𐌹𐍃 *bis*.

§. 222. l. 10. for अस्माभ्यम् *asmâ-bhyam*, युष्माभ्यम् *yuṣhmâbhyam*, read अस्मभ्यम् *asmabhyam*, युष्मभ्यम् *yuṣhmabhyam*.

§. 226. p. 243, l. 3. As to the Latin termination *ê-s* see §. 797., p. 1078, passim.

§. 235. l. 5. Zend *vĕhrkâonhô*, see §. 229.; and as to *hostê-s*, *messê-s*, *bovê-s*, *você-s*, *ferentê-s*, *sermônê-s*, *fratrê-s*, *matrê-s*, *dator-ês*, see p. 1078.

§. 236. l. 9. The Old Prussian, too, exhibits, in the accusative plural, *ns*, *e.g.*, *tâva-ns*, *πατέρας*. Respecting the Vêdic termination *ṅr*, from *ṅ s* see §. 517. Remark.

§. 236. first Note, for *vidvaṅs* read *vidvâṅs*.

§. 239. l. 3. cf. Vêdic forms in *âṅ*.

§. 242. first line of Table, for *vulfan-s* read *vulfa-ns*.

—— twelfth line of Table, Lithuanian *sunù-s*, Gothic *sunu-ns*.

—— p. 260, l. 5. Gothic *fiyand-s*.

§. 243. l. 5. As to the German dative, see correction at §. 160.

—— Table, last line but one, for *nama'-m* read *namn-am*.

§. 248. l. 1. cf. Old Prussian *-son, e g.*, in *stei-son*, τῶν.

§. 249. fifth line of Table, for *trî-n-âm* read *tray-â-ṇâm*, from the extended base *traya*.

§. 254. p. 274, l. 12 Lithuanian *wilkû*.

—— l. 17. *wilkùs* for *wilkù*.

—— Rem. 3, p. 281, l. 11. As to ⰶⰰⰸⱏⰹⰻ *zaithrâ*, see p. 1241 Gr.

—— p. 287, l. 9. Regarding *turrê-s* and similar forms see p. 1073.

—— p. 305, l. 6. for *brâtar-s* read *brâthr-ô*, according to the correction at §. 194. p. 210, l. 23.

§. 255.[b] p. 311, l. 15. The suppression here noticed of final *i* refers to Dobrowsky's incorrect orthography. In point of fact, however, the final *i* in Old Sclavonic has either been retained unaltered, or has become ъ *y*, *e.g.*, that which Dobrowsky, l. c., writes *dadjat*, "they give," *sût*, "they are," should be corrected to ДАДѦТЪ *dadanty*, СѮТЪ *suinty*. Regarding the nasalized vowels, see §. 783. Remark.

§. 255.[f] Here, according to §. 783. Remark, we must distinguish between оу *û* and ѫ *un*.

—— p. 318. l. 13. for पान्दव *pândara* read पाण्डव *pâṇḍara*.

——[g] p. 319. cf. §. 783. Remark.

——[h] p. 323, cf. §. 783. Remark.

——[n] p. 324. The vowels mentioned here, preceded by *y*, are, with the exception of ѥ *ye* and ѣ *yê*, nasalized vowels (see §. 783. Remark): and hence, *pyaty*, "five," must be pronounced *panty* (in the original character ПѦТЬ).

§. 259. p. 329, l. 15. To be corrected according to §. 647., last Note.

§. 266. cf §. 783 [b].

—— last line but two, for *m* (according to Dobrowsky) we should read мь *my*.

§. 280. Table. In the instrumental, *my* is everywhere to be read for *m*.

§. 294 Rem. 2. Regarding *hi-drê* see §. 991.

§. 305.[1] l. 2. for "better" read "best."

§. 306. p. 414. In the Lithuanian comparative adverbs like *daugiaus*, "more:" *mażaus*, "less," I regard the *u* as the vocalization of the *n*; thus, *daugiaus* from *daugians*, where *ians*=Sanscrit *îyâṃs* of the strong cases.

§. 315. l. 2. read *ἑπτά* (in the accentuation=Vêdic *saptá*).

§. 319. Rem. p. 440. J. Grimm, in his history of the German language, p 246, agrees with my explanation of *eilf*, *zwölf*, and analogous forms in Lithuanian and Sclavonic.

—— p. 441, Note †. I now prefer, with Benfey, to assign the Latin *linquo*, Greek λείπω, Gothic *af-lif-na*, to the Sanscrit *rich*, from *rik*, "to leave."

§. 338. Regarding the Old Sclavonic *nasь*, *vasь*, see §. 788. first Note p. 1046.

§. 340. l. 3, 4 of Table. Respecting the *k* of the Gothic *mi-k*, *thu-k* (and that of *si-k*, "self") see §. 814. p. 1104, Note †. In Old Sclavonic we should read for *mya*, *tya*, according to §. 785. Rem. and [2], *męi*, *tęi*.

§. 341. p. 476, l. 3. Respecting the origin of the Sanscrit *sva*, see §. 946.
§. 343. p. 478, l. 16. тъ *t'* with the semi-vowel ъ.
—— p. 479, l. 6. Regarding *totus*, see p. 1343 G. ed., Note.
§. 383. l. 4. for *yus* read *yas*.
pp. 539, 540, l. 8. As to the Gothic suffix *ba* and Lithuanian *p*, cf. p. 1462 G. ed., Note. l. 19.
§. 387. l. 15. Regarding *quæ*, as plural neuter, see §. 394.
§. 416. Regarding *leiks*, see, too, p. 1442 G. ed.
§. 419. p. 587, l. 10. As to forms like *regâli-s*, see also §. 942. conclusion.
§. 421. p. 592, l. 7. to be corrected according to p. 1227 G. ed., Note.
§. 425. l. 9. cf. the Zend *uitî*, "thus," from the base *u*; as to the Latin *utî*, see p. 1227 G. ed., Note †.
§. 436. p. 609, l. 17. and §. 442. p. 618, Table l. 3 and 7, for ȣ *û* should be written ѫ *uṅ*, see §. 783. Remark 4)
§. 455. p. 635, l. 14. For *dazdhi* read *dazdi*, and so, perhaps, *azdi*, *vischdi*, for *azdhi*, *vischdhi*, did the said forms actually occur, as the Sanscrit *dh* in Zend loses its aspirate after sibilants.
—— p. 636 12). Regarding *azdhi*, &c., see the preceding correction.
§. 456. p. 638, l. 8. for §. 433 read §. 432.
§. 458. p. 640, l. 20. for *û* read *â*.
§. 460. To be corrected according to §. 783. 5).
§. 463. Of the termination *ant* only the *t* has been dropped, but the *n* is contained in the preceding nasalized vowel (see §. 783. Remark), hence we should read *aṅ* for *a*, *uṅ* for ȣ.
§. 464. p. 646, Note, Respecting *vacsayatô* see §. 922.
§. 465. Table, p. 648. In the 3d person plural of the Old Sclavonic, for *ûty*, *aty*, we should read *uṅty*, *aṅty*, and for *a*, *aṅ*, see §. 783. Remark.
§. 466. p. 649, l. 1. 2. cf. § 473.
§. 470. p. 653, Note *. cf §. 719. p. 956, Note.
§. 472. last line but three, for "special forms" read "secondary forms."
§. 474. p. 659, l. 22. To be corrected according to §. 888 p. 1292 G. ed.
§. 480. p. 670, last line of Table, for *sûty* read *suṅty*.
§. 485. first line of table, for *krî-ṇa-mi* read *krî-ṇâ-mi*.
§. 490. In the German preterite, the weakening of the vowel is produced by the polysyllabicness, see §. 420. Rem. 1.
§. 495. p. 691, l. 1. cf. p. 996.
§. 496. first line of Table, for *gyb-nû* read *gyb-nu-ṅ*.
§. 500. p. 695, l. 12. for *bhûvayâmi* read *bhâvayâmi*.
§. 503. p. 700, l. 1. for *αεκ(ον)-αζόμενος* read *ἀεκ(οντ)-αζόμενος*.
§. 504. p. 701. From line 16. "In this point" to line 19. "The Prâkrit" expunge.
§. 505. l. 16. cf. §. 741. p. 992.
§. 506. Mielcke's 4th conjugation, too, belongs to the Sanscrit 10th class, see §. 698. Note.
—— p. 704, l. 4 for *śravayêshi* read *śrâvayêshi*.
§. 507. p. 712, for *veζû*, *veζuty*, read *veζ-u-ṅ*, *veζ-u-ṅty*, see §. 783. 4) and 5).
§§. 522. 523. The Lithuanian *bavau*, &c., and *kirtau*, are to be expunged.

§. 531. l. 8. for Krüger read Kühner.
§. 552. last line but three. cf. p. 1227, Note †.
§. 561. last line of Table, for *bûd-i-sha* read *bûd-i-shaṅ*.
§. 569. p. 792, Note †, instead of *f* for *h* read *f* for *p*.
§. 647. p. 878, l. 13. for *τωρ* read *τορ*.
—— p. 879, l. 5. To be corrected according to §. 812.
§. 664. first line of Table. Zend forms of the 1st person singular, like the theoretically formed *bûsyémi*, are not quoteable; cf. §. 731, Remark.
§. 665. l. 2. cf. §. 731. Remark.
§. 668. l. 12. 15. for 𐬰𐬎𐬱 *zaṇ* read 𐬰𐬌𐬱 *zaṅ*.
—— l. 9. 19 30. for *zaṇhyamana* read *zaṅhyamana*. and from l 30. to end of §., expunge.
§. 724. p. 969, l. 8. for 𐬦𐬎𐬵𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬱 *nâiṣemnâi* read 𐬦𐬎𐬵𐬌𐬰𐬎𐬱 *nâiṣemnâi*.
§. 741. p. 993, l. 21. According to Kurschat, *o* in Lithuanian is always long.
§. 751. p. 1008. cf. §. 776. pp. 1037, 1038.
§. 770. p. 1027, l. 29. To be corrected according to §. 837.
—— p. 1030, l. 19. for *ufar-haf-ya-n(a)-s* read *ufar-haf-a-n(a)s*.
§. 785. p. 1053, last line Note, for 1845 read 1843.
—— p. 1054, l. 30. In compound words I now ascribe the throwing back of the accent in the vocative to the circumstance that compounds in Greek regularly throw back the accent as far as possible. I therefore assume that the accent in vocatives like Ἀγάμεμνον, εὔδαιμον, rests on that syllable of the base word to which it originally belongs, and that, on the other hand, in Ἀγαμέμνων, Ἀγαμέμνονος, εὐδαίμων, εὐδαίμονος, it has sunk down from its original position on the base for well known reasons.
§. 805. p. 1089, Note *, for *middu-mmas, middis*, read *diddu-mmas, diddis*.
§. 807. p. 1091, l. 8. cf. p. 1178 G. ed. l. 4.
§. 809. p. 1095, l. 23. cf. §. 447.6), p. 627.
P. 1462 G. ed. l. 16. *Ob*, and the conjunctions of eqnivalent meaning in other languages, appear also in the nominative relation in sentences like "*er ist ungewiss, ob er kommen wird, oder nicht*," "It is uncertain whether he will come or not." The Latin *utrum*, as neuter, is adapted by its case-termination, as well for the nominative as the accusative relation. The signification "if," is, moreover, claimed by our *ob*, in combination with *schon, gleich*, and *wohl* (*obschon, obgleich, obwohl*).

FINIS.

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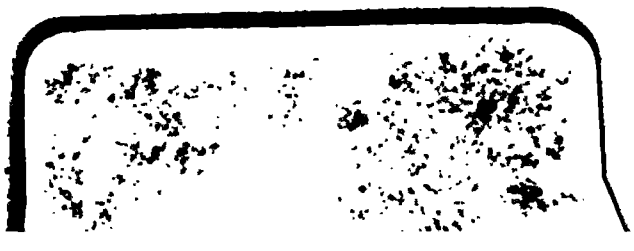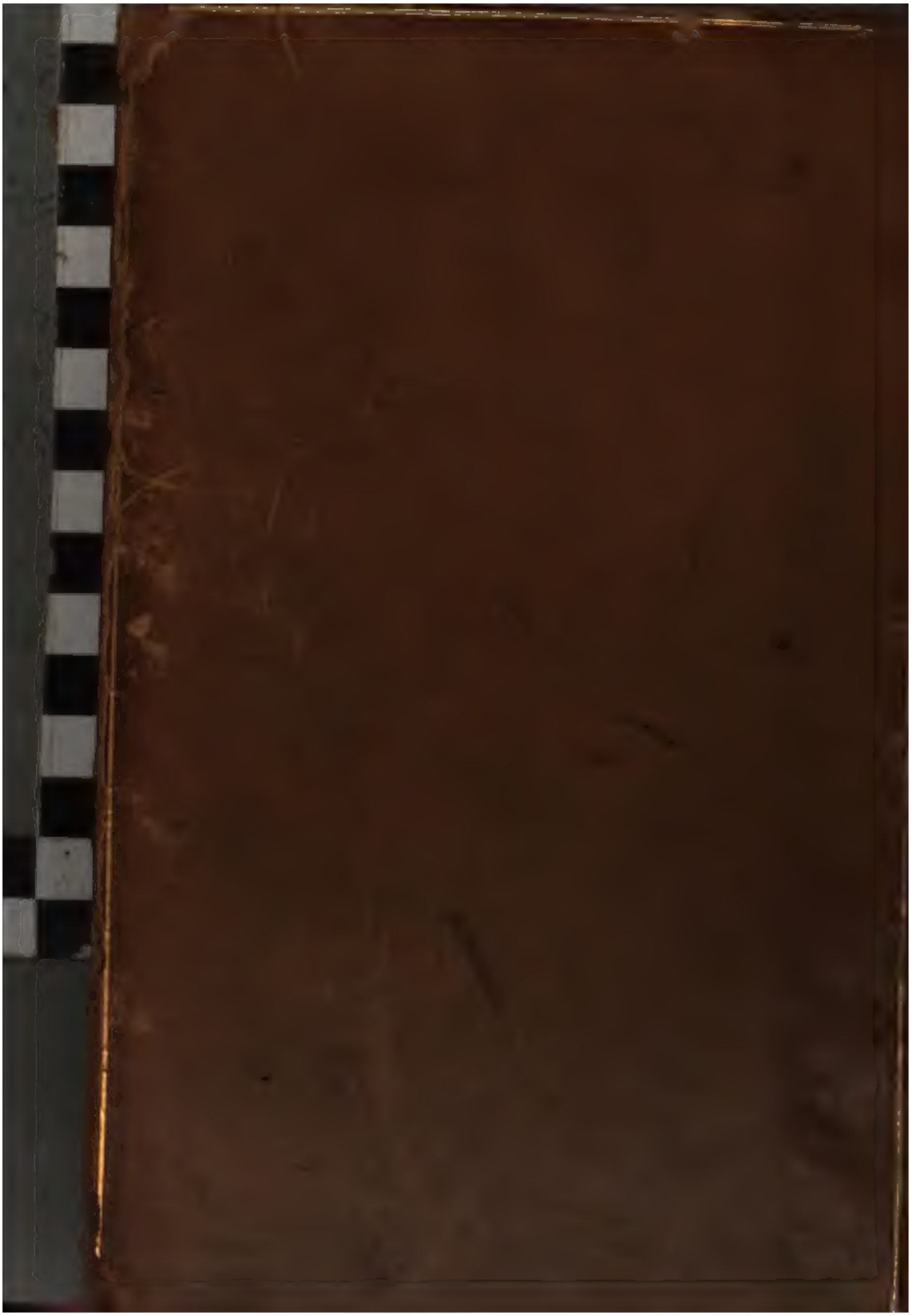
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